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The Unrendered Decision

By Francis Patrick.



TWIST of a wire with the left hand and a twist of a wire with the right hand; another rod added to the line and so on, until fourteen are strung. The line of rods is thrown on the pile, two more wires attached and another line strung. It is added to the ever-growing tier of towel rods, awaiting their turn to go through the plating vat. Hour after hour the same monotonous, mechanical routine.

"A twist with the left wrist—a twist with the right wrist, more quickly done than told; a tedious job; a sleep-producing job." Ned Burton caught himself nodding as his thoughts swung to the word "sleep." He had been repeating the words to himself in unison with his quick, smooth movements, as he worked at his bench in the plating room of a foundry, whose products have acquired an international reputation.

Four, he thought, as he glanced at the clock, only two more hours and the day is over. Wish it was six now! But that's like us working men, wishing, always wishing for the flight of time; in the morning longing for the noon hour because it means one-half the day is gone; in the afternoon, wishing for night, because it brings a short respite. We spend our lives wishing them away.

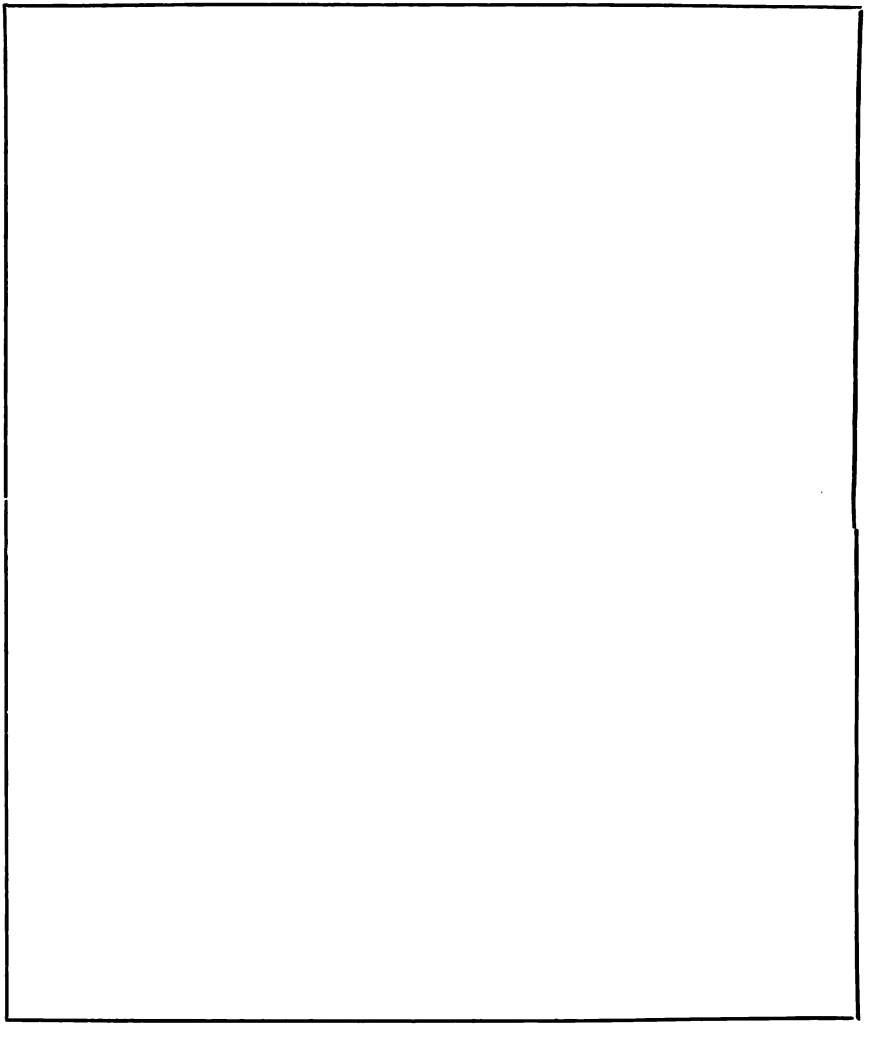
Employers say it's working with our eyes on the clock makes us working men miserable, but it's just the other way; it cheers us up to see the hands creep 'round.

"O, hell!"—— an expression of disgust flitted over his face—

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anybody's brains would shrivel over a mechanical job like this, and nothing to hope for but supper time!

On the other side of the room were crouched figures, more goblin than human, in their shrouds of fluffy lint, that clung to them



from hair to heels. These pressed shining metal articles against whirring buffing and polishing wheels. Over all, there rose clouds of particles of lint and metal, which formed a thick, dirty fog overhanging the whole room.

A cool shaft of air shooting through the open window reached the

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bench before which Ned stood and fanned his cheek. He turned and saw a gathering mass of clouds in the west.

The lowering sky promised a violent storm before quitting time. Burton smiled at the joy felt in the prospect of the wind loosed, raging, tearing and destroying. He was not destructive by nature and when his mind was free of the stultifying atmosphere of the work room, he longed to plan, to build and create.

Although he possessed little schooling, Burton had read and studied prodigiously.

"It's because working class opportunities are so cramped," he said to himself, "and I'm so repressed that I like to see the storms burst forth like wild things unchained."

Destruction is a good thing, he thought, if we know how to build better next time. His mind fell back to the old days when the men employed in the establishment, had belonged to their various craft unions. Several times the separate organizations had gone out on strikes and the men had invariably failed to secure their demands and had only weakened their unions. Deliberately he had helped to destroy those unions and labored, with his fellows, to bring the men into one strong organization that embraced every employe that worked in the foundry.

As a result, he felt confident that the general demand for a ten per cent increase in wages and the installation of suction fans would be granted. If not—well, the despised wage-slaves would teach the masters a lesson they would be slow to forget!

"Say! Is you'se Ned Burton?" The insolent tones of a red-haired office boy interrupted his train of thought.

"If you'se be, his nibs, the super, sez to give yah dis." Burton instantly ceased his mechanical motions and took an envelope from the boy. The black grease on his hands soiled the white paper. He broke the seal and read:

Mr. Edward Burton, President,
United Workers' Association:

Dear Sir:

Referring to the conversation held in my office two days ago, relative to the demands you and your colleagues made on behalf of the members of your organization, I wish to state that, though I considered your proposals visionary, at the time, a desire to encourage direct dealing between the company and our employes, rather than through professional labor leaders, prompted me to refer your demands to head officials of the company. I regret to say that they are compelled to

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absolutely and finally dismiss the matter from further consideration as absurd. Yours truly,

A. SEYMOUR, *Supt.*

"Visionary! Absurd!" The blood rushed to Ned's head in hot waves. He had expected a counter proposition, through which the company would seek to compromise with the men but he was unprepared for this point-blank refusal to consider their demands. He rushed to the window and thrust his head out into the cooler air. His mind grew clearer.

Though he appreciated the practice of "direct dealing between employer and employes" at its true significance, the phrase was illuminating at this juncture. He saw clearly now why obstacles he had expected to encounter had not materialized during the formative period of the new organization. The company had doubtless approved the scheme, believing that the disruption of the craft unions would result in the greater dependence of the men.

As he stood at the window, buried in thought, the storm broke in all its fury and Ned saw, in a moment of inspiration, the step to take. The clock still lacked half an hour of quitting time. He gave the row of buffers and polishers a signal which had been previously agreed upon, and the order to strike spread through the plant like wild-fire. Within ten minutes every employe of the foundry had stopped work.

Then came a surprising revelation to Superintendent Seymour, an actual demonstration of the determination and solidarity of the men. As quickly as they had donned their street clothes, every man left the plant in the driving rain, rather than remain within its walls till the storm had passed.

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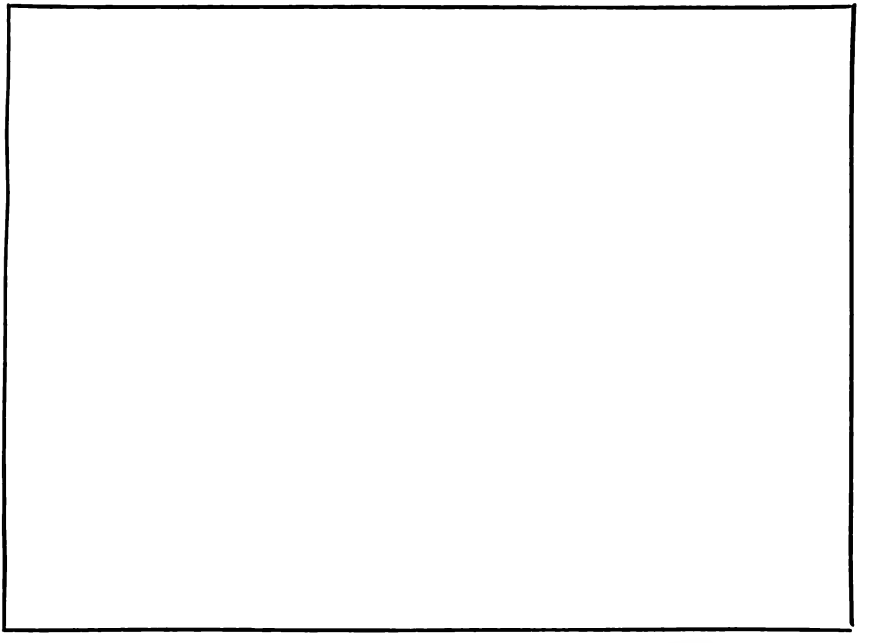
From the start, the strike was successful in one essential point; it inflicted an actual pecuniary loss upon the foundry company. This result is sought by all strikers. By it they hope to force their employers to accede to their terms, but often employers are too wary to be caught in this way. The foundry people had issued victorious from so many encounters, that they had grown sure of continued triumphs.

But they soon found the company facing a situation unique in the history of its labor troubles. This was the first time none of the men remained in their employ, when there was no one to take care of the tools, machinery, stock, etc. The consequence was that the officials realized within twenty-four hours that a new and tireless enemy, Deterioration, was also arrayed against them. From the very hour that

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the men struck, stealthily, but rapidly, deterioration spread over the machinery in the plant and gripped the property of the company, to breed and breed again, to cling long after the strike was over. The company figured that it lost three times as much through deterioration in products and in machinery during the strike as the loss of profits on the employes' labor amounted to.

So, Burton, who had known from the outset where the chief loss to the firm would accrue, was not surprised when he received overtures from the company for a conference several days after the strike was



called. But he was amused at the circumspection employed in communicating with him.

For, be it known, that the company had posted notices discharging the men, upon the day after the "walk-out," and the officials were determined not to compromise their dignity by making advances to the men with whom they no longer had any business relations whatever. With great pleasure they learned that William Snyder, one of their stockholders, held an honorary membership card in the organization of the strikers, The United Workers. Mr. Snyder had joined the organization for political purposes only, but the company found the situation expedient to their emergency. Accordingly they made use of it.

They prevailed upon Snyder to invite Burton and his colleagues

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to his home, ostensibly to discuss the strike from the viewpoint of the Association.

At eight o'clock on the day when the letter had been sent, the Grievance Committee of the organization, comprised of Burton, Tom O'Brien and Gus Bauer, was ushered into the spacious drawing room of William Snyder's home. It was planned by the sagacious minds arranging the meeting that the Committee be left waiting till the minds of its members should be awed into a proper and becoming spirit of humility, before the representatives of the company appeared.

It happened that the pretty daughter of William Snyder had occasion to enter the room in search of a misplaced novel. She withdrew upon seeing the men, but returned after the Committee had repaired to the library where her father, Mr. Seymour, the superintendent, and the company's attorney joined them. The library where the conference was held was divided only by a pair of portieres and the voices of the men could be distinctly heard in the drawing-room.

Miss Harriet decided that, for all his cheap clothes, Ned Burton was extremely good to look at and she was very much interested in what he should say.

The suave attorney followed the remarks of Mr. Seymour and he was interrupted by O'Brien's crisp Irish brogue and the strong German accent of Bauer. Both talked at once. At last the voice of the attorney rose again:

"Do you believe that capital is entitled to a reasonable return?"

"Yis," said O'Brien. "Yah," replied Bauer.

Whereupon the attorney proceeded to rattle off statistically the capitalization of the company; its gross income, running expenses, amount of the pay roll; the net income, from which he proved that if the demands of the men were granted, the company would be unable to pay any dividends on its capital stock.

"And," he concluded, "if we cannot do that, we may as well keep the plant closed altogether." He begged the Committee to explain the situation to their comrades and to show them the inevitable suffering and destitution that would be their portion if the union did not withdraw its unreasonable demands. For the first time Burton spoke.

"Those are all your own figures and even they fail to show why the company would be unable to pay interest on its bonds. It strikes me that the bondholders would insist on continuing the business to prevent the destruction of their security."

The attorney ignored the remarks and asked O'Brien and Bauer if they expected the company to continue without paying dividends.

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They could only reply by reiterating the justice of the demands of the men. Seeing that he had them cornered the attorney thundered:

"Is it just that the workers should take all and leave no profits?"

"Yes!" declared Burton in the same tone, unable to control his rising temper.

This view so startled Harriet Snyder that she almost fell off her chair. This young workingman held very strange ideas and it was very certain that the whole foundry company could not awe him in the least.

"But," Burton continued, "I am not here to discuss economics. I came to talk business. In the settlement of this strike—and in the settlement of all strikes—one of two groups of people must suffer—either the stockholders or the employes.

"When the foundry company was organized, it was bonded to the full amount of the physical valuation of the property. What the stockholders actually subscribed for was the promoters' estimate of the company's ability to exploit its employes—to exploit them beyond the extent necessary to pay interest on the bonds, high salaries for sinecures and other features of a like nature.

"That ability to exploit no longer exists, for the United Workers' Association will demonstrate its power to compel the company to accede to its original demands. It will accept nothing less, therefore, we the men who run your plant and give value to its product declare your proposals must be dismissed from further consideration as 'visionary' and 'absurd.'"

"You seem to forget the courts, young man," snarled Snyder. "They have never yet failed to protect property rights!"

'Never mind," replied Burton, and his voice was low with sarcasm.

"Every time a judge gives a decision in your favor it teaches the men to stand and to fight together. That's part of the schooling we're going through. By and by, we'll elect our own men as judges. It will not be long."

Harriet Snyder was delighted. All her life she had possessed an unwholesome awe of her father and she rejoiced in hearing this young man, a mere workman, who remained wholly at his ease and who seemed to have rather the best of the argument.

In the library a hubbub of angry recrimination now arose from the three company men. O'Brien and Bauer seemed to consider the conference concluded and they soon left accompanied by Burton. Nothing had been accomplished by the meeting and the foundry people found their position more strained than ever.

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Developments were rapid during the next few days. Naturally the duty devolved upon Millerwick, the company attorney, to forge some kind of a weapon against the strikers. An injunction seemed the only one available, but to this end he was driven almost beyond his powers. Enjoin the men he would, but enjoin them from what? There was the rub! The injunction must, of course, serve to weaken their strength and aid the company. The men had only quitted their jobs. During the strike they had steadily avoided the environs of the plant. The property of the company had not been disturbed in any way.

His thoughts recurred to the fund from which the strikers drew their support. They certainly had money somewhere, else Hunger would long since have broken their ranks. The foundry hands had always been a poorly paid lot and the company had arranged with the merchants to deny all credit while the strike lasted. But even Snyder was unable to learn where the union kept its strike funds and Millerwick knew that an injunction forbidding their use for strike purposes, under such conditions, would be worse than useless.

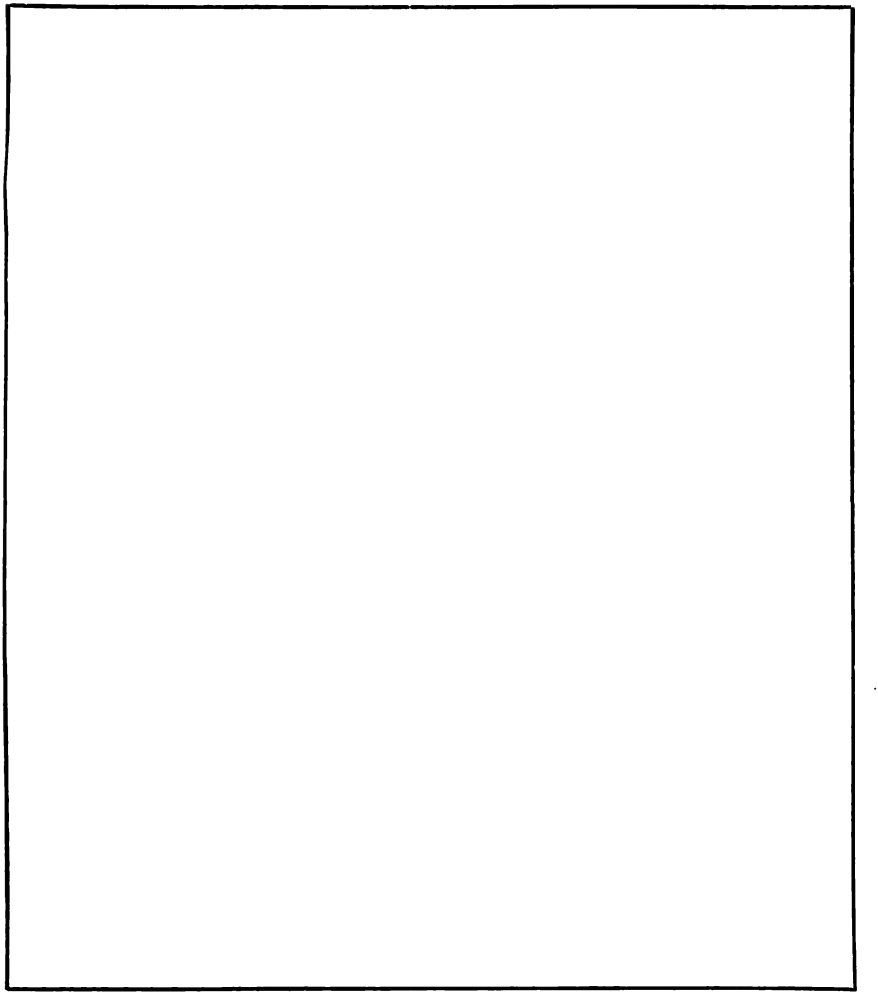
At last, he recalled the Danbury hatters' case and the suffering caused the members of the Hatters' Union by levying on their property to satisfy the judgment therein rendered. If a judgment could be secured against a labor organization in that case, why not for a strike? What was a strike if not a combination of men restraining trade anyway—a form of boycott! Then he began an exhaustive search through the adjudicated labor cases.

"By God! I have it!" he finally ejaculated. "Though the judgment I will ask for is itself unprecedented, there is abundant authority sustaining the proposition of law upon which I shall proceed. I will bring suit on behalf of the foundry company against the members of the United Workers' Association jointly for the pecuniary loss caused the company, as having acted in furtherance of a conspiracy when they left their jobs in a body. That will scare the property-holders—if there are any in their ranks—back to work. I'll have my pound of flesh——"

Here Millerwick paused. "Why in hell didn't I think of that before?" he exclaimed, as the thought broke upon him. "Snyder's a member of their damned union and as such is liable as a joint principal! If the directors will back me, we'll make him pay every cent the strike costs! Assured of reimbursement we will be in a position to prolong the strike until those damn fools are starved out and come on their knees begging us to take them back."

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In due course of time Ned Burton received a summons notifying him that Burton et al. were defendants in a suit for damages instituted by the foundry company, etc., etc. To say that he was amused, would be putting it mildly. A suit for damages—for money!—against the unfortunate workmen who were compelled to sell their labor power



to the foundry company seemed to him nothing short of grotesque! Even the strike funds of the Association, while adequate for a short fight, would be exhausted long before the case would be advanced to a verdict.

The few foundry employes who boasted of owning their own

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homes, were not, in law, the owners thereof. All were buying them on installments and the legal titles would not be transferred to them till the last payment had been made. Ned laid the summons aside, making a mental note of the date on which he was to appear in court.

Upon the same evening Burton received a visit from Miss Harriet, the daughter of William Snyder. He recognized her at once when she entered the small parlor of the boarding house. She introduced herself and explained her presence.

"I heard both sides of the question and saw both views of the strike when your committee met at our home last week," she said, "and I came to offer my help to the men."

Ned Burton flushed in some embarrassment. Harriet Snyder was an extremely attractive young woman. This made it hard to repel her friendly advances. He hated to hurt her.

"I'm sure I appreciate——" he began, "but there is no way—you see it's a class matter. We are on the side that makes the wealth and your folks are those who take it. When union men back up the employers or when employers (or those of their class) support the unions, it only befuddles some of us and obscures the issues."

"You do not **want** me to help," Harriet replied with heat.

"I see no way where you can. The best thing you can do is to go home——"

The young woman's face was flaming, as she interrupted him.

"I **ought** to go, but I shall stay to show how mistaken you are," she said.

"Read that," and she handed him a bundle of papers.

"Father has a friend in Millerwick's office, who brought the papers to him—a poor boy whom he has befriended. Millerwick doesn't know, of course. You see father holds a card in the United Workers' Association and the directors of the foundry decided to sacrifice him to save themselves. He can be forced to pay the damages for which the company has brought suit against the Union. But it will take everything he owns, personally, to pay them."

Much amazed, Burton read. The papers began with a recital of the facts in the case of the Foundry Company vs. Burton et al., staving that the company asked damages against the joint defendants for losses caused the company by the defendants jointly quitting their employment, on the grounds that the defendants were joint tort-feasors—it insisted that the relation between employer and employe be regarded as one of contract; that in a jurisprudence, under which all are equals, many acts done by an individual are lawful, but which done in pursuance of an agreement were unlawful. It claimed that it

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was clearly contrary to the spirit of American institutions, aside from statutory provisions, to permit two or more men to act together in a way to enable them to make the terms of a contract wholly or in part, to which the other parties thereto must assent. And that labor unions were a number of workingmen so acting in the cases of——

Here followed citations from cases in which injunctions had been issued against members of labor organizations and from decisions against labor unionists.

It further cited a New York case in which the Speedometer Co. recovered $3,847 from the Machinists' Union for picketing during a strike; a New Jersey case wherein a non-union plumber recovered damages from the Plumbers' Union because its members refused to work with him. The claim was made that these cases could only be sustained on the theory that those acts of a labor union which in any way interfered, injured or affected the liberty, property, person or life of another individual, to his pecuniary damage, were unlawful and the members of the union were liable therefor.

An extract from President Taft's inaugural address was quoted wherein he said, "that an employer has a property right in the continuous operation of his business."

Then came an examination of the facts in the case before the bar and it was shown that the United Workers' Association had injured the property right which the foundry company had in the "continuous operation of its business"—by striking.

Therefore, the judgment was granted on the grounds that the members were jointly and severally liable to the company to the full amount of the pecuniary loss sustained by the company.

"Thank you," said Burton when he had finished reading. "But I don't see how these papers can help us out. I suppose this is Millerwick's argument."

Harriet Snyder laughed. "Millerwick wrote it, but it is not his argument. It's the DECISION prepared for the judge to render against the union!"

Burton was amazed and delighted. In spite of the class character of the courts and the decisions favoring capital constantly rendered by the judiciary, he had not believed any judge would so flagrantly violate his oath of office as appeared to be the facts in this case.

Now, Burton thought he saw the various factors in the fight clearly. If this judgment was granted, the foundry people could prolong the strike indefinitely, as William Snyder could be forced to pay

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the damages to the company. The union men would be starved into submission beyond a doubt.

"What is your father going to do in this matter?" he asked Harriet.

"He has a copy of those papers in his pocket and has gone down to see Attorney Miller," she said.

"Well, the thing for me to do is to get a copy too. I have an old typewriter upstairs and there's a stenographer in the house I may be able to press into service. I suppose Millerwick's clerk will want to return the original papers?"

"He wants to replace them before Millerwick gets down to the office in the morning," said Harriet, "but I'll wait till you have them copied, if you will promise not to tell any one who supplied you with the papers."

The next morning Burton called upon William Snyder. They evidently found much to say to each other, for they remained closeted in Snyder's private office for over two hours. The spring elections were coming on and various characters in public life evidently found it expedient to drop the case of the Foundry Company vs. Burton et al. The strike was called off and the men were reinstated in the employ of the company. All the demands of the union were granted and the foundry company seems to be prospering in spite of the superintendent's predictions to the contrary.

Ned Burton goes sometimes to call upon Miss Harriet, but we understand he does not go on business.

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Socialism for Students

By Joseph E. Cohen.

IX. SOCIALIST STATESMANSHIP.



THE fundamental aim of the Socialist movement is to make the principal means of wealth production, such as the lands, mines, mills and railroads, the collective property of the whole people. There necessarily follows democratic administration, the obligation of all able-bodied persons to perform useful service and the blending of freedom and labor so as to secure the maximum of individuality and efficiency.

To effect the contemplated change of ownership from private to public, the workers, as a class, must control the government. It is the winning of complete political power, and the consequent transfer of ownership, that constitutes the social revolution.

The revolution is the change, not the manner of the change. The social revolution may come peacefully, without anything approaching civil war. On the other hand, there may be plenty of bloodshed without there following any material improvement in the situation of the workers. So Hillquit, one of America's foremost Socialists, declares in his work on "Socialism in Theory and Practice": "Violence is but an accident of the social revolution; it is by no means its necessary accompaniment, and it has no place in the Socialist program." And Kautsky, acknowledged to be possibly the foremost exponent of modern Socialism, says in "The Social Revolution": "Everyone is a revolutionary whose aim is that a hitherto oppressed class should conquer the power of the state." And, further on, "Even if a revolution were not a means to an end, but an ultimate end in itself which could not be bought at too dear a price, be it ever so much blood, one could not desire war as a means to let loose the revolution. For it is the most irrational means to this end." The revolution is, therefore, an end, not the means to that end.

Socialists agree with Liebknecht in ridiculing the notion that "tomorrow it starts." For as Engels, in the introduction to the "Communist Manifesto," written as late as 1888, said in substantiation of Marx's position: "One thing especially was proved by the Commune,

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viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'" Hypothetically, the social revolution may come at one sweep. But for the discussion of tactics, the possibility of such a cataclysm must be held in abeyance.

Especially true is it for Socialism that history often does not repeat itself. For the coming reconstitution of society is unlike former ones. These were in the interest of minorities; they left society divided into classes and altered only the form of the exploitation of labor. The coming change has in view the ending of exploitation and the abolition of class distinctions. It is for the benefit of the vast majority, even, broadly, speaking, of society as a whole. The tactics of the Socialist movement is, perforce, essentially different from that of other movements.

At the same time, the Socialist movement is the reflex of actual conditions. At best its program is a more or less accurate analysis of the tendency of social progress. It takes the part of the workers in the struggle of the classes. It keeps pace with the awakened intelligence of the workers, securing for them what relief it can while holding fast to its ultimate ideal.

Nor is the Socialist movement the only agency working for a better social order. There are several others. The attitude of Socialists toward these other movements is very well presented by Kautsky: "I must not be misunderstood in the sense * * * * that I think co-operative societies, trades unions, the entry of the Socialist party into municipalities and parliaments, or the securing of individual reforms, to be worthless. Nothing could be further from my intention than that. On the contrary, that is all of great service to the proletariat; it only becomes of no importance as a means of staving off the revolution—in other words, the capture of political power by the proletariat."

Hillquit is one with Kautsky. "The Socialists do not foster the illusion," he says, "that voluntary co-operative societies of labor, either for production or for consumption, could gradually and by the strength of their own development, supersede the prevalent capitalist methods of production and distribution." And speaking of England, in which country co-operation has flourished for three-quarters of a century, Sidney Webb, in "Socialism in England," says: "Less than one four-hundredth part of the industry of the country is yet carried on by co-operation. The whole range of industrial development seems against it, and no ground for hope in co-operation as an answer to the social problem can be gained from economic history." In Belgium, where co-operative societies have attained the greatest measure of success, they were started before production on a large scale had been established.

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Of trades unions, Kautsky says: "I regard the trades unions as an equally indispensable weapon in the proletarian class war as a Socialist party, and both are intimately dependent on one another." Hillquit estimates the membership of trades unions throughout the world to be 11,000,000, or a million more than the estimated Socialist vote. The efficacy of trades unionism depends, of course, upon conditions peculiar to each country. While in many countries trades unionism is a very powerful weapon, Bebel is of the opinion that it is, for the future, of little avail in America because of the strength of concentrated capital. This by no means reflects against "mass" strikes for improved conditions of labor and political rights. But mass strikes are not generally considered dependable means for accomplishing the social revolution.

The nature of the weapons used in the class war, from time to time, depends upon circumstances, circumstances that are forever changing. That explains why Socialists do not underestimate the good work done by organized labor, co-operative associations, workers' insurance societies and farmers' alliances, in their own field of endeavor. But as the relation between the two classes, notwithstanding, continues to intensify, Socialists come to lay more and more stress upon the winning of political power.

In entering politics Socialists act independently of other parties. The Socialist party does not compromise. It declines to support candidates of other parties, or to accept endorsements from other parties. "For our party and for our party tactics," says Liebknecht, in "No Compromise," "there is but one valid basis: the basis of the class struggle, out of which the Socialist party has sprung up, and out of which alone it can draw the necessary strength to bid defiance to every storm and to all its enemies." Hillquit emphasizes this point. "Experience has abundantly demonstrated," he says, "that whenever a party of the propertied classes has invited the political co-operation of the working class, the latter has, with few exceptions, been used by it as a cat's paw for the furtherance of its own class interests." And while, in practical work, concessions have to be made in going from principles to tactics, which Liebknecht was one of the first to see, he warns us that "questions of tactics very easily shift into questions of principle." So, again, Hillquit says: "The Socialist platform is the only political platform which is practically identical in its main features and important details in all civilized countries. * * * We observe that while the details of Socialist policy and tactics vary in every country, and are modified with every economic and political change, its most salient features are identical everywhere, and have undergone but little change since the days when the Socialist party first established itself in practical politics."

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The Socialists of each country can face their problems only in their own way. So Herron says, in "The Day of Judgment": "The mightiest voice lifted in the German Reichstag is that of Bebel; and there is nothing concerning the German people that Bebel does not have his say about. * * * *. The development of Italian Socialism has been through the distinctly Italian appeal made by Ferri and by those who work with him."

A few general points in Socialist tactics may be established at the outset. Convinced that the institutions of a period are largely the reflex of material conditions, and, in so far as they are to be altered, will be altered largely through the change of those conditions, the Socialist party does not concern itself, for instance, with religion or the form of the family. Belief in a supreme being cannot be eliminated by decree, as the French revolutionists imagined, nor re-established by proclamation, as the reaction thought. Socialists therefore do not permit their movement to be divided by sex, creed, race, nationality or other distinctions. In this respect, as in many others, the Socialist movement is inclusive rather than exclusive.

Again, as an innocent speculation sometimes indulged in, under Socialism the state will lose such coercive powers as spring from class rule, and its police powers, under the superior environment, may "die out" altogether. But while, for many, this is a "consummation devoutly to be wished," like all consummations it cannot be reached by wishing, or by arbitrarily demanding it. It is one of the secrets of the future, and concerns Socialists at present very little.

In our own country we are confronted by conditions peculiar to ourselves. This nation is an amalgam of immigrants from all lands, with different traditions, creeds, and ideals, which have been more or less assimilated in what we term the American spirit. Apart from the cleavage into classes, the various sections of the country have their own economic interests. The result of such a clash of divergent issues can only with difficulty be refined down to something in the shape of a broad national policy. This may be noted in the fact that from the very first our government has sought to solve all questions by compromise, in which the aroma of the fleshpot was, in no little degree, the guiding motive.

One thing, however, is quite positive. Considering the pains taken by the framers of the constitution to thwart the will of the people at every turn, permitting the bill of rights to slip in as amendments, in order to silence criticism, which Professor J. Allen Smith well shows in his work on "The Spirit of American Government," it is doubtful if a greater myth has ever been invented than that of American liberty. Of no country is it truer than of America, that the government is merely "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

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America is a country of two parties. Not that the distinction between parties has always been easy to define. In point of fact parties have not hesitated to change front in interpreting the constitution "strictly" or "loosely," as it suited them.

Regarding the questions which presumably separate Republicans and Democrats, James Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," written in 1896, says, after enumerating several national matters: "Neither party has anything definite to say upon these issues; neither party has any principles, any distinctive tenets. * * * All has been lost except office or the hope of it." In municipal elections, as it well known, the deliberate attempt is being made to wipe out party lines. It is recognized that the two old parties are the obverse and reverse sides of the same shield. "Each equally leans upon the respectable and wealthy classes," continues Bryce, "the Republicans more particularly on these classes in the North, the Democrats on the same classes in the South." Since 1872 both parties have, in their platforms, mentioned the struggle between capital and labor to be an issue. But they did little more than mention it. Still, if the Republican party, which has been in control practically ever since the civil war, has demonstrated its incapacity to cope with the labor question, there is no hope that the Democratic party will ever be given the opportunity to try its hand, for there are many signs of a coming disintegration of the Democracy. The Republican party, moreover, undoubtedly has the confidence of the larger capitalists, so that there is every reason for believing that the future contest will be between Republicans and Socialists.

This brings us to the problem of the Socialist party's platform. In that platform, the amount of importance placed in the working program of industrial, political and social measures comprising the more immediate demands, depends entirely upon general circumstances. If it is true, for example, that the trades unions in America are no longer able to face organized capital, it will, of necessity, result in the Socialist party's incorporating their demands in its program. This, indeed, is already happening. And trades unions, for their part, are coming more and more to make the securing of political measures part of their aim. For Socialists do not accept the theory that the misery of the workers should be permitted to increase. Moreover, what melioration the Socialist party is able to work does not bear the taint of pauperism. It is received as part payment of labor's rightful heritage. Nor is that melioration desired simply as palliative. It is accepted as being in line with the progress of the working class.

Immediate measures are not sufficient unto themselves. Thus even Jaures, who represents the more moderate wing of the Socialist party, says

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in his "Studies in Socialism": "So long as a class does not own and govern the whole social machine, it can seize a few factories and yards if it wants to, but it really possesses nothing. To hold in one's hands a few pebbles of a deserted road is not to be the master of transportation." For this reason, the working program must be considered as an organic whole, which, while it serves the more proximate needs of the wealth producers, is nevertheless animated by the ideal of complete emancipation from the dominion of capital.

Since Socialism is not a ready-made system, but an organic growth, in parliamentary activity Socialists must work with the material at hand, even to completing the work begun, or imperfectly done, by their predecessors of another political faith. In fact, Socialists can support many measures advanced by their opponents. Thus Marx designated as a revolution the ten-hour factory law secured in England through the conflict between capitalists and landlords, because it involved the new principle of state aid for the workers. And so Bebel supported Bismarck's working people's insurance law, although it was one of the measures with which Bismarck hoped to stamp out the growing Socialist sentiment.

Because victories come first in municipalities,, it is here principally that Socialists have, thus far, been able to shape legislation and administration to their liking. Furthermore, because it has its finger upon the seat of government, and can, under a real social consciousness, keep that "eternal vigilance" which Wendell Phillips held to be "the price of liberty," the municipality is apt to be entrusted with the greatest measure of power by Socialists. So Hillquit says: "While the state as such will probably retain certain general functions, it will no doubt be found more convenient to vest the more vital and direct functions in political organizations embracing smaller territories. The Socialists regard the present city or township as the nucleus of such a political unit."

In such municipalities as the Socialists control, school children are fed and clothed, municipal enterprises extended, ampler provision made for public institutions, legal advice furnished gratuitously, and steps taken to improve the condition of the workers in many other directions. In his pamphlet entitled "What Socialists would do if they won in this City," A. M. Simons shows how the experience of Socialists in foreign countries could be utilized in America.

Municipal ownership is not considered of nearly so much importance as the measures just cited. Not that municipal control might not be of considerable service under favorable circumstances. Among the suggestions for such ownership the Socialist party advisory program of 1904 mentions the following: All industries dependent on franchises, street cars, electric and gas lighting, telephones, ice houses, coal and wood

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yards. It may be remarked, in passing, that in this country in 1899 already more than half of the waterworks were owned and operated by the municipalities, and about one-seventh of the electric light plants. What hampers the efforts of Socialists in municipalities is the fact that, to use Professor Smith's words: "Local self-government is recognized neither in theory nor in practice under our political scheme." The rights of our cities are stipulated in their charters, granted by the state legislatures. What we call municipal government exists only by sufferance and is restricted in every direction. The autonomy of the city, as regards all matters in which it alone is concerned, is one of the first demands of Socialist legislators.

Municipal activity is only a beginning toward Socialism. In his analysis of this question Kautsky says: "Municipal Socialism finds its limitations in the existing order of state and society, even where universal suffrage prevails in the communes. The commune is always tied down to the general economic and political conditions, and cannot extricate itself from them singly."

In this connection it may also be observed that, while every political victory is of some benefit to the workers, it may happen when they secure control of one department of the government, such as the legislative, the functions of some other department, either judicial or executive, will be extended so as to destroy the workers' power. So Hillquit says: "The work of systematically rebuilding the economic and political structure of modern society on the lines of Socialism, can begin only when the Socialists have the control of the entire political machinery of the state, *i. e.*, of all the legislative, executive and judicial organs of the government." Each victory is, consequently, but an incident making for the social revolution.

In state and national parliamentary bodies more important steps can be taken. It is here that work is provided for the unemployed, whose number constantly increases with the perfection of machinery, the elimination of the waste of competition and the commercialization of backward countries. Here, too, the fight is made for universal suffrage, the extension of political liberty and the strengthening of the economic and social position of the workers. Larger problems are dealt with.

Whether government owership is of benefit to the mass of the people depends upon the influence they exercise over the government. It is not of itself necessarily a step in advance. The best that can be said for it theoretically is contained in this utterance of Engels: "State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict (between workers and capitalists), but concealed within it are the technical condi-

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tions that form the elements of that solution." Covering its practical operations, at the annual convention of the German Socialist party in 1892, the following resolution was passed: "State Socialism so-called, inasmuch as it aims at state ownership for fiscal purposes, seeks to substitute the state for the private capitalist, and to confer on it the power to subject the people to the double yoke of economic exploitation and political slavery."

In the broader field of national activity, the Socialist party has to deal with the relation of the various elements among the wealth producers. The proper attitude to be maintained toward agricultural holdings is one of the most intricate and difficult of questions to be treated. Simons, in his "American Farmer," the only serious attempt made by an American Socialist to handle the agrarian problem, says: "One trade after another has left the farm and farming itself has been transformed until the farmer has become a specialist working within one little narrow field and as absolutely dependent upon outside social forces as the artisan at his bench." Simons deems the average farmer little more than an employing agent and resident supervisor for the exploiting class, whose wage does not rise far above the subsistence level. Because he holds the small farmer to be the "essential economic factor in agriculture in exactly the same way that the wage-worker is the essential economic factor in general capitalistic production," Simons accepts Kautsky's definition: "The proletarian of the country is the farmer."

In discussing this question, Kautsky says that, "where small agricultural holdings prevail, there the organs of social or Socialist production in agriculture have first to be created, and that can only be the result of a slow development." Continuing, he says: "No Socialist of any weight or standing has ever as yet demanded that the peasants should be expropriated or their lands confiscated." Yet Kautsky looks forward to the time when "the peasants will amalgamate their holdings and work them in common."

In answer to the argument that under communal ownership the farmer will not have the interest in the land he has when it is his own property, Ferri says: "We see, for example, that, even in our present individualist world, those survivals of collective property in land—to which Laveleye has so strikingly called the attention of sociologists—continue to be cultivated and yield a return which is not lower than that yielded by lands held in private ownership, although these communist or collectivist farmers have only the right of use and enjoyment, and not the absolute title."

Small trade, sometimes regarded as of moment to the middle class, Vandervelde declares to be "the special refuge of the cripples of capi-

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talism," who often have "only a phantom of independence, and are really in the hands of a few great money lenders, manufacturers or merchants." Where this is not true, it is doubtful if they would be disturbed to any extent. For Socialism is not of one piece, but, rather, the outgrowth of the multiform relations prevailing under capitalism. So Kautsky tells us: "The most varied kinds of property in the means of production, state, municipal, co-operative (distributive), co-operative (productive), private —could exist side by side in a Socialist society. * * * The same variety of the economic machinery as exists today would be quite possible in a Socialist society. Only the hurry and the bustle, the fighting and the struggling, the extermination and the ruin of the present day struggle for life will be eliminated, just as the antagonism between the exploiter and the exploited will disappear."

Socialists, as is well known, are opposed to militarism. Says Kampffmeyer, in his little work on German Socialist tactics: "Since the first days of its vigorously joyful existence, until its fully endowed maturity, there sounds through all its party declarations the rough and revolutionary word: 'For this military system, not a man and not a penny.'"

There is reason enough for this stand merely on the score of the millions wasted in metal, powder and rations, let alone the toll of life and suffering paid by the workers. To form some idea of what this price is, Karl Liebknecht estimates the present military expenditures of Europe as reaching $3,250,000,000 annually.

The growing sentiment of international solidarity is, by all odds, the most important step in the direction of universal peace. The Socialists are justly proud of having, within recent years, done much toward preventing wars between Austria and Italy, France and Germany, and Norway and Sweden. Amity among nations, cementing the ties of fraternity to the end that the earth become the common possession of all, is the goal of the international Socialist movement. The vari-colored flags of different countries serve only to lift one man's arm against his brother; the crimson standard of Socialism is breaking down the barriers that stand in the way of universal peace and good will.

"The growth of the democratic spirit is one of the most important facts in the political life of the nineteenth century," Professor Smith observes. "From present indications, we are at the threshold of a new social order under which the few will no longer rule the many." And Spargo, in his "Socialism," has splendidly developed this thought of the "Communist Manifesto": "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

The task it is the historic mission of the Socialist movement of the

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world to achieve is as magnificent in its proportions as it is in its ideals. The tremendous nature of that task cannot be overestimated. Kautsky well reminds us, in one of the concluding passages of his great work on the social revolution: "The proletariat will require high intelligence, strong discipline, perfect organization of its great masses; and these must, at the same time, have become most indispensable in economic life if it is to attain the strength sufficient to overcome so formidable an opponent. We may expect that it will only succeed in the latter when it will have developed these qualities in the highest degree, and that, therefore, the domination of the proletariat, and with it the social revolution, will not take place until not only the economic, but also the psychological conditions of a Socialist society are sufficiently ripened."

The Socialist looks forward to the future with the enthusiasm of certain victory. For the stream of the new world thought and movement is flowing on. Little more than half a century ago its headwaters gathered in the work of Marx and Engels, gathered from the rockribbed mountains of philosophy, economics, politics and history. Here a brook empties its crystal clear waters of learning into it; there a sister stream greets it. Further along is its confluence with science; art and literature light its way. The stream rushes on. It is now international in character. It ever broadens, reaches into new lands, gains in prestige. It commands the voice of governments; it swerves the destiny of nations. As its power grows, kingdoms tremble, thrones totter, tyrannies fall. The social revolution is fought and won. The old epoch—the epoch of class strife and the subjection of the toilers—is ended. The new era—the era of the comradeship and freedom of labor—is begun.

Philadelphia, Pa.

A COURSE OF READING.

The following list of books is recommended to the student. They cover the subject touched upon in the above article and it is suggested they be read in the order named:

The Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. Cloth, 50 cents.
Socialism in Theory and Practice. By Morris Hillquit. Macmillan's, New York.
No Compromise. By W. Liebknecht. Cloth, 50 cents.
Changes in the Theory and Tactics of the German Social Democracy. By Paul Kampffmeyer. Cloth, 50 cents.
The Day of Judgment. By George D. Herron. Paper, 10 cents.
The American Farmer. By A. M. Simons. Cloth, 50 cents.
Socialists in French Municipalities. Paper, 5 cents.
What the Socialists would do if they won in this City. By A. M. Simons. Paper, 5 cents.
Socialism. By John Spargo. Macmillan's, New York.

(The End.)

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the luscious fruit ripened and fell and the nut sea-
came around, the time of joy and plenty was at
l for the Cave Dwellers. Then millions of fish
ght the shallows of the river; nourishing plants, with
range bitter-sweet flavor, thrust up their heads, and
nests were full of eggs for the hand of him who
cared to gather.

It was then only that the Cave People were never hungry. With plenty abounding always in the forest, they feasted continually and grew fat against those periods of famine that spread through the long after-suns and the dreary wet seasons.

True it was, that their enemies of the forest throve and grew strong also. The green snakes awoke and wound themselves around the branches of trees, with eyes that glistened and glowed toward every livng creature. And the brush grew thick and abounded with creeping things.

The cubs of the black bear flourished and the fierce hyena yielded bounteously to her young. Great flocks of strange and familiar birds darkened the sky and swooped down upon the berry bushes and swept them bare. But for all these, there was enough and to spare for the wants of the Cave Dwellers.

Even the limbs of Strong Arm, the wise and brave, grew soft during

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learned in the times of hunger and activity.

The hands of the youths and maidens lost a portion of their cunning and the older members of the tribe grew lazy and dull. For the bread fruit ripened and the tubers grew thick and all the land smiled with a bountiful supply of daily food.

The season of plenty was come. And the Cave People loved and laughed and feasted and were content. Few dangers menaced during those days and the members of the tribe forgot their fears and drowsed in peace.

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But the children of the Cave People grew strong, lifting their heads. The fierce rays of the sun were unable to subdue them. Laughing Boy, grown tall and straight, was weaned at last. Always he laughed, showing his large white teeth, like a dark dog snapping at a bone. And he danced and ran about, spilling the strong life that surged up within him and would not be stilled.

With his young friend, The Fish, whom the Cave People had given his name because of his early skill in swimming, Laughing Boy learned many things. Their joy and juvenility seemed exhaustless, and their romps and chatterings ended only with the days.

Not many years before, the fathers and mothers of the Cave People had come down out of the trees to dwell. The Tree Dwellers found shelter in the natural caves that lined the river bank. In time they learned to walk erect, on two legs. The Cave Dwellers resembled them very closely. The arms of the Cave People had grown shorter as they ceased to swing themselves constantly, from tree to tree. The thumb of the foot disappeared and they now possessed a great toe in its place. Still the feet of the Cave Dwellers retained the power of prehension. They were able to hold—to cling awkwardly with them.

In the children this power was very marked. On the skirts of the forest they loved to clamber up the slim trees, poise on the swaying boughs and swing themselves from branch to branch, like young monkeys. This gave them strength of limb and quickness of vision. Soon they learned to choose those branches strong enough to bear their weight, as they flung themselves great gaps of space to seize the boughs of a neighboring tree.

But the fear of the green snakes, that wound about and hid themselves among the leaves, kept them near the Hollow. Only on rare occasions did they penetrate deep into the forest.

Among many of the savages living today, great skill and agility prevails. We are told of tribes whose members are able, by a partial circling of the trunks, with their arms, and by the clinging and pressing of flexible toes, to mount trees in a sort of walk.

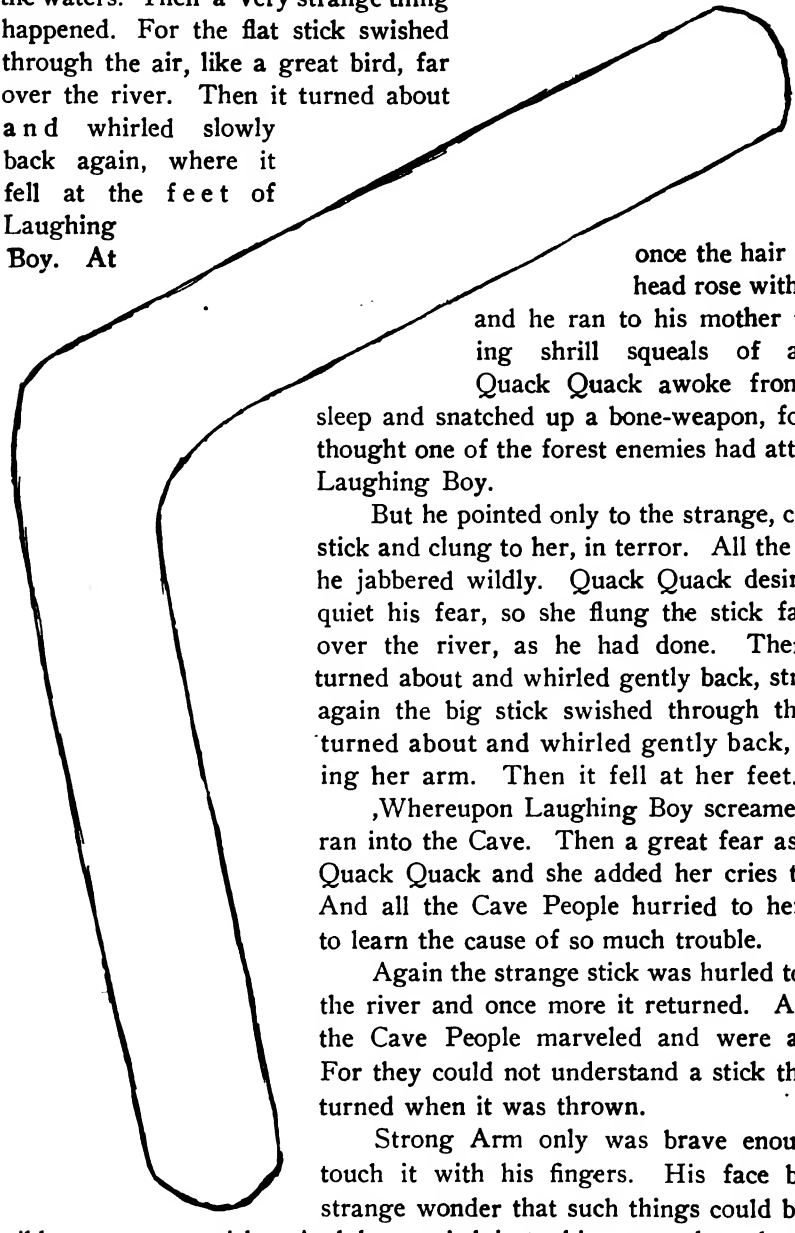
Jack London writes that this is a common practice of the natives of the South Sea Islands. And we are assured by several young friends that the art has not wholly disappeared among our own boys.

Many were the feats accomplished among the swaying branches of the trees by Laughing Boy, and his friend, The Fish, in their frolics many years ago. Their feet were never still. Their jabberings flowed without end. Tireless as the birds they were and gay as youth itself.

One day, as they played, Laughing Boy found a flat, curved piece of wood. It was as long as the arm of a man and had been split from a tree during a storm. Laughing Boy hurled the stick far into the air at his

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friend, The Fish. But The Fish threw himself from the bank, into the river, to avoid it. And he screamed with joy, as he disappeared beneath the waters. Then a very strange thing happened. For the flat stick swished through the air, like a great bird, far over the river. Then it turned about and whirled slowly back again, where it fell at the feet of Laughing Boy. At once the hair of his head rose with fear, and he ran to his mother uttering shrill squeals of alarm. Quack Quack awoke from her sleep and snatched up a bone-weapon, for she thought one of the forest enemies had attacked Laughing Boy.



But he pointed only to the strange, curved stick and clung to her, in terror. All the while he jabbered wildly. Quack Quack desired to quiet his fear, so she flung the stick far out over the river, as he had done. Then she turned about and whirled gently back, striking again the big stick swished through the air, turned about and whirled gently back, striking her arm. Then it fell at her feet.

,Whereupon Laughing Boy screamed and ran into the Cave. Then a great fear assailed Quack Quack and she added her cries to his. And all the Cave People hurried to her side to learn the cause of so much trouble.

Again the strange stick was hurled toward the river and once more it returned. And all the Cave People marveled and were afraid. For they could not understand a stick that returned when it was thrown.

Strong Arm only was brave enough to touch it with his fingers. His face bore a strange wonder that such things could be possible to a mere stick. And he carried it to his cave where he hid it among the rocks, under the dead leaves.

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But when the nuts were gone and the season of plenty had passed away, and there was need for the Cave People to hunt, he brought it forth again. After many seasons, a flat stick, curved in the manner of the one first found by Laughing Boy, came to be used as a weapon by the Cave People.

Perhaps you have seen the painted boomerangs sold in some of our stores to-day. They are the same shape as those first used by the ancient Cave Dwellers. We are printing a sketch of one on this page. A small pasteboard boomerang, cut the size and shape of the one shown here, will interest the children. When struck with a lead pencil, it will whirl through the air and return, just as the larger and more formidable boomerangs did when thrown at their enemies by the Cave Dwellers many thousands of years ago.

After a time the alarm and excitement, caused by Laughing Boy's discovery of the first rude boomerang, died away. The strange stick no longer menaced them and the Cave People returned to their feasting and their slumbers. And Laughing Boy and his young friend, The Fish, resumed their play.

They chased each other up and down the Hollow or concealed themselves in the long grass that lined the river bank. At each discovery they tossed and rolled over and over again, like puppies, wild with the exuberance of young blood.

It was one of their great pleasures to lie chattering in the grass on the top of the river bank and roll, tumbling, down into the clear waters. Then, amid a great splashing and much laughter, to clamber out and up the slope again. Thus the children of the Cave Dwellers romped and grew strong, during the season of plenty, in the days of old.

One day it chanced that Laughing Boy stumbled over a large cocoanut, during his frolics with his young friend. He seized it in his arms and danced about, jabbering with glee, that his friend might know the treasure he had found.

In an instant The Fish was upon him, but Laughing Boy rolled over in the grass and bounded away, with squeals of delight. Then, for no reason in the world, save that the blood pounded riotously in his veins, he darted into the wood, bearing his prize.

The Fish followed, close on his heels, as Laughing Boy threw shrill mocking cries over his shoulder. The Fish gave answer with a whirling stone, while more mocking cries from Laughing Boy announced that his aim was bad. And, O, the fun of the case through the deep woods! The rollicking laugh and the deep shouts of The Fish as they startled the birds from their nests in the old forest!

The brush grew thicker with every step and the trees locked branches

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more closely with their neighbors for want of room to stretch them freely toward the sun.

When he reached the tall lautania palm which marked the point beyond which it was unsafe for the children of the Cave People to go alone, Laughng Boy concealed himself in the brush. He thought to be able to elude his brown playmate, and while The Fish sought him beyond the bunya-bunya, to dash backward, toward the Hollow.

In a moment came The Fish. But the deep breathing of Laughing Boy and a rustling of the bushes made known his hiding place. As his friend had parted the thicket, Laughing Boy had time only to crawl out on the opposite side and dart onward ere he was caught. A shout and a shrill chattering told his victory, and he disappeared again. The Fish grunted his displeasure, but he was not far behind.

In the tall bambusa Laughng Boy again hid himself and it was by the tripping of The Fish over a creeping vine, that he escaped. But his foot blundered on a cone from the bunya tree and the cocoanut slipped from his hands. The two boys threw themselves downward and rolled over each other in their eagerness to recover it.

The Fish gave a shout of joy and made away, holding the cocoanut above his head for Laughing Boy to see. A warm sweat covered their bodies and their bronze skins shone like burnished copper.

On and on they ran. Further and still further they plunged into the depths of the forest. They forgot the dangers that lurked there and the wise warnings of the Cave People. They forgot their playmate, Crooked Leg, who had wandered into the wood and vanished from the face of the Hollow. Fears they had none, only laughter and the joy of abundant youth!

All this time the grown members of the tribe of the Cave People slept securely in the cool of the hollow. Their protruding bellies told of continued eating and no one among them marked the absence of The Fish and Laughing Boy.

Thicker and more dark grew the forest which the boys penetrated. The way grew rough, and the tough vines trailing through the undergrowth often tripped them. Still they lunged forward with no thought of turning their faces toward the Hollow.

It was a crackling in the brush that warned them. The cocoanut rolled from the hands of The Fish and the boys crouched low together. No sound they made, save the breath in their throats which struggled to be free. Couchant, they strained their bodies into an attitude of listening. Came again a soft rustling in the thicket. This time nearer. And then—through the long bambusa, they saw the head and throat of a grey hyena.

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For a moment they paused while the sweat froze on their brown skins. Their lips drew back in a snarl of helpless rage. But the hyena covered the ground with great bounds, and they flung their arms about a tall sapling. Their breath burst from them in quick gasps, for they were near spent with running.

But they dug their toes into the rough bark and the strength of The Fish enabled him to speedily mount to the forked branches above. But many moments Laughing Boy clung half-way up the trunk of the tree, with the hyena snapping at his heels. At every leap so near she came, that he curled his feet up under his small body. The teeth of the hyena shone white and her eyes gleamed. A great fear paralyzed him. The Fish danced about on the limbs above, chattering wildly, till Laughing Boy gathered breath and courage to continue his way to safety.

There he sat, huddled among the leaves, close to The Fish and for a long time they gazed, quivering, at the enemy below. But a caution, wholly new, had come to them, and they scrambled into the branches of a neighboring banyan slowly and with care. Thence on through several trees that brought them nearer the homes of the Cave Dwellers. With much shivering they made their way, pausing often to mark the progress of the enemy. She moved as they advanced, persistently, like a hungry dog watching a bone.

Slowly and fearfully the boys continued toward the Hollow, through the interlocked limbs of the great trees. But the hyena followed. From a bunya-bunya the boys pelted her with cones, which she dodged easily. Unmoved, she continued to gaze longingly upon them, while the slather dripped from her lips.

At one time the boys almost threw themselves into the coils of a huge green snake, that wound itself around the trunk of a cocoanut palm. They were not expecting new dangers. A quick leap and they swung downward, clinging closely to the bough of a neighboring bunya, and they scrambled up to safety once more. Thus they made on, but the distance they had run so joyously a short time before, seemed now to stretch before them without end. Sometimes they paused to rest and gather breath. At these points they huddled together and whimpered very low, or snarled, jabbering at the enemy, as she sat on her haunches, waiting.

But the glad time came when they saw below the familiar berry bushes. Beyond that the arboreal way was not unknown. With a new freedom and ease they flung themselves forward. Their leaps grew daring and their feet more sure, till at last they reached the edge of the wood near the Hollow.

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Here they lifted their voices in sharp cries that aroused the Cave People from their torpor. Soon the stalwart members of the tribe had seized their bone weapons and hurried to the rescue.

At first the hyena did not retreat before them, but darted in and out slashing the Cave People with her great fangs. But the fierce stabs of many bone weapons soon sent her fleeing back into the forest. Soon

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Quack Quack soothed the whimpering of Laughing Boy, holding him close to her breast.

The nut seasons came and the nut seasons passed away and Laughing Boy grew tall and strong. Though his deeds were brave and his arm was long, he hunted with the tribe, for he had learned the wisdom of the Cave Dwellers. He knew that it was not safe for a man or a woman to fight alone. The least of the forest enemies was able to destroy them. The strong men had wandered into the forest to return no more. But when the tribe went forth great deeds were possible, even the sabre-toothed tiger had been destroyed by the thrusts of many. It was the strength of all the Cave People that made safe the lives of every one.

"It has often been assumed that animals were in the first place rendered social, and that they feel as a consequence uncomfortable when separated from each other, and comfortable whilst together; but it is a more probable view that these sensations were first developed, in order that those animals which would profit by living in society, should be induced to live together, in the same manner, as the sense of hunger and the pleasure of eating were, no doubt, first acquired in order to induce animals to eat.

With those animals which were benefited by living in close association, the individuals which took the greatest pleasure in society would best escape various dangers, whilst those that cared least for their comrades, and lived solitary, would perish in greater numbers."— Charles Darwin in The Descent of Man.

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The Belgian Labor Party

By Robert Hunter.

to the formation of the Belgian Labor Party in
the Belgian working class was hopelessly di-
d. In the days of The Internationale there arose
rong organization which promised at the time to
e under one banner the entire body of toilers. But
life of The Internationale was short, and the Bel-
gian movement soon fell again into discord. Pessimism among the leaders was general. The labor movement suffered a setback, and capitalism in Belgium, as elsewhere, grew more arrogant and oppressive.*

It was some time before new blood began to make itself felt. Two of the most remarkable of the younger men came from that exceptional people, the weavers of Ghent. They were Van Beveren and Anseele. Other youths began to work in other parts of Belgium, and soon throughout the country workingmen's leagues, democratic federations, radical and republican organizations, began to spring up. Soon the old sections of The Internationale were revived. In Brussels a Chamber of Labor was founded, while in Ghent and elsewhere co-operative and socialist organizations took on new life.

With the reviving spirit there came to birth again the old longing for unity and concerted action. Leaders arose to give it voice—Jean Volders, Van Beveren, Anseele, and Bertrand, while César de Paepe and Verrycken, veterans of The Internationale, began to work again with renewed enthusiasm.

At last, in 1885, a hundred workingmen, representing fifty-nine groups, came together in Brussels to discuss what they should do. It was a remarkable gathering. It was held in an old cafe in the **Grand Place**, perhaps the finest mediaeval square in Europe. Beside the Hotel de Ville, a noble structure, are the old guild houses. A swan indicates the guild of the Butchers; a gilded sphinx the hall of the arch-

* Portions of this paper have been taken from my book, "Socialists at Work."

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ers. To the left is the hall of the skippers, the gable of which resembles the stern of a large vessel. To the right are the halls of the carpenters and printers, while on the opposite side of the square are the halls of the tailors and painters. In the midst of these old guild houses the small group of working men met to devise plans for reviving on modern lines the old spirit of solidarity.

To the mind of everyone present the condition of the workers had become intolerable, and the longing for unity was profound. Weary of dogma and intellect, they came very near excluding from the conference that Grand Old Man, César de Paepa. Finally, however, by a narrow margin—twenty-nine votes as against twenty—the intellectuals were admitted. In the main the gathering represented working-class movements—the co-operatives, the trade unions, the workingmen's leagues, the socialist groups and the friendly societies.

It was evident from the beginning that the Belgian movement had reached a stage more fundamentally revolutionary and more dangerous to capitalism than ever rested in any dogma or creed of what the future society should be. The men at the conference intended to unite the working class, no matter what the particular individuals believed. They wanted the stupid and backward elements, as well as the advanced and more intelligent. In that year something more profound than doctrine agitated the souls of the workers. Unionists, mutualists, socialists, democrats, republicans, revolutionists, catholics, protestants, rationalists, positivists, came together to form an organization to advance the interests of the working class.

When I went to Brussels a short time ago I found a copy of the proceedings of that memorable meeting. One only I could find, and it was not to be purchased. I then copied from it the chief addresses, knowing that American and English socialists would read with interest the words of the men who brought into existence that sturdy movement of the Belgian workers.

Anseele, the remarkable leader of the weavers of Ghent, said that an organization such as was wanted for Belgium already existed on a small scale in Ghent.

Mortelmans (Antwerp) supported most of the views expressed, but there were some he did not share. For the time being, however, he refrained from combating them. He did not believe, as advocated by Anseele, that it was possible to unite the various labor bodies within the socialist party. He was in favor of forming a special federation.

Jean Volders (perhaps the greatest agitator the Belgians have produced) was then recognized. "Comrades, in a few days there will be

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celebrated a féte bourgeoise on the anniversary of the king's birth. At the same time we should have a féte of the toilers—of the people. Would that we might celebrate on that day the birth of a vast working-class party. A labor party will be formed at this Congress—I am convinced of it. Before discussing in detail the question of our organization, it is fitting that we should pay our respects to the veterans of the working class, such as Anseele and de Paepe, who have been untiring in their efforts to organize the workers. Anseele's plan to unite all the elements under the socialist banner is excellent, and it meets with my approval. Only I fear we should not succeed in uniting with us the mass of the working people. What these veterans ought to do today is to lend their aid in the formation of a Labor Party uniting all the workers.

"Do not offer a program that will frighten the masses. Without deviating from principle, let us, however, learn when to yield. We seek to bring together all the preletarian elements. To achieve this end it is necessary, in my opinion, to adopt for our new party the name "Labor Party." The socialists must make this concession. This done, it is only a question of time when we shall convert the workers to socialist ideas. We all want to form a working-class party. We all desire it ardently. Let us put a little water into our wine, and a Labor Party, strong and solid, will spring forth from this Congress."

Anseele said that so far as he was concerned he did not insist. He favored the union of the socialist party with the Labor Party, and he advised his comrades not to cavil about the name. The most logical the strongest, the most revolutionary, the most learned party in the world—the Socialist Party of France—calls itself simply "Labor Party."

Dewit, of Brussels, took issue with this proposition. He wanted the new labor party to be called "Socialist Labor Party."

Nevelsteen, of Antwerp, spoke in the same strain, and declared himself strongly in favor of retaining the word "socialist."

César de Paepe then arose. "Comrades," he said, "if there were not so many organizations, so many programs, a labor party would, perhaps, be formed more easily on socialist ground, but there are so many opposing organizations that would not all at once change their banner. The word "socialist" arouses fear in many of the workers. This word, then, is an obstacle. If, as counseled by Volders, we dilute our wine with a little water, it will facilitate the formation of a great working-class party.

"The prejudice against the word 'socialist' is nonsensical, because

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those who oppose it are, whether they wish it or not, of the same view.

"The word 'socialist' is comprehensive—it takes in all great principles. If we should vote today to affiliate ourselves with the socialist party, that would be excellent, but would there not be the danger that those who are now nearly in accord on essentials would divide and form another labor group? This would give rise to internal dissensions, and instead of fighting the bourgeoisie we would devour each other.

"Let us, then, put aside for the moment, the name 'Socialist.' Let us not change our name, neither let us ask others to change theirs. If it is necessary to form a Labor Party, let this be done and each organization retain its name and its program.

"I urge my fellow-socialists to consider this question, and to form a Labor Party pure and simple. Volders spoke just now of the old leaders. He referred to The Internationale. Well, it was socialist, yet the word 'socialist' was not in evidence. This concession would enable all bodies already organized to unite in one vast labor movement."

Delwarte, of the Glass-Workers' Union of Charleroi, was then recognized. "Comrades," he said, "de Paepe has lightened my work. He has replied to nearly all the remarks with which I intended to take issue. Reference has been made to The Internationale. As you know, the object of The Internationale was to organize the worker, to attain a federation of the workers of the world. This should be the end of our endeavors. I do not think it imperative to adopt the term 'socialist.' I am a socialist, but I do not think that all our members are. The name is of minor importance—in organization, there lies our future. One may form a Labor Party without disputing in politics. In the Glass-Workers' Union there are Catholics. If men such as de Paepe and others, recognized champions of the working class, should present themselves as candidates, they would be supported even by these Catholics. I move, then, comrades, that the Congress rally to the proposition of Comrade de Paepe."

De Braeckleer, of the Machinists' Union of Ghent, spoke as follows: "Comrades, why change our name? Our banner is broad enough to cover the entire working-class. Ought we to fear our name when the socialist party has made such strides in our country? In Ghent we have never put in our pocket either our name or our flag. And see where it has brought us. In Germany our comrades call themselves socialists, pure and simple, and the power of our party makes Bismarck tremble because of the losses he has suffered in the elections.

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We ought never to be afraid of our name, and if our propagandists do their work our cause will make good headway. But here in Brussels there are too many officers and too few soldiers. Let us remain socialists and the Labor Party will be the gainer thereby."

On the following morning Louis Bertrand, the presiding officer, rose to make an announcement. "Comrades," he said, "I have some news to impart—news which will cut short our discussions, and will be, I hope, enthusiastically received by the Congress. Last evening, after our second session, the delegates of the Belgian Socialist Labor Party met for the purpose of determining their attitude toward the proposition to form a Labor Party, without other designation. After a discussion extending over three hours the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the delegates: 'The Belgian Socialist Party while keeping intact its program and its by-laws, decides to join a Belgian Labor Party, the program and by-laws to be adopted at the next Congress.' (Prolonged applause.)

"We are all to be congratulated on this conciliatory action. If the conservative element of the Congress acts in the same spirit—and up to the present they have—we can return to our homes with the consciousness of having done a good work. Moreover, this understanding was necessary. The Belgian Socialist Party, however, powerful, can obtain no reform without the co-operation of the other labor organizations, just as the conservative element cannot carry any point in its program without the co-operation of the Socialist Party. In these circumstances is it not expedient to join all these forces? I believe it is. The concession of the Socialist delegates will facilitate this union, and I am of the strong conviction that we will not leave this convention without the proposed alliance being voted for by all the delegates."

Hannay, representing La General Ouvriere of Brussels, said: "Comrades, in behalf of the conservative organizations represented at this congress, I warmly congratulate the socialists on having passed the excellent resolution which the President has just announced. By not exacting as the price of their valuable co-operation in the work which is before the Congress the insertion of the word 'socialist' in the name of the party which we wish to form the radical groups have proved their conciliatory spirit and political wisdom. They wish to remove every obstacle to the union of the labor organizations, and to show that when it is a question of advancing the interests of the proletariat they are always foremost. The conservatives, will, I am sure, profit by the example set by our friends, the socialists."

Renard, of the Brussels Workmen's League, added his congratulations to those of Hannay on the stand taken by the socialists. He

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paid tribute to the loyalty they had shown in defending their principles. Van Loo, of the same organization, followed him. "Above all," he said, "I commend the good feeling which prevails among the delegates to this Congress, representing as they do widely differing views. It is proof that everyone is alive to the necessity of forming a vast union of the workers. It is true that in the Socialist Party we are already united, but that is not sufficient, and as socialist principles are not yet understood by the workers, it is our duty to join hands and form a vast federation, bringing together all the aspirations of the working class. We shall only gain thereby."

Little else there is of importance in the scant account of that historic meeting. César de Paepe, who had fought valiantly, magnificently, during long years of division and discord, was carried away with enthusiasm by the establishment of the long-hoped-for unity of the working class. Concerning the name of the party, he exclaimed, "What more immense and at the same time more simple and precise! Why add the words socialist, collectivist, communist, rationalist, democrat, republican and other limiting epithets? He who says Parti Ouvrier says Party of Class, and since the working class constitutes itself into a party, how could you believe that it may be anything else in its tendencies and principles than socialist and republican?"

After the Belgian party was constituted it became the most strikingly solidified and integral party in Europe. Vandervelde has well said: "Belgian socialism, at the conflux of three great European civilizations, partakes of the character of each of them. From the English it adopted self-help and free association, principally under the co-operative form; from the German political tactics and fundamental doctrines, which were for the first time expounded in the Communist Manifesto; and from the French it took its idealist tendencies, its integral conception of socialism, considered as the continuation of the revolutionary philosophy, and as a new religion continuing and fulfilling Christianity."

In accord with this eclectic spirit, the Belgian Labor Party includes in itself every organization that expresses working class aspirations. The trade unions, the co-operatives with their "Houses of the People," their great stores and their public meeting halls; and the friendly societies with their insurance schemes, are all closely and definitely associated in one political party, which carries on a gigantic propaganda, and has its press and its fighting force in parliament and upon municipal bodies. It is not surprising, therefore, that this complete organization and almost perfect solidarity brought the workers hope for the future and for the present great confidence in themselves.

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During the year 1886 riots broke out in various industrial sections. The working class had long stood oppression, and now at last it seemed the time had come to remedy the misery of their condition. During all the years of capitalist domination the two old parties had ignored the necessities of the poor. There was no legislation of importance to benefit or protect the working class. The total disregard of the capitalists for the misery of the workers is shown by their treatment of a bill introduced as early as 1872 to regulate child labor. It was an effort to prevent boys under thirteen years of age and girls under fourteen years of age from working underground in the coal mines. The bill was ignored for six years, and only in 1878 did the parties take time to consider it. And then, even after the horrible conditions of child slavery had been stated, out of 155 representatives in parliament 150 voted against the bill. But things began to change immediately after the formation of the Labor Party. The capitalists were then forced to consider seriously the condition of the people. A commission of inquiry was established, and in the years following 1886, law after law was voted for the benefit of the working class. They were not important laws, perhaps, but even such miserable concessions are wrung from the ruling powers only after a complete political revolt of the wage-workers.

Needless to say, the Belgian Labor Party has gone on year by year, gaining in strength and power. It has built up an organization little short of the marvelous. For many years, it worked without a program, desiring to achieve perfect unity before entering upon the discussion of doctrinal questions; but in 1893, eight years after the formation of the party, a program was submitted at the annual conference. Very broad in spirit, the program expressed fully the position of the international socialist movement, and was adopted unanimously by all sections of the movement.

Today, twenty-four years after the birth of the party, the visitor to Belgium will not fail to be impressed by the efficiency and vigor of the socialist organizations. The workers of Belgium have been given nothing. Not a step has been taken without suffering; and the memory of martyred brothers has so united them in spirit that not a single important division has occurred in the movement during the last quarter of a century. They are not moved by doctrines, and they give free play to anyone who has a plan for relieving distress. They would never think of neglecting any opportunity open to them to fight the battle of the disinherited. They scorn no method; they eagerly use and develop all. They believe in co-operation, in trade unions, in municipal ownership and national ownership; they believe in economic

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action and political action; indeed, when any one of these is but weakly developed, the whole party with hearty good will devotes all the energy at its command to the task of strengthening it. While others have been discussing theories and quarreling over differences in method, the working class movement in this little "paradise of the capitalists" (as Marx once called it) has been born and has grown to full maturity.

It is not hard to explain why it is the Belgian working-class is so fortunate, or why, in the face of so many difficulties it is able to accomplish such a magnificent work. It has learned the value of unity and the power of concerted action. The advice and example of old César de Paepe was ever before them. He counseled solidarity the day the party was born, and he never ceased urging its supreme importance. It is, therefore, significant that in 1890, as he was carried away from Brussels to die in Southern France, he should have written these words to the then assembled congress of the party: "I beg of you one permission, one only. Permit an old socialist who has been in the breach for more than thirty-three years, and who has already seen so many ups and downs, so many periods of progress and of reaction in the revolutionary Belgian parties, to give you counsel. That is: be careful above all, in all your deliberations and resolutions, **to maintain among the different factions of the party and among the more or less extreme or moderate tendencies the closest possible union, and to prevent all that might constitute even a suspicion of division.** Naturally this implies that it is necessary to commence by forgetting the divisions that have existed in the past. To divide you in order the better to oppress you, such is the tactic of your enemies. Flee from divisions; avoid them; crush them in the egg, such ought to be **your** tactic and to that end may your program remain the broadest possible, and your title remain general enough to shelter all who, in the Belgian proletariat, wish to work for the emancipation, intellectual and material, political and economic, of the mass of the disinherited."

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Henrik Ibsen, the Iconoclast

By Frances Perkins.

HENRIK IBSEN is a man whose work can not be neglected by Socialists. His philosophy, if it bears reducing to any formula, is nearer that of an anarchist. He has no solution to offer for the modern social problem. Why then must his work be considered by Socialists? Because he attempted and partly achieved a revolution in men's thoughts and when that has been done, we have gone many steps towards the larger social revolution. He cleared away many snags in the path of thought. He set forth the ideals and standards which men have guarded so carefully, and by making us first question and then mock at those standards he has torn down one bogy that has stood in the way of progress and won for himself the title of Iconoclast.

Ibsen was not a constructive philosopher. He said of himself that his mission was to ask and not to answer. Thus he went through all his life asking of society those disconcerting and haunting questions which can not be answered by an old proverb or a line from a creed. His questions are the questions of the modern world, and all of us who think are asking them every day and struggling for the answers. Ibsen performed a great service in clarifying these questions for those who think and by forcing them upon those who do not thus indulge if they can help it.

Ibsen was a modernist of modernists, a true child of the age, who was blown about by every wind of thought. He changed his mind continually and struggled with his own terrible questions as honestly as the rest of us. He possessed that wonderful modern inconsistency which gives such a convincing note to a man's work.

Perhaps no man has come closer to the spirit of the times than Ibsen. Yet he read little or nothing and he knew and talked with few people. His sensitiveness to the ebb and flow of modern thought seemed almost the result of some mystical relation to the forces of progress.

The circumstances of his life, his early embitterment and youthful rebellion and his continuous wandering over Europe, in some measure explain his constant questioning of the form and ideals of society.

He was born into one of the middle class Norwegian families he loved so well to paint. His family were of appalling respectability and

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there is no doubt he was early immersed in the standards and self-satisfied ideals of the little Norwegian coast town of Skien. He was born in 1828 and was just reaching manhood at the time of the revolution of '48 and '49. He could not help but be affected by this great movement which swept over Europe at a critical age in his life. His early years were a struggle with a peculiarly humiliating form of poverty and family misunderstandings. The loneliness of his childhood and the resentment at lack of social recognition after his father's business failure undoubtedly did much to clear his vision and give him a chance to see the realities of life. While still but a boy he went to work in an apothecary's shop in Grimstad, and here began his own life and his own work. He began writing at once and this early work is all of the historical and romantic school. Some very lovely lyric poems and poetic plays, full of the idealism and romanticism on which he had been fed, are found among these early writings. This was the period of half formed ideas and little thinking. He gradually began to receive some recognition in Norway, and while he was still a young man was made Director of the National Theater in Belgium and later in Christiana. This experience was invaluable for in that position he had not only to select and stage foreign plays, but to write and produce a certain number of his own each year. All the plays of this period are idealistic and romantic, sometimes striking a clear note always full of the symbolism of which he was master. Out of this experience he gained that complete technical knowledge of stage craft which is seen in the workmanship of his later plays.

Eventually he left Norway, embittered at the failure of his countrymen to attain the ideal which he and they had stood for—that of helping the Danes in their struggle for independence.

For many years he was a voluntary exile and during this period he wrote the plays which have the widest significance for us. Undoubtedly his life in Rome and Germany rid him of much of his provincialism and put him in touch with the spirit of the times which he grasped with a master hand, and interpreted for us in dramatic form.

We can hardly overestimate the influence over Ibsen of the Franco-German war, and the revolutionary thought which accompanied it. His whole conception of the meaning of life and history seemed to change during that period. He began to see that "the old order changeth," that the forces of society were making for a universal revolution. With the tenseness of the poet and the mystic, he chaffed under the petty local revolutions which he felt held back and hindered the great revolution in the spirit of man. Ibsen wrote to George Brande, his friend and critic, thus,—"Up till now we have been living on nothing but the crumbs from the table of last century's revolution, a food out of which all nutriment

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has long been chewed. Our terms stand in need of a new connotation, a new interpretation. Liberty, equality and fraternity are no longer the things they were in the days of the late lamented guillotines. This is what politicians will not understand, and therefore I hate them. What they want is special revolutions, revolutions in externals, in the political sphere. But all this is mere trifling. What is really wanted is a revolution of the spirit of man."

His disappointment over the failure of the Paris Commune was keen and with his hope gone for the immediate realization of the dreams of "free choice and spiritual kinship" as a basis of union, he set himself to study and point out the symptoms of the breaking up of the social order. He saw the change and the revolution as inevitable. He looked upon society as suffering from a fatal disease and with the painstaking accuracy of a scientist he described the symptoms and put them before the world. Ibsen certainly never expressed and probably never saw the deep underlying economic cause of that disease which is pushing the world on to revolution, but with unmatched skill he pointed out signs of its ravages —the struggle of the economic classes, the revolt of women, the hypocrisy of respectability, the restlessness of the age, the agony of the death pangs of the old order and the birth throes of the new. Few men see the cause first and Ibsen has done us a real service in analyzing conditions and forcing us to search for the cause.

With this period in his life begins his new form of literary expression. He dropped his verse forms and plays of romantic idealism and he consciously set himself to depict real human beings facing real issues in quite the natural and ordinary way. His poetic gift enabled him to do this without being dull or narrow. His social plays deal with the most commonplace folk in every day situations and yet the poet's skill has made the persons represent types, and the every day happenings, great modern issues fraught with tragedy and significance.

It is the plays of this period after 1870 that have most interest for us, and from these we must discuss the meaning of Ibsen to our generation. Most critics include in the social dramas, "The Pillars of Society," "A Doll's House," "Ghosts," "An Enemy of the People," "The Wild Duck," "Rosmersholm" and "The Lady from the Sea." "Hedda Gabler," "The Master Builder," "Little Eyolf," "John Gabriel, Workman," "When the Dead Awaken," although all dashed with the social questions are nevertheless somewhat different in form and many critics have chosen to call this later group socio-psychological dramas.

Some of the most beautiful imaginative writing and some of the most striking symbolism of modern literature are found in those very plays which we have chosen to ignore in this discussion. This is justi-

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fiable if we are trying to get at the true relation of Ibsen's work to the age, for he consciously abandoned his lyric gifts and his idealism and romanticism when he saw these were not in accord with reality. And he abandoned them, too, before he had discovered the beauty of reality. As he grew older he blended the poet with the realist and in some of his later plays such as "The Master Builder" we have that wonderful symbolic realism if we may so call it.

His early poetic plays, including Brand and Peer Gynt, point to his overmastering belief in the individual's right and duty to realize himself. But in his later mature work, as Wicksteed points out, we see him constantly raising the question of how "this self-realization and expression shall be attained in combination with the self-abnegation demanded by society. How shall social life be made the support and expression of and not the death of this indivdual life?" This question seems to be at the very center of Ibsen's social plays. The individual's relation to society is the problem. We all recognize that our own individual life and development is the result of our social environment and that this individual life of ours only expresses itself when it goes out and loses itself in the larger common life. And yet this common life constantly forces conventions upon us and in a measure seems to prevent our larger self realization. This is the problem which Ibsen puts to us in his social dramas. How to harmonize self-surrender with self-realization.

Dr. Wicksteed, who is one of his most subtle interpreters, says that Ibsen points that the answer is this,—that "when the ideals of a community are living ideals, the common life will magnify and uplift the life of the individual and room for self utterance will be found in self-surrender. But when the ideals of a community are dead, and their places taken by conventions and lies, then the common life will choke and kill him who dares to live."

Most men of Ibsen's day looked at literature and art as an inspirational tonic, teaching that it should set forth only what is pleasant and inspiring, that it should picture the ideal in order that men may desire to emulate it and should never admit the real for fear of—what? The thing that we always fear,—the truth itself, for that invariably spells revolution of some kind.

Ibsen's fundamental optimism is shown in his faith in this revolution, in his confidence that new life arises out of social convulsions and that "only while these convulsions keep mens' minds alert are the ideals themselves a living force. The struggle for liberty is the great thing." If you are satisfied, you are hopeless. What more striking example could be asked than our own sluggish moral life in America? Our forefathers had an ideal of liberty, they fought a revolution for it and gained it and

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then we sat back on our oars and had it from that time on. And those who think a bit know the hollow mockery of that liberty which is a dead ideal.

Through all this thinking of Ibsen runs the passion of the moralist, the man who puts himself up against society and challenges us to judge whether he or society is right.

If Ibsen felt himself at war with society he felt too that every individual seeking self-realization was at war with organized society and the state. "Now this very contentedness in the possession of a dead liberty is characteristic of the so-called State, and, as I have said, it is not a good characteristic. Now reason does not imperatively demand that the individual should be a citizen. Far from it. The State is the curse of the individual. With what is Prussia's political strength bought? With the absorption of the individual in the political and geographical idea. And on the other hand, take the Jewish people, the aristocracy of the human race—how is that they have kept their place apart, their poetical halo, amid surroundings of coarse cruelty? By having no state to burden them. Had they remained in Palestine, they would long ago have lost their individuality in the process of their State's construction, like all other nations. Away with the State! I will take that part in the revolution. Undermine the whole conception of a State, declare free choice and spiritual kinship to be the only all-important conditions of any union that is worth while. Changes in form of government are pettifogging affairs—a degree less or a degree more, mere foolishness. The State has its root in time, and will ripe and rot in time." Surely this letter to George Brandes is incriminating evidence. Under our immigration laws Mr. Henrik Ibsen would not be allowed to land in the United States.

Ibsen himself, a symptom of the conditions he analyzed, was never at rest, never at peace. There is something grim in his deliberate destruction of his old standards in his fearless struggle to find the new. Always an individualist, claiming the individual's right and necessity to free himself, he saw the tragedy of those mysterious half light border regions where human beings striving to free their souls can achieve only partial freedom from the bondage in which material conditions hold all humanity. His constant faith in the ultimate saving power of the struggle itself is the final test of his optimism.

It is quite impossible to reduce Ibsen's philosophy to a series of "main propositions." It has no such definite form but is a real expression of the man's own grappling with problems. And as he grapples with those problems in his own individual life, so he makes us in our individual lives. He searches our souls more penetratingly than any priest in the

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confessional, but he grants us no absolution and no peace, no rule of life.

"The Pillars of Society" marked Ibsen's entrance into the new method of thought and manner of expression. This is the first of his diagramatic cross sections of human society. Smug middle class respectability is the ideal which he attacks in the play, and in toppling it over, Ibsen takes pains to let us see the basis of Berwick's moral supremacy and respectability in the little town. It comes out quite plainly that the Consul Berwick owns the means of subsistence of that little town and that consequently every one's first duty is to Berwick & Co. It pleases him to be considered the censor of public morals, the pillar of society, and the town is alive with his improvements. He is adored by the desirable citizens and feared by the undesirable and all goes well. The picture is not strange to us. Consul Berwick and his admiring pastor and his obedient workmen dwell among us. The man is real and in the muddle he has made of his own inner life is as much a victim of social conditions as the sailors whom he would send to sea in a doomed ship.

When Ibsen wished to thresh out the question of the individual's relation to society he chose the most striking modern example of this problem—a woman's position in marriage—and presented the two sides of the question in "A Doll's House" and "Ghosts."

In writing "A Doll's House" he achieved his own purpose of lifting up one wall of a room in almost any house in almost any street, and letting us see modern human beings living a modern life. The central problems of the Helmer family are solved as they are being solved every day. The Helmers in their unawakened state are surely all that the idealist could ask of a family. Nora is a perfect example of the accepted ideal of a wife—the helper and comforter of man. She is the woman who always has the smiling cheerful countenance which she "owes her husband." She lives in his life and knows no law but his comfort. She is perfectly orthodox—just the type of woman most stoutly championed by Mr. Bok and the Ladies' Home Journal.

Nora is an adept at the feminine art known as "managing a husband." The young married women of today when they find difficulty in having their own way are smilingly told by their elders that they have not yet learned how to "manage their husbands." It seems that every man has a vulnerable spot and the thing to do is to find it and then to use it without scruple to attain one's end. It is tacitly admitted among women that men are not reasonable beings and that cajolery and flattery are legitimate weapons against them. It is the old question of the purse strings, of course, and there are few women who have not had to "manage a father, a brother or a husband" in their time. The few turbulent spirits who rebel and insist upon treating their husbands as rational beings are

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still looked upon doubtfully and the path to the divorce court and the breaking up of the family is plainly the outcome in the minds of the elders. This must be rather humiliating to the thinking man, but then comparatively few—even radicals—think where their womenkind are concerned. And so Nora turns out to be a most disconcerting creature for we see her management and its results.

Nora had been shielded consistently from all responsibility. She is the victim of masculine ideals and when untoward circumstances demand of her a moral judgment she has none to give. Her action in making the forgery is non-moral, the end,—her husband's comfort, justifies any means and she goes on with her life satisfied with herself and her home and her husband. The possibility of exposure is the bomb which wakens the Helmer household. Ideals are forgotten for a little and things are called by their true names, with the result that Nora Helmer opens her eyes and puts off her doll's dress forever. When the miracle does not happen she realizes the hollowness of the ideal that has blinded them so long and demands the right to learn the truth for herself. Ibsen shows his consummate skill in the last scene where the man and woman sit at opposite ends of the table and argue the matter out in all its phases while the audience holds its breath with the same tenseness that at the old-time melodrama marks the moment when the heroine is being dragged into the buzz saw while the hero batters down the door.

And as Nora goes out into the night and slams the door we admit that the problem could be solved in no other way. Ibsen is not one who sees in marriage only tyranny but he does see that in its ordinary form it is lacking in the very essential of spiritual kinship—freedom. He sees that until it is possible for men and women to live together as free, equal, reasonable beings, the problem of marriage and the family will not be solved.

It is not only the modern demand of woman to be considered an end, an individual, rather than a means to man's end, that is set forth in this play; there is the constant questioning of the individual's relation to society, of the harmonizing of self-realization with the self-surrender demanded by society. The question is more plainly marked in a woman's life because society and nature have demanded sacrifices of her, and Ibsen chooses this phase of the modern marriage problem to set forth the question plainly.

It is a disconcerting play, and brought down on Ibsen's head the thunder of the critics. With a certain stubborness and a simple logic, Ibsen wrote "Ghosts," which presented again the same problem—a woman perceiving the emptiness of the ideals she lived by and confronted by Nora's problem as to whether she should leave her husband and live

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her own life or stay with him and fulfill her duty. Now Ibsen shows us the reverse side of the Doll's House question, for Mrs. Alving stayed and did her duty against the prompting of her own soul. She sacrificed everything that a woman can sacrifice to her own and society's ideals of womanly duty. The result we see in the situation presented in "Ghosts" —a veritable hell which Mrs. Alving and her high minded Pastor Manders have been busily paving with the best intentions for thirty years.

The Greek tragedies are no more terrible in the certainty with which cause brings about its logical effect and the sins of the father are visited upon the children. We are left in no doubt as to the relation of sin to society. Society is the cause of Alving's sin since it offers to him who had the "joy of life" in his youth, "no real joys, only dissipation, no real work, only business." Society and its ideals of duty is the cause of Mrs. Alving's sin in staying with her husband and the result is visited on society in the person of the helpless insane son who is the result of the union—its most cherished ideal.

Ibsen is unanswerable as he propounds this question, and if we can pick out one bit of constructive philosophy from his work it may be in the statement that the revolt of women against economic and idealistic slavery is one of the progressive forces in the modern world.

Ibsen lived the hard thought-life of the modern, and more than any other writer he has seen and sketched the tragedy of this transition period when the old ideals and props are gone for the thinking, and when the new standards are not settled and more than one individual soul is lost in the struggle. Rosmersholm, Hedda Gabler and the Master Builder all seem to be dominated by the idea of the conflict between the old and the new, and the tragedy of the human beings who are stranded between the past and the future.

Rosmersholm is full of modern explosive thought. It is a tragedy of new wine in old bottles. With the white horse of family inheritance galloping through his life, Rosmer can not break with the old order and live his life. His older standards finally poison Rebecca's natural love of her life and together they give up the struggle.

Hedda is a more striking example of the tragedy of the transition because it is studied with an almost anatomical analysis of psychological activities.

Hedda is a woman of great gifts and possibilities but no fulfillment. She does not attain individual self-realization nor does she make a sacrifice to society and its demands. She too has seen the emptiness of the common ideals but having lost her faith in the past, she refused to hope for the future. Hedda will not be a slave to conventions and ideals but

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neither will she look truth in the face and follow its hard leading. She is emancipated from the old order with no preparation for freedom, no self control. Thus her revolt is futile and leads only to indifferentism, ennui and death. There is a good deal of Hedda about all of us moderns—somewhere we have all cast off from the old foundations before we found the new, and have known in some measure the agony of unsafe shifting sand beneath our feet.

In "The Master Builder," Ibsen gave his imaginative gift free rein again and mingled symbolism and poetry with realism and modern social problems in a bewildering way. The play is full of suggestion but seems to center around the struggle of the old with the new. The old master builder can not bear the thought of being supplanted by the younger generation. He would realize and express his own individuality but can not, he would live and work forever but he does not know how. It is Hilda Wangel, the younger generation personified, who comes knocking at his door to show him how to do this. Briefly this seems to be the meaning of this compelling allegory of the common things of life. If a man would save his soul—realize his own self—he must climb as high as he builds. If a man would gain immortality he must do this—achieve this standard —for the sake of the future generation. He may lose his life in saving it, but the younger generation demands that a man make his contribution to its life and its hopes. Then and then only is his life united with the future, then he belongs to the future and can not die. Men must risk all to serve the future, it is a necessity to realize the dream.

Ibsen's critics have been numerous and diligent. Their efforts to classify him have been sincere, desperate and hopeless. His frank calling of black, "black" has shocked the respectable elements of society, his brutal pointing out of the ugly realities of life has horrified the idealists, and his recognition of the things that are "greater than life" has mystified the ardent materialist. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong to call him a free-thinking mystic. He perceives the existence of soul, a social soul in the universe which makes us draw the best in our individual life from the common social life. He is a moralist who is not satisfied with surface morals, but demands a spiritual revolution to accompany and make possible the social revolution.

He is a disturber of our peace and has started many a man and woman on a search for the fundamental causes of the diseases of the social order which is dying. His unrest is the unrest of his time and his questions are ours. He has made us think and while revolutions are not made by thinking, they are not made or won without it. When the working classes of the world think up to the material evolution, the revolution

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for which we wait will soon be accomplished. The difficulty is to make people think, and the Socialist party propaganda exists for that.

Socialists can find much to think about in Ibsen's work. We need to ask sometimes how earnest we are to climb as high as we build, how fearless in risks to serve the future. We must answer these and other questions, and Henrik Ibsen is a master hand at asking them.

THE HAND OF SOCIALISM.

Men saw the tips of five great fingers rise
Over the world's brown edge in forty years,
And terror grew awhile in statesmen's eyes,
They said, "The rabble, wild with blood and tears,

"Hath raised its gangrenous, grim paw at last."
Academicians cried like children lost,
"A brutal scourge is boded that will blast
The flowers of civilization like a frost."

The Bourgeois wailed, "Too many hands will ply
Among the flowers and pictures of the land;
The fires of human industry will die,
The ships of commerce rot upon the sand."

The lawless groaned aloud, "Earth has not seen
A tyranny so like an iron band,
As that which resteth closely coiled, unclean,
Within the hollow of that rising Hand."

The lawyers in another breath avowed,
"The world will ride to ruin like a fool,
And men will dance like demons on the shroud
Of dead, dishonored government and rule."

As once the three blind Indian sages swore
The Elephant was what each fancy drew,
So now each spake beside his narrow door
In judgment of the Hand that grew and grew.

But still the fingers rose and then the wrist,
And then the forearm, ridged with giant thews,
And lo it showed the horned, but honest fist
Of him that brushed the prehistoric dews

From off the infant earth to build the world:
Great Labor's hand that holds beyond release
A torch whereon a quenchless flame is curled
To light the weary ages unto peace.

MOUNCE BYRD.

1312 McMillan St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem

By I. M. Robbins.

VIII. THE NEGRO PROBLEM FROM THE NEGRO'S POINT OF VIEW.

NE can easily see why Washington's program has achieved the approval of so many southern men and women, with the exception of the extreme and unreasoning negro haters. One phrase in his famous Atlanta speech has made peace between him and the white south. "In all social relations," he said, "we may be as distinct from each other as the fingers of the same hand, but we must work together as one hand in everything that really counts for mutual progress." As Professor DuBois has remarked, various elements have interpreted this statement in many different ways. The bitter enemies of the negro have accepted this as an admission that the negro race has given up its fight for its political and social rights. Others, and among them a great many negroes, accepted it as a convenient though temporary form of co-operation.

Mr. Washington's practical activity no less pleases the white South than his theoretical views. They may not see any necessity for teaching the negro how to read and write, but cannot help approving the effort to teach him how to work. The South is passing through a period of feverish industrial activity. There is a good deal of cheap labor in the South, and wages are much lower than anywhere in the United States, but this cheap labor has a very low level of productivity or efficiency. The increase of this efficiency is what capitalism wants, and it is even willing to contribute to the cost of it.

In the final chapter of my study I shall have opportunity to come back to a critical analysis of this solution which Mr. Washington has elaborated for the negro problem. Here I am mainly concerned with an objective and impartial exposition of the various solutions offered by the men looking at the problem from the inside. But it seems difficult to pass over the lengthy resume of Washington's views without pointing out their value and shortcomings at least briefly.

And the obvious criticism of his standpoint is clearly this: That he

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concerns himself mainly with the economic elements of the problem, and not its social effects. After all, the accepted term "negro problem" is a misnomer, as Professor DuBois has very properly pointed out, if we are talking, as we are in this series of studies, of the *race relations.* It would be more accurately described as the great American race problem, or as another colored student has termed it, the Problem of Race Adjustment. Of this problem Washington speaks little except incidentally, and he contributes little to its direct solution. In addition to this race problem, there exists the extensive negro problem in a narrower sense, that is, the problem of the economic distress and the educational needs of the negro population of this country. It is with this problem that Washington is primarily concerned. He often insists that the other, broader problem will be settled automatically, through the economic regeneration of the negro. It is somewhat doubtful whether he himself is altogether sincere about this optimistic forecast. Mr. Washington evidently thinks that of the two the economic problem,—the negro problem in its narrower sense,—is at present the more important; and he is willing to devote his time and energy to the improvement of the economic condition of the negro, and let the problem of his political and social status in American society take care of itself, at least so long as the more acute problem is still awaiting its solution.

Now, if this interpretation of Washington's activity and philosophy is right, there is a great deal in it that we as socialists have no fault to find with at all. We are willing to admit that the economic problem is at the bottom of the other aspects of the negro problem. We are willing to accept his materialistic point of view that the improvement in the economic status of the negro is of greater importance to him just at present that the questionable privilege of renting a room in Waldorf Astoria, or riding in a Pullman car, since these pleasures are in any case out of reach of the vast majority of the negro population of this country. But does Washington present a satisfactory solution of these economic problems? Does technical education settle the economic ills of modern society?

For there is nothing specifically racial in the economic problem presented by the ten millions of negroes in the South. They suffer from well recognized commonplace ills. There is a large farming population suffering from insufficient land holdings, from dear credit, from a low level of agricultural education. There is also a large propertyless proletariat forced to sell its labor power for a very small remuneration. There is lack of labor legislation, lack of labor organization, and only in addition to this is there the specific negro low efficiency and also the legal and social restraints which cannot help affecting the economic status of the negro.

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And how does Washington expect to cure these characteristic ills of modern society, only aggravated in case of the negro by a few specific complications? Technical education is very useful, of course, but technical education has never been claimed even by its most enthusiastic advocates to have the power to transform all the poor farmers and poor workingmen into prosperous capitalists with real property and bank accounts. The economic problems are not so simple as all that. And so one is forced to tell Washington: Your efforts deserve of all praise and encouragement, but what you have undertaken to accomplish is beyond your strength. Surely the farmers and workingmen of the white North, East and West, are not so handicapped as your proletarians of the colored South, but no one has ever suggested to transform them all into middle class property owners by a system of trade schools.

And if the economic basis of Mr. Washington's solution is shown to have been built on sand, what of his cheerful assurance that this economic elevation of the negro would automatically solve the political and social problems of race relations as well? The middle class negro may be treated a little better, where his economic power is so great as to assert itself. But in the many negro riots it was demonstrated that the negro business man was very often the object of exaggerated hate. For as we have shown, the negro upstart, whether in the intellectual or in the commercial and professional field, is much more irritating to the southerner than the negro proletarian is. And for a very good reason. For the negro who has economically arrived, must appear to be a dangerous competitor to many white men in the same line, whether it be commerce, a profession, or industry.

Popular as Mr. Washington is, he does not represent the entire thinking portion of the negro race. Less known to the general public, Professor DuBois, of Atlanta University, is the ablest representative of a tendency directly opposite not so much to the activity as to the ideas of Mr. Washington. DuBois is the direct antithesis of Washington not only in his views but also in education and personality.

Mr. DuBois is a northern negro, or rather a mulatto, with a much greater admixture of white blood than Washington. He was a total stranger to southern life until after his graduation from Harvard University and several years' study in European universities. He was born in Connecticut, and received a thorough and broad education in the best American college, where he attracted general attention by his exceptional abilities. There he also received his doctorate for substantial historical investigations, and later he obtained a chair in the best negro institution of learning. By education and general culture DuBois therefore stands very much above Washington. But the differences do not end there.

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In addition to his extensive training in history, economics and social science, Professor DuBois is a poet as much as Washington is a man of cold facts. The writings of Washington are full of good horse sense, of sober thought, and practical considerations. They show a thorough knowledge of the life of the American negro, but a very narrow outlook as to the future. The articles of DuBois bristle with emotion, poetry, color, and the literary English of DuBois has earned for him a prominent place among the contemporaneous writers. It is no exaggeration to say that Du Bois is one of the greatest artists of the pen that American literature of today can boast of. It is no wonder at all that these two men cannot understand each other.

Yet the antagonism is not of personalities only, or it would be hardly worth while to analyze it here. Temperamentally the two men represent two different currents of negro creative thought.

An economist by training, DuBois cannot fail to appreciate the vast importance of the increase in the economic efficiency and in the economic well being of the American negro. But a man of DuBois' education and temperament will be necessarily much more sensitive to the racial discrimination, so openly displayed in the South by the lowest of the white folks to the highest among the colored, and DuBois will never for a pecuniary advantage, either to himself or to the race, accept this condition as an incorrigible fact. He must have social and political equality before anything else.

"The problem of the Twentieth century is the problem of the color line"; thus begins his little book, "The Souls of Black Folks." And this phrase gives the best brief resume of his views of the negro problem. To him the race problem, the problem of race adjustment, is the entire negro problem; and the narrower negro problem, the problem of the negro's struggle for economic amelioration, a secondary matter except in so far as it helps along the solution of the only negro problem that matters. The only solution of the problem which DuBois can conceive of is its entire abolition, that is, the full equalization of the negro with the white man in all political and social rights. This must be the one great aim of each and every intelligent negro.

Even the entire absorption of the entire negro population into the dominant race, foretold by several anthropologists, as within the list of possibilities, does not satisfy him. For the problem of race adjustment, he says, cannot be solved by the absorption of one race into the other. That is dodging the question, instead of answering it. The problem is, how can two distinct races live prosperously and peacefully next each other, without making any efforts to absorp each or to subjugate the other?

The race prejudice in the South, admits DuBois, is a sad but un-

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deniable fact. We cannot escape it by ridiculing it nor by legislative acts. But it does not follow from it that it should be ignored and thereby encouraged. The fact must be recognized as a very reprehensible fact. The only force which may destroy it is the force of science and education of the white as well as the black man. DuBois accepts the truth of this contention as an axiom; for to him all spiritual progress of man is but the result of education in the broadest sense of the word.

Here DuBois seems to agree with Washington, but this agreement is only skin deep. According to Professor DuBois, the white man must grant to the black man the three following very important things: The right of vote (political equality), civil rights (equality before the law), and education of the negro youth according to his ability. These three demands may be written in great letters upon the standard of the negro educated classes. And these are just the demands which in Mr. Washington's opinion should be postponed for an indefinite time. But, claims Dr. DuBois, nearly twenty years have passed since Mr. Washington began to teach and preach his doctrine, and what has he accomplished? The negro has been deprived of his political rights not only de facto but de jure as well. His general civil rights were greatly limited by specific legislative enactments; and finally the current of financial assistance to the leading institutions for the higher education of the negro youth has almost stopped.

We have seen that Mr. Washington did not altogether deny the usefulness of general so-called literary education for the negro. Nor does DuBois deny the necessity of industrial education. But in additon he considers the negro universities as absolutely necessary factors in the process of civilizing the negro. Without these universities he insists, there would be no Tuskogees, no men and women to teach in the industrial schools. The negro masses need the negro school teacher, and the negro school teacher needs the college and university. What else can uplift the negro masses intellectually if not the efforts and the examples of its intellectual class? he asks in an article under the characteristic caption "The Talented Tenth." The negro race, like every other race, will be saved by its exceptional men. All men cannot obtain a university education, but a part of them must. Another argument which Mr. DuBois underscores is the demonstration the colleges must furnish that the negro mind can contribute something to the intellectual storehouse of the world. Such a demonstration must eventually lead to political and social equality. DuBois is therefore not at all disposed to ridicule the famous French grammar. The colleges, he insists, have taught 2,000 men and women Greek and Latin and higher mathematics, and these 2,000 have instructed 50,000 in generol knowledge and culture; and these

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50,000 in their turn have had a deep influence upon the entire 10,000,000 negroes in the United States. DuBois acknowledges the real and important services rendered by Washington to the negro race in so far as he teaches the negro masses the virtues of economy, patience and the habits of work; but in so far as Washington has defended the white man's attitude towards the negro, in so far as he has persistently neglected the real significance of human rights, and the great educative value of participation in political life of the country, in so far as he has wilfully closed his eyes to all existing race prejudice and laid obstructions in the way of the more ambitious because more gifted individuals of the negro race, in so far the negroes must resist his ideas and his activities.

Within the recent years this antagonism has become much more pronounced, and traces of it may be readily disclosed by the initiated in the public utterances of the respective parties, though often they try to hide their internal dissensions from the eye of the observant stranger. The radicals have become much more aggressive. This can scarcely be said to be due to their feeling of growing strength. But it may be better explained by the peculiarly vicious excresences of the brutal race antagonism, of which the Atlanta riots present a fair illustration. It may also mean simply a growing self-consciousness of the small circle of intellectual negroes. In April, 1905, a number of colored men, all members of the intellectual class, met at Niagara Falls at the call of DuBois to start a militant movement for the defense of the rights of the negro. From this first meeting place it has derived its designation of "the Niagara Movement." But if it was intended to emulate the example of the famous falls by its strength and persistency, the Niagara Movement has as yet proved to be a failure. I strongly suspect that among all the readers of these lines scarcely ten men have ever heard of this Niagara Movement, and yet socialists are especially interested in all movements of reform, or at least they ought to be. And the object of the movement was that of propaganda and demonstration to the white world. Even the fiery manifesto which was issued at the second annual convention of the Niagara Movement at Harpers Ferry (a place very fitly chosen for a radical negro assemblage, in view of his historical associations), failed to leave a very lasting impression. Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University (a brilliant negro student and journalist, who is on the whole a supporter of Washington's program, with some reservations), insists that Professor DuBois has been playing the second fiddle in this Niagara Movement, that its moving spirit is another Harvard graduate, Mr. William M. Trotter, the editor of the *Guardian,* and a violent antagonist of Washington's policies teachings. Be it as it may, DuBois is undoubtedly its most eloquent and its best known exponent, and as I have had many

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opportunities to convince myself, a very ardent and sincere one. Repeatedly I have heard DuBois brilliantly defend the justice of the movement and its demands for the re-establishment of the civic and political rights of the negro race. But when the question of ways and means arises, the Niagara Movement and DuBois himself invariably fails. For he has nothing more to offer than the claim of justice, the method of publicity, and the hope of true christianity in the heart of the oppressors, In the court of justice DuBois could have eloquently, convincingly, touchingly established his claim. But is politics a court of justice?

In view of DuBois' teachings, one hardly needs to say that he is sincerely hated by a vast majority of southerners who have heard his name. It s a little more discouraging to find that the northern sociologists and publicists also find his teachings too extreme, too radical and therefore harmful.

From the white man's point of view Washington and DuBois represent the two opposite pole of negro thought concerning the negro problem For that reason we thought it necessary to give such a complete analysis of their views, so that the socialist may know what attitude to expect when he begins a discussion of the negro problem with an intelligent negro. The difference is sufficiently strong and well defined to divide the intellectual aristocracy of the negro race into two separate if not altogether hostile camps. This separation by no means limits itself to the pedagogical aspects of the program, whether the negro child should be taught a useful trade or Greek and astronomy. The problem is great deal more serious than that. It is the problem how to react to the treatment the white man accords to the negro; whether it should be answered by a mellow sermon of patience and submission, or heated argument and antagonism. In the negro press of this country, which includes about one hundred weekly and several monthly publications, this question serves as a perennial subject of discussion; and so far as an outsider is able to judge, both sides seem to be equally well represented. There are many lawyers and ex-politicians and especially men with a very insignificant admixture of negro blood, who loudly demand the immediate restoration of the negro to all his civil and political rights as the only solution of this problem. These fractions organize conventions, conferences and councils and by all means endeavor to concentrate the remaining vestiges of political influence which the negroes have preserved. On the eve of presidential elections such activity becomes more noticeable. I had many opportunities to visit these conventions and I have listened in astonishment to the flood of political oratory which hides itself behind that deceptive black skin. Here the cruel treatment of the negro calls forth violent criticism, and the speakers do not at all mince matters. The atmosphere

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is often full of acute hatred towards the white man, or at least very bitter resentment. Only very seldom will an educated negro dare to speak ill of Washington's work; many of them speak of it with great enthusiasm. But nevertheless a great many are quite ready to express their disapproval of his advice to lay aside the struggle for political rights. Within recent years, as the enthusiasm of republican party for the downtrodden negro brother has been growing weaker, and the republicans have been coquetting with the white South (the colored South having lost all political significance), the political enthusiasm of the negro has been growing dimmer also. Nevertheless, it is quite evident for anybody who has a large acquaintance among cultured negroes, that DuBois and his hopes, if not his policies, have many more adherents in private than in the open. In other words Booker Washington is not the only colored man who has learned the value of discreet silence, even if under restraint.

A certain proportion of the intelligent negroes unconditionally support the entire program of Booker Washington. Among them is for instance Thomas Fortune, one of the ablest men of his race. But no matter what the attitude of the intelligent negro to the various methods suggested for the solution of the negro problem, it is quite evident that they all feel the necessity of great changes. And justly so. The intellectual, educated negro is organically unable to accept the conditions which exist today, and which the white south considers perfectly normal. As we have stated before, we doubt very much whether the tactful attitude of Booker Washington represents his true feelings in the matter. In enumerating the greatest negroes in various fields of human activity the late talented negro poet Dunbar called Washington the greatest negro diplomat, and clearly hinted that in the effort to accomplish his great work of industrial education of the negro, and knowing the absolute impossibility to accomplish it without the white man's money, Washington was forced to assume the attitude of a turtle dove.

In general it must be admitted that the growing educated and prop erty holding middle class of the negro race protests against the treatment their race receives at the hands of the white man. And here is to be found the true explanation of the hatred of the white south towards an educated negro. Here is the meaning of the common statement that the educated negro does not know his place; for in the very nature of things the educated negro cannot be satisfied with the place the white south has assigned to him, no matter how comfortable it may seem to the plain, uneducated negro.

But what does the latter think? After all, the educated negro finds many different ways to express his thoughts and aspirations. He airs them in lectures, sermons, speeches, pamphlets, articles and books. He is

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listened to not only by members of his own race by the white men who have not yet lost their interest in the problem and naturally want to hear the colored man's side of the story. How much more difficult it is to get at the true attitude of the negro *masses* to the negro problem! For over forty years the south has insisted that to understand the real negro it is necessary to live very close to him; that for that reason the south knew and understood the negro perfectly, but the north not at all, and that therefore the north was altogether incompetent to form an independent opinion; furthermore that for this reason the south and only the south was fit to solve the negro question, and that the north had better keep its hands off. Gradually the northern public opinion is becoming converted to this point of view. Washington's platform, outlined in the preceding pages, has earned the unanimous approval of the entire white population both south and north on the ground that Washington knew the common negro, having been one of them, while DuBois knew him not. Thus in reviewing DuBois' little book, "The Souls of Black Folks"—the most fervid protest against racial prejudice and injustice that was ever written—the *Outlook* says: "This is excellently put, and is very interesting for the psychology of a very light and very intelligent mulatto, but in the understanding of the negro problem it is of no value at all, because the ordinary negro does not feel that way."

This raises the two following questions: First, what is the attitude of the common negro towards the negro problem? and second, how important is this attitude of the common ignorant negro?

Says an old eastern proverb: "The fish likes to be fried: it is his habit." This in a nutshell is the psychology of the common negro as it appears to the southern white man: "The darkey is satisfied with his lot, for he feels the superiority of the white man." Forty-five years ago the south insisted with equal force and conviction that the darkey enjoyed the condition of slavery. As far as my observation goes, during many years of residence in a city where over thirty-five per cent of the population are negroes, I did not find such complacent acceptance of the frying process. I was present at meetings which brought together some three thousand negroes and I could very plainly see the very active moral support that was given to every expression of protest from the platform. The obstinacy with which your negro servant will speak of the colored washwoman as the washlady, while she will announce your best friend: "A woman came to see you, sir," may be a quaint, but nevertheless convincing evidence of the deep-rooted feeling of racial dignity and pride.

Of course, one must remember that in northern cities as far down as Washington, the negro has succeeded in developing a great deal of self-respect. Way down south the respect and awe of the negro before the

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white man is more frequent and more natural. The negro there is always in fear of the white man, the negro girl is often proud to become the mother of a white man's illegitimate child (so at least the white young gentlemen from the South tell us, and they ought to know), and the negro is invariably proud of his admixture of white blood. Even in Washington, a very light negro has once profusely thanked me because I had made a mistake and taken him for a white man.

But even in the South, the higher the educational standard, the less bovine complacency does one find with the condition of the things as they are; perhaps only the illiterate oxlike plantation hand of the South is satisfactory in this respect from the southern point of view. Even in the very center for the teachings of the Christian principle about the necessary attitude when the other fellow smites your cheek, in Tuskogee, I have found some of the most charming people of the colored, semi-colored and very slightly colored race boiling over with the most bitter feeling towards the injustice of the white south, but very careful in their expression of their sentiments lest Booker Washington might hear of it.

And what is the growing tendency of the day? The entire southern bourgeoisie testifies that the negro is becoming more impudent every day. This simply means that there is less and less complacency, even on the part of the domestic servant, with the condition of things as they are.

Thus only in climbing down the social scale do we reach to the negro farmer, tenant or agricultural laborer leading a purely animal existence, poor, ignorant, uncultured. It would be useless to seek from him any conscious or rational attitude of the race problem, for he may not even be conscious of the fact that any such exists. But is one at all justified to draw any conclusions from the attitude of this class of the negro race? The different strata of negro society differ just as much in their attitude to this grave problem of their legal, political, economic and social position as would the different classes of any other nationality and race. The higher the indivdual negro is in general culture and civilization, the more sensitive his nervous system, the more he expects from life, the more deeply he reacts to insult and injury. The essential fact is that to some extent all the negroes feel it and resent it, and are dreaming of better days, as fifty years ago they were dreaming of personal freedom. The other essential fact is that with the growth of education this sum total of discontent is rapidly growing. Are we to assume that a growing wave of discontent and protest of ten millions people will never express itself in some material effects upon the political and social conditions of this country? Then surely is the theory of class struggle, and the conception of history as the resultant of material economic forces, but an idle dream.

To be Continued.

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Application of the Laws of Value to the Street Car Situation in Philadelphia

By James W. Hughes.

THE Street Car situation in Philadelphia presents to the mind of an engineer, if you will pardon the technical analogy, a "triangle of forces in equilibrium." Now let me explain: when three forces act about a point in such a way as to neutralize each other, the triangle of forces is said to be in equilibrium and no motion takes place; such seems to be the condition today of the street car affairs in Philadelphia.

On one corner of the triangle we find the public trying, of course, to go as many miles as possible for its miserable little nickel, on another corner is the company trying to get as many nickels as it can for its miserable little rides, and on the third corner we find the downtrodden employes trying to better the conditions of their miserable little jobs. And thus we have it: the public rides the cars, the company rides the public, and both ride the employes.

The public or the people of Philadelphia think they are being robbed, they think they are not getting the value of their "nickels" in street car rides, but "what they think," as Marx would say, **"does not alter facts,"** nor does it make the amount of social labor time necessary to produce the street car ride, more or less than the amount of social labor time necessary to produce the "nickel."

The people are at present in sympathy with the striking employes, because like the employes themselves, they are in sympathy with their pocket books and the two are thus drawn together on account of their common enemy, the company, who would rob both if it could, but who **must** rob, continually, their employes, in order to exist, as the very existence of these parasites, who own and control the company, depends entirely upon the surplus value extracted from the sweat, agony and toil of the employes, who design, build, construct and operate every particle of the equipment constituting the great street railway system of the city.

And while the company is making its laws and rulings against its employes and the public, the public is trying to retaliate by trying to secure laws against the company through the law making bodies

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owned by the company itself. Neither seem to realize that they are trying to do impossible things, as neither seems to have brains enough to attempt to pass a single law congruent with that great economic law to which all other things will have to inevitably bow, sooner or later, namely to the law which holds that all exchange values **must** and **will** settle themselves independently and **automatically,** all gang laws, desires and public demands notwithstanding.

To express it more forcibly than eloquently, I trust it will be pardonable to say that both the company and the public are as yet too damn dumb to realize that exchange value cannot be made, regulated or altered by either public protest, company ruling or legislative enactment.

With the triangle of forces thus arrayed against each other as for the time being, it is easy for one, with a clear conception of the Marxian law of value, to predict with some considerable degree of certainty, the logical outcome of the street railway situation in Philadelphia and that, too, without the slightest degree of fantastic prophecy.

It is along these lines that I wish to discuss this subject, but before going at length into the necessary details of the laws of value, I will state briefly what appears to me to be the logical if not the inevitable outcome of the street car affair in this city, after which I will try to set forth the reasons for the conclusions I have arrived at, which conclusions are as follows:

1st. The price of the street car fare, which was recently advanced by the Street Railway Company will **not** be reduced again shortly or at least until the economic conditions will permit it.

2nd. The wages of the employes will be bound to advance in spite of all the company, or politicians, can do, which if not won by the result of the strike, will be allowed voluntarily by the officials of the company themselves.

3rd. The strike will most likely be broken by the company, the city authorities, and "Ten Per Cent Clay," who after they have been forced later on by the inexorable laws of economics, to grant that which the employes unsuccessfully struck for, will then pose before the public as the guardian angels of their dear and beloved employes.

I shall now proceed to set forth my reasons for arriving at the foregoing conclusions and will open up by saying it seems almost inconceivable, how of late the Socialist press in general, as well as many prominent Socialist writers who are supposed to be Marxian scholars, have been ranting about how the "Street Car Trusts" have been "robbing" the public through the five cent fares.

Before shrieking too loudly about this "street car fare robbery,"

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had we not better first try to ascertain roughly whether or not the value of a street car ride is more or less than the value of the money paid for same? To do this it is necessary to look a little more closely into the nature of value.

In the first place a dollar is the unit of value in the United States and is equal to the value of 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine; or in other words, the dollar as a unit of value is equivalent to the amount of social labor time necessary to produce 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine, and will purchase just as much of any other commodity as can be produced with the same amount of social labor that it takes to produce 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine. Now it is self-evident that to express the value of gold in dollars and cents would mean nothing, because the value of dollars and cents are expressed in gold, and since the values of dollars and cents are expressed in gold, it is also self-evident that the value of gold expressed in dollars and cents will **always** remain the same no matter **how** cheaply gold may be produced, or how much labor time it takes to get it.

For example: Suppose that we should suddenly find some means of producing gold at the rate of 25.8 grains per second or even a ton per minute, then it is evident that the purchasing power of the gold would amount to almost nothing, while still the value of a dollar would be expressed by 25.8 grains of gold and would purchase just as much of any other commodity as could be produced with the same amount of social labor time that it took to produce the 25.8 grains of gold under the new conditions.

Hence it is plain to be seen that if it took only one second to produce 25.8 grains of gold, then the dollar would only purchase as much of any other commodity as could be produced in one second of social labor time.

Could we then expect to buy as much of other commodities as we formerly did? Hardly!

What would then be the effect on the price of commodities? An enormous general rise in price of all commodities, though their real value would remain the same. What would be the effect on the price of street car rides? The same as that on other commodities. Could you expect as many rides as you formerly got for your dollar? Certainly not. The question now arises, is the value of gold less today than it formerly was? To which we can answer "most assuredly," in accord with the following reasons:

1st. Since a cheapening of gold as we have seen would cause a general rise in price of all commodities, except those commodities which have been correspondingly cheapened, then it stands to reason

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that a general simultaneous rise in all commodities would merely indicate that gold was being produced cheaper than it formerly was unless you can prove that all those commodities suddenly required more social labor time to produce them than formerly. But to assume that all commodities are harder to produce today with all of our improved machinery, than they formerly were, is an absurdity hardly worthy of consideration, while to say that with the new and improved machinery for the production of gold, gold has been made proportionally cheaper than other commodities, would be most reasonable and logical.

Now since a general rise in prices of commodities must be due to either a simultaneous increase in the value of all commodities or else a decrease in the value of gold, and since the former condition is proven an absurdity and the latter a logical conclusion, it stands to reason that the present general high prices of commodities are due to the fact that gold has grown cheaper in value due to the increased production of gold with a given amount of social labor time: and are not due to the rulings of any company, the artificial fixing of prices by any set of men or the fantastic force of "supply and demand."

Now let me say a few words here for the benefit of those who are still floating in the mystic clouds of the "supply and demand" illusion.

If given a certain article how would you proceed to determine its value by "supply and demand?" In fact what is the unit of demand? Or in other words, how many demands are worth one dollar? How many things do you know of that could not be sold at all if produced at a high price or big value, while if the same thing is produced at a smaller price or smaller value, the demand for the same is increased almost infinitely? In such a case does not the price and value determine the demand? In fact in all cases is not the demand first determined by the price and value? How then can you hope to determine the value or price of a thing by the demand?

As a matter of fact "supply and demand" are merely shadowy forces determined by the exchange value of a thing, which is predetermined by the amount of social labor crystallized in that commodity, and the most that supply and demand can possibly do is to cause prices to fluctuate about the real values on a whole or about points slightly above or below the real values in accordance with conditions.

The Marxian law of value holds good in all cases and whenever we know the total amount of social labor expended on a particular kind of commodity and the total amount of that commodity produced we can accurately and scientifically determine the value and price of that commodity.

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But some seem to be bewildered at the application of this law to the products of agriculture; they seem to think that the fluctuation of seasons which so greatly affect the products are the determining factors and that this undermines the Marxian law of value.

Now let us examine this proposition: Inasmuch as the total amount of social labor expended annually on a given farm product, and the total amount of the product that is produced are hard to determine accurately, people are too wont to fall back on the "supply and demand" business, which first makes itself apparent. But let us take for example the following illustration:

Suppose that in a certain community a thousand farmers are engaged in producing farm products and among others wheat. Now suppose that they crystallize on an average one hundred hours each in their production of the wheat (it matters not whether one gives only one hour to the production of wheat or ten thousand hours so long as the total averages one hundred hours each), then there would be a total expenditure in the production of wheat one hundred thousand hours of social labor time. Now suppose that the total crop of wheat should be on a normal season one hundred thousand bushels of wheat, then it is clear to see that the value of the wheat on that year would be equivalent to one hour of social labor time for every bushel of wheat produced. Now suppose that on the following year that the same number of farmers are still engaged in the production of wheat, spending as they naturally would approximately the same amount of labor on the wheat crop as they did the year previous, that is to say, a total amount of one hundred thousand hours of social labor time, and suppose that owing to a drought, the season brings forth only ten thousand bushels of wheat, then it is evident, that ten hours of social labor time has been expended on an average on every bushel of wheat produced, or the value of a bushel of wheat will then be ten times as great as it was the year previous. And this law will settle all prices automatically without the aid of man, all laws, wishes and human desires notwithstanding.

We have seen how the general rise of the prices of commodities as a whole signifies that the value of gold has gone down and this is amply verified by the U. S. Treasury Reports all along which show the enormous increase of the production of that metal, I will not here burden you with the figures as you can easily scan them over for yourself through the tables found in these reports which are easily obtainable at any public library. The points I now wish to make are these:

1st. Inasmuch as gold has grown cheaper, all commodities in or-

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der to sell at their true values **must** advance in prices as expressed in gold.

2nd. Human labor power, like all other commodities, **must also** advance in price in order to sell at its real value, namely, the amount of social labor necessary to reproduce it.

3rd. The street car rides, like all other commodities, in order to sell at their real value, must advance in price and will not come down to accommodate our desires or public sentiment.

4th. The working public can only better its condition under the present system by fighting for a raise in the price of wages and salaries in order to bring them up to their normal value, as all our petty protesting against the rise of street car fares and flour will avail us little or nothing.

5th. As the value of gold depreciates the value of labor-power must also depreciate if the price of that commodity does not rise in proportion, and as the value of the street car employes' wages has already been reduced to the point of starvation a further reduction is impossible, hence an advance in the price of their labor power or wages must ensue.

6th. While the Street Car Company is at the present, for the gory greed of gold, trying to hold back the rise of its employes' wages and crush them beyond redemption, in a short while the officials of the Rapid Transit Company will be forced to realize that; as it does not pay a teamster to work a half starved horse, so it will not pay their company to work half starved slaves, and they will be compelled for their own salvation to raise the wages of their slaves, whether they would like to or not.

In the present struggle of the street car company's employes my heart and hand go out to one and all, and how I wish them good deliverance: but when I think of the brutality of the powers that be, the police force, "Ten Per Cent Clay" et al., my reason and my wishes are at war and I can not help foreboding the worse, yet win or lose their wages must advance.

But whatever may be the outcome of the street car situation in Philadelphia and other similar ones that are likely to follow, what is to be the position of the Socialist Party and press in regards to such matters? Shall we try to gain public favor by siding with public feeling, worked up over a natural rise in the price of a car fare? Hardly! Can we expect to gain anything by telling the public that they are "robbed" by the natural increase in the price of car fares, when if we know anything at all about economics we know it is not so and that sooner or later we shall have to take "back water?" Certainly not.

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What then should be our position on these questions? Had we not better point back to where the real robbery occurs, to where the surplus value is extracted from our labor as we toil in the cycle of production?

Had we not better strive to show how we are at present not only being robbed of the surplus value created by our toil, but are also being robbed by selling our labor power below its real value due to the constant depreciation in the value of gold. And if we succeed in doing this the result is obvious; for if people will revolt when they **think** they are robbed of a few pennies in car fare, what **would** they do if they should know they were being robbed of 80% of the entire product of their toil? It is safe to say that on the following election day they would wipe completely out of existence this infernal system of capitalism with all its profit making and poverty, graft and greed, cruelty and crime, with its avarice and anarchy, and would establish in its place a new and sane order of society, known as an "Industrial Republic," where man will step out for the first time in history "lord of nature, his own master—FREE!"

[This article was written on June 1, while the strike was still in progress.]

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Wage-Workers and Graft. The feelings of moralists are frequently shocked by the sight of elected officials using their offices for personal enrichment rather than for the service of "The People." Reformers say that New York City is governed by its criminal classes, that the Tammany machine steals a large share of the money collected as taxes, besides levying tribute on law-breakers to whom it issues indulgences, like the Popes of the Middle Ages. They say that the Busse administration in Chicago has doubled the burden on tax-payers within two or three years, without any equivalent in improved public service, and they charge that a large share of the tax-money is misappropriated. They say that tariff laws are made for the profit of favored capitalists, and that the railroads receive several times as much for carrying the mails as the service is worth.

It may all be true. But what of it? Why should wage-workers become excited over "graft"? Take Chicago for example. Suppose we had a reform administration, that discharged every boodler, made the best possible terms for the city with every public service corporation, and reduced taxes by one-third. All this might be a fine thing for the landlords, and for all the capitalists except the ones now holding franchises, but where would the wage-worker come in? All the difference for him would be that he would find a few thousand ex-boodlers competing for his job. Suppose he were even allowed to ride ten miles on a street car for three cents instead of five? Then the landlord would take occasion to tack an extra dollar a month on his rent. But, reformers may tell us that a model city administration would encourage the building of more houses, and that competition among landlords would bring rents down. Perhaps so. Then competition for jobs among wage-workers whose rent had been reduced would bring wages down. Just so with the tariff. Suppose the protection were taken off woolen and cotton goods, so that the average workingman could buy his clothes as cheaply as if he were in England or Belgium. What would happen to his wages?

There is just one form of graft that is of vital interest to the wage-worker. It is that graft by which the owner of the machinery takes all of his product except enough to keep him alive and bring up children to

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keep things moving after he is worn out. If the capitalist who pays him wages is "robbed" by other capitalists or by petty thieves as the case may be, that is a very small matter to the wage-worker, and he shows his good sense by refusing to become excited over it. If the big capitalist by most immoral methods succeeds in driving the little capitalist out of business, the intelligent wage-worker still remains unmoved; the big capitalist is a safer employer and on the whole pays higher wages.

We are not defending what is commonly called graft. We believe it involves a waste of social labor. But it is the capitalists, not the wage-workers, who suffer from this waste, and we have no doubt they will stop the leak as soon as they have time, just as they have done long ago in England. Here in America they have been too busy grabbing natural opportunities to lock the door of the hen-house. We merely register a protest against any waste of energy on the part of socialists. We have a tremendous opportunity and a tremendous task. The concentration of industry is going on at a pace more rapid than ever before. The little individual producer is growing less and less important, and class lines are being drawn more and more clearly between capitalist and wage-worker. We socialists are a few hundred thousand scattered among the great mass of wage-workers. The one thing that demands our intensest effort is to make the other wage-workers see what we see, that four-fifths of what we produce is taken from us by the capitalist class, and that by a united struggle we can become the owners of the tools, and can enjoy the full product of our labor.

A Party Owned Press. The two daily newspapers published and edited by socialists are having a hard struggle for life. The New York Evening Call is owned by a co-operative company which, we believe, has no formal connection with the Socialist Party, but is practically made up of party members in and around New York. It seems to be receiving the unanimous support of the socialists in New York and vicinity, besides a good deal of help from trade unions, but it is nevertheless a heavy burden on those who carry it. The Chicago Daily Socialist is also owned by a co-operative company, and a portion of its capital stock is directly owned by the Socialist Party of Cook County, while nearly all the rest is owned by party members. Its board of directors at the last election was nominated by a referendum vote of the party members of Cook County, and the directors so nominated were then legally elected by an almost unanimous vote of the stockholders. It has been published for nearly three years, and always at a loss, which has been made up by gifts and loans. These have been a heavy burden on the friends of the paper. Both the Evening Call and the Daily Socialist have repeatedly stated in

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their own columns that their continuance could only be assured by additional help.

In view of this situation, Morris Kaplan, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party from Minnesota, has started a movement toward bringing both these papers under the ownership and control of the National Party organization. This is in direct conflict with the National Constitution, which provides (Art. VI, Sec. 2) that "the National Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ." This fact, however, is not conclusive, since if necessary the constitution can be amended. The question is up for discussion and we may as well face it: Shall the national party organization publish a paper or papers?

New members may wonder why the party constitution contains any such provision. The answer is that the clause was not inserted as a matter of abstract theory, but by reason of bitter experience. Up to 1899 the most important socialist organization in the United States was the Socialist Labor Party. It had an official organ, "The People," the editor of which was chosen by the National Executive Committee, and which was virtually the only source of information regarding party affairs for members living outside the city of New York. The consequence was that the paper became an important factor in enabling the National Executive Committee to establish themselves as dictators over the party and crush out all opposition.

The Social Democratic Party, which in 1901 was consolidated with the larger of the two warring factions of the S. L. P. to form what is now the Socialist Party, also had troubles of its own with an official organ. The Social Democratic Herald, now the organ of the Wisconsin movement, was in 1900 the official organ of the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic Party. It too used its paper as a means toward dominating its party organization. Party unity was delayed nearly a year by the fact that after a convention of the S. D. P. had voted to unite with the S. L. P., the National Executive Board through the paper issued a manifesto to the membership, and by monopolizing the means of obtaining information, succeeded in reversing the action of the convention on a referendum vote, thus keeping themselves in power for some months longer.

All this is ancient history, and we relate it not with a desire to reflect on the conduct of any individual, but merely because it explains the reason for our constitutional provision, a reason with which new members are not familiar. No committee is wise enough and good enough to say what the socialists of America shall be allowed to know, or to decide what opinions and arguments shall be put before them. Party members differ widely in their views on party tactics. Our present system, by

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which socialist periodicals are issued by state and local organizations, or by co-operative associations of party members, gives opportunity for free discussion and intelligent adjustment of means to ends. A central censorship of party news would stifle discussion and give rise to bitter factional fights. By all means let us try to put our papers on a sound basis, but let us not take a remedy worse than the disease.

To get even a questionable intellectual introduction to the public requires an expensive technical apparatus and extensive co-operative powers. The individual cannot here act for himself. Does that, however, not mean that here again the alternative to capitalist industry is national industry? If this is so, must not the centering of so great and important a part of the intellectual life in the State threaten in the highest degree that intellectual life with uniformity and stagnation? It is true that the governmental power will cease to be a class organ, but will it not still be the organ of a majority? Can the intellectual life be made dependent upon the decisions of the majority? Would not every new truth, every new conception and discovery be comprehended and thought out by the insignificant minority? Does not this new order threaten to bring the best and keenest of the thinkers in the various spheres into continuous conflict with the proletarian regime? . . . Here is certainly an important but not an insoluble problem. . . . The State will not be the only leading and means-granting organ which will come into consideration, but there will also be MUNCIPALITIES. Through these all uniformity and every domination of the intellectual life by central power is excluded. As another substitute for the capitalist industry in individual production, still other organizations must be considered; those of FREE UNIONS which will serve art and science and the public life and advance production in these spheres in the most diverse ways, or undertake them directly; as even today we have countless unions which bring out plays, publish newspapers, purchase artistic works, publish writings, fit out scientific expeditions, etc. . . . I expect that these free unions will play an even more important role in the intellectual life.—Karl Kautsky, in "The Social Revolution."

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FRANCE. Government Employees and the Labor Movement. The daily papers have long since reported the failure of the second strike of the French postal employees. It appears now that the government deliberately maneuvered to bring about a strike. It was reported in the Review last month that it broke its promises to the men. In particular it disciplined seven postal clerks who had been active in the first strike. All the actions they were accused of had been performed in connection with the first conflict, so they had a right to expect the immunity that had been promised. The committees of the various unions concerned were on the alert. The Chamber of Deputies was appealed to, but refused to intervene. So the declaration of a second strike seemed the only logical course. The decision was reached on May 11th, under most dramatic circumstances. A gigantic mass meeting was in session in the Hypodrome. The strike resolution was accepted amidst a tumult of enthusiasm. Then the presiding officer had a telephone brought to his desk and secured long-distance connection with Lyons, Lille, Bordeaux and Calais. From each of these cities word was flashed back that the postal employees stood ready to walk out immediately. At each new announcement the assembled multitude redoubled its demonstrations of excitement.

But the strike was a disappointment. The government had made extraordinary preparations; soldiers were held ready to act as scabs; automobiles and special messengers were provided to carry mail in case of necessity. But this was not the cause of failure. In Paris only a tenth of the men failed to report for work the next morning; and in the provincial towns the number hardly anywhere went above a third.

The ministry, now assured of victory, dismissed 221 employees on a variety of pretexts. This called forth a storm in the Chamber of Deputies. On the thirteenth the session of this body was dramatic almost beyond precedent. Two of the socialist leaders, Jaurés and Sembat, assailed the policy of the government without mercy. The latter proclaimed the liberty of government employees as citizens; said, among other things, that outside of working hours they have as much right to criticise the administration as any other class of citizens. The former taunted the ministry with its tactical blunders. Before Jaurés had finished he was interrupted. An altercation arose, discussion became impossible—and the Socialists brought the session to a close by rising and chanting the Marseillaise in chorus.

On March 19th the **Confederation General de Travail** attempted to put new life into the struggle by calling for a general strike. The building trades and some others responded, but a considerable number of organizations decided not to heed the demand. On the 21st the General Committee of the C. G. T. called on the postal employees to do something to deserve the support being given them. Especially it called on all of them to cease work without delay. This final move was a failure. In fact on the very day when it was made a number of striking employees decided to return to work.

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On this date, then, the struggle may be said to have come to an end so far as this particular strike was concerned.

The cause of this temporary defeat seems clear. The men were broken by the previous struggle and thus in no condition to stand a long siege. It was a piece of folly to attempt to call them out at such a time. As to the general strike, it was "general" only in name. The French proletariat is even more poorly organized than that of most civilized countries. The C. G. T. includes but a small proportion of the workers, and even this small number cannot be depended upon. One wing, the anarchist, non-political faction, was able to put through the strike resolution, but it could not gain the adhesion of the entire organization.

Writing of this phase of the matter in l'Humanite for May 24th, Comrade Jaurés has the following to say: "I have warned the workers against militant minorities. Yes, they are useful, these energetic minorities; it is they, educated and ardent, that have a decisive influence on events. But this is on condition that they do not isolate themselves from the mass, do not try to dispose of it with a dictatorial stroke; it is on condition that they employ their information and their energy to enlighten, educate and organize the great proletarian forces.

"I said, also, that the proletariat makes a mistake if it imagines that the general strike, even when real and effective, will suffice to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Capitalism has still immense resources for resistance. The general strike can but hasten, in a critical hour, a movement prepared by a great work of education and propaganda. It can be successful only when it has the support of a very large and strong organization. And this organization cannot be secured unless the unions attack little by little the inert masses and enlighten them by means of a constant struggle for definite reform."

The failure of the strike leaves the postal employees worse off for the present than they were at the beginning. Some seven hundred of them have been discharged. And not only that, their names have been published in the papers and sent broadcast to employers of labor. So these unfortunates are black-listed for their participation in the struggle that has just drawn to a close.

The long promised law defining the rights of employees of the government was finally brought forward by the ministry on May 26th. It has little comfort to offer. It accords the right to form organizations under any name, but does not give to these organizations the privilages guaranteed to syndicates under the law of 1884. The right to strike is specifically denied. In fact, any employee inciting to strike renders himself liable to a fine.

In all the discussion of this law the heart of the matter lies in the question: Have employees of the state the same rights as other citizens? M. Barthou, Minister of Public Affairs, proclaimed recently that "at no moment of his official life is a public employee free from his professional responsibilities or from the duty of obedience to his superior." If the proposed law is finally passed it will mean that this principle is to be carried into effect, i e., a government employee will not have, outside of working hours, the same liberties as employees of private concerns. The last state of these slaves to the bureaucracy will be worse than their first.

The failure of the general strike bids fair to lead to important results. The Confederation General de Travail has long been divided into two factions, the Revolutionists and the Reformists. These terms must not be taken to mean the same as in this country. The Revolutionists are physical forcists, always eager for a fight and always distrustful of peaceful methods. The Reformists believe in political action and in careful

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propaganda and organization. At the last congress of the Confederation an attempt was made to bring the two factions into harmony. To this end the former Revolutionary secretary, M. Griffuelhues, was replaced by a Reformist, M. Niel.

The new secretary found it impossible to do the work expected of him. The two factions would not work together in peace. The recent general strike brought matters to a crisis. This conflict was precipitated by the revolutionary minority. During its progress M. Niel, in an address before a convention of miners at Lens, took occasion to criticise the course of action that had been taken. Soon afterward his resignation was asked for by the executive committee. In the letter which this action drew from him he lamented the fact that mutual understanding and concerted action seem impossible for the present. The Revolutionists replied that M. Niel had never represented the majority, and that after his retirement the organization would go on in a spirit of essential unity. This meant, of course, that they considered themselves absolutely in control of the situation. There has been some talk of a secession of the Reformists.

On June 25th there assembled in Paris a special congress of the Confederation. It had been called to attend to certain matters of organization left unsettled by the last regular congress. The two factions came into conflict over nearly every point that was debated. Unfortunately, however, the main issue between them was not put to a vote. So everything remains as it was. The Revolutionary wing appears to be in the ascendant. The arbitrary policy of the government adds more and more to its strength.

PERSIA. The Revolution. The prospects for constitutional government in Persia have recently taken a turn for the worse. While the western world was rejoicing at the proclamation of a new constitution there came the startling news that Russian and English troops had crossed the border—"for the protection of Russian and English citizens," it was said. But we were soon informed that the Russian army, numbering 20,000 men, was marching toward Tabriz, the revolutionary stronghold, and laying waste the country en route. No doubt the Shah and the Russian government wish to repeat their former coup and place the country again in subjection.

Two socialist revolutionists have been sent from Tabriz to the capitals of western Europe to ask help. They are getting little but sympathy.

AUSTRALIA. The Strike in the Mines. Readers of the Review will remember that early in the year a conflict broke out in the Broken Hill mines. The men refused to register under an objectionable arbitration law and finally went out on strike. Troops were sent by the Premier, and with the co-operation of the police they managed to start a riot on January 9th. Tom Mann, who was in charge of the strike, was arrested and jailed. His trial came off toward the end of April, and for a long time was the center of interest in Australian affairs. He was finally acquitted in triumph. The rejoicing over the victory was somewhat toned down, however, when it became known that two other strikers had been convicted.

The struggle is still on. The company seems bound to starve the men out. The illuminating feature of the case is that the labor ministry, recently brought to its downfall, was as bitter against the miners as Liberals or Conservatives.

RUSSIA. The Reaction. It is still difficult to gets news from Russia—especially news as to what is passing in the Socialist world. **The Proletarian,** the Russian Socialist organ published in Switzerland, appears irregularly and is devoted chiefly to propaganda. From oc-

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casional letters which it publishes, however, one can get some general notion of what is taking place. The government is giving its main attention to the conquest of the labor world. The intellectualist revolution it has been able to put down, now it is guarding against a proletarian uprising. The means it has adopted are those furnished by the working-class itself—government unions are being formed. From these any laborers with revolutionary tendencies are rigidly excluded. When any neighborhood has been well enough organized the closed-shop principle is applied, and thus the revolutionists are turned out to starve. To this policy the revolutionists have thus far not been able to offer any successful opposition. It may be that in the near future we shall see in Russia a class-struggle carried on by two opposing labor organizations.

HOLLAND. The New Social Democratic Party. It will be remembered that for a long time a bitter struggle has been waged in Holland between Marxists and Revisionists. It came to a head in a special congress which met at Deventer on February 13th. The Marxists were definitely defeated. It was decided that if their organ, **De Tribune,** was not discontinued they would be expelled from the party. The only concession granted them was permission to publish a weekly under the general direction of the editor of **Het Volk,** a Revisionist.

On the 14th of March four hundred Marxists formed the Social Democratic Party of Holland. The International Bureau protested against this move and asked the secessionists to reconsider their action. On March 21st the new party held a special congress for the consideration of this protest. It was finally decided to maintain a separate organization until the older party is willing to promise freedom of speech and publication.

A committee of the Social Democratic Party has just published in pamphlet form an elaborate account of the whole matter. It covers all the points of disagreement with which we have grown so familiar in this country. The Revisionist, e. g., supported Liberal candidates for office, advocated a reform agrarian propaganda, etc., etc. The principle charge, however, is that the party came under the control of one man, Comrade Troelstra, and free criticism was made impossible. Among the leaders of the rebellion are such distinguished Socialists as Henriette Roland Holst, Van der Goes, Herman Gorter and Pannekoek.

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No sooner did Samuel Gompers embark upon his investigation tour in Europe than the talk is again starting among some of his friends of retiring him upon a life pension. This proposition was first gently broached to Gompers at the New Orleans convention seven years ago, when Duncan was to have been advanced to the head of the Federation. Gompers replied in substance that so long as he retained his faculties he would not voluntarily retire and intended to remain president of the Federation until such time as he believed he was no longer competent to serve in that position. His friends bowed to his decision and the pension plan was abandoned and was not heard of until just recently. It is not being shouted from the house-tops at present, but some quiet talk is being indulged in among some of the faithful that has come to the ears of labor paper editors in the southern part of the country, and doubtless the subject will be widely discussed during the next few months.

It is a safe prediction that Gompers will not yield to the blandishments of his friends and step aside and make room for Duncan or anybody else. He is going to remain president of the American Federation of Labor until such time as he in his own judgment considers himself unfit to longer administer the affairs of that office, no matter what the wishes of his immediate friends may be. It should be stated in this connection that the radical element in Federation conventions never looked very kindly upon the pension scheme, not because it might affect Gompers or any other individual. It it a question for the affiliated internationals to deal with, and if the cigarmakers, printers, molders or any other trade desire to pension their delegates that is their privilege. The Federation as such ought not to usurp the functions of affiliated bodies.

The final curtain has been rung down on the great western drama. The Western Federation of Miners stands vindicated before the world and the Mine Operators' Association wears the brand of infamy to which it is so justly entitled. When the Colorado legislature passed and the governor signed the appropriation bill containing a provision to partially reimburse the miners for damages sustained during the "Peabody war," it was not the dollars and cents involved that were important, but the principle was vital and epoch-making so far as organized labor is concerned. The great state of Colorado recognized, by an almost unanimous vote in the legislature, that the miners had been unjustly treated, and consequently must have been right in their contentions, and were entitled to remuneration for damages

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sustained while defending themselves from the cowardly and unwarranted attacks of the mine barons and their corrupt minions.

Labor history in America does not reveal anywhere so heroic and self-sacrificing a struggle as that of the Western miners during the past decade. Confronted as they were by all the cohorts of capitalism—by the Mine Operators' Association, with its Standard Oil millions behind it; by the unrelenting opposition of a President of the United States, several Governors as well as Senators, Congressmen and State Legislators; by the United States Supreme Court, the Colorado Supreme Court and most of the subordinate judicial bodies; by the Colorado state militia, an army of private police, and the secret spies and thugs of the Pinkerton and Theil detective agencies; by the daily press (with a few honorable exceptions) and myriads of weekly and monthly publications, and even by large numbers of clergymen who wear the livery of heaven to serve the devil—confronted as they were by every power that could be marshaled against them by merciless, uncompromising capitalism, the miners stood upon the firing line like a stone wall, repulsed every attack from within and without, and emerge from the ordeal triumphant and vindicated, and unquestionably more militant and class-conscious, better disciplined and more powerful than when war was declared against them.

It is nothing short of marvelous that all the charges made against the Western miners during the past seven or eight years—from the charges black as night to the most petty accusations—have recoiled upon the heads of capitalism's motley crew, and not one has been sustained when subjected to the searching scrutiny of the light of day. Lockouts, bull-pens, deportations, blacklists, beatings, threats, insults and denunciations of every sort could not break the will of these men of the mountains and canyons of the west. Aye, when the climax of the brutal prosecution was reached, when their officers were kidnaped, imprisoned for more than a year, and then dragged within the shadow of the gallows, the miners, grim and determined, stood more compact, fought more valiantly, sacrificed more nobly and scorned all thought of compromise or surrender.

The student of industrial history, today or tomorrow, enthusiastic or philosophical as he may be, will be amazed at the wonderful vitality, strength of character and unexampled heroism displayed by this magnificent western organization of labor. Poor in purse, unlearned in book lore, unsuspicious of the machinations of a crafty and unscrupulous foe, these plain, simple toilers met the enemy upon the battle ground of his own selection and beat him to a complete standstill. The organized workers throughout the world can well feel proud of the remarkable achievements of these stalwart western men. Their brave fight for the right has served as a splendid inspiration to the oppressed toilers of all countries. They are in the vanguard of the hosts of labor who are marching toward the higher civilization and inaugurating the new day when the despoilation and oppression of the wealth-producers by an insatiable master class must and shall cease.

Where are our painters and poets, our romancers and dramatists? This realistic western drama, with its many human interest stories, contains sufficient material, which, if correctly interpreted, will challenge the admiration of the world and bring to artists and authors undying fame. It ranks with the heroic struggles of the oppressed in any age.

A remarkable strike has been in progress in the Hawaiian Islands for several months. About 11,000 Japanese laborers on the sugar plantations were affected. They constitute about 75 per cent of all

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the plantation labor, and their wages ranged from $16 to $22 per month, housing, fuel and medical care. For some time the necessities of life have been advancing steadily until it has become almost impossible for the Japs to live on their meager income. Recently the plantation owners have been importing laborers from Portugal, Spain and Porto Rico and paying them somewhat better wages, the idea being doubtless to pit one race against the other and reap the benefit of the rivalry. Again, the financial statements showed that while cost of living was increasing for the laborers the plantations owners were also enjoying the greatest prosperity in their history, the last year beating all records in the art of profit-taking. The Jap laborers have a loose sort of an organization called the Higher Wage Association. The peculiar thing about it is that preceding the strike there were no meetings held, no vote taken, no conferences held between committees of employers and employees, but at a given signal every mother's son of them ceased work, after which their demands for higher wages, couched in polite terms, were sent to the bosses.

In the meantime the planatation owners have been taking various measures calculated to irritate and provoke the strikers, such as ostentatious parading of the militia, veiled threats in their newspapers and campaigns of mud-slinging against those whom they regarded as leaders. Recently, in typically capitalistic style, about a dozen agitators were arrested for treason and houses and printing offices were searched, all without process of law and so acknowledged. Now the high-handed and brutal methods of the officials, all being the creatures of the plantation owners, are being made the subject of investigation by the Japanese government and considerable international complications may arise. A correspondent of the Review, writing from Honolulu, declares that the sympathies of the community are decidedly on the side of the Japanese. But that amounts to little. It's the class that is in control of the governmental machinery, that weilds the bayonet of the soldier and the policeman's club and issues the judicial decrees—no matter how insignificant in numbers that class is—that is the real power in the Hawaiian Islands, like everywhere else.

The efforts of the United States Steel Corporation to foist the open shop upon the laboring men employed upon and along the Great Lakes is being supplemented by an attack upon the tin plate workers employed by the American Tin Plate Co., a subsidiary combine of the two billion dollar trust. The tin plate workers were about the last branch of organized labor in the trust's employ, and it is now a settled fact that the octopus is determined to smash the very last vestige of unionism that it is able to reach.

For upward of eleven years the tin plate workers have been at peace with their employers. During that period they have reduced the hours of labor and increased wages quite materially through friendly negotiations. A few weeks ago the tin plate workers held their annual convention in Cleveland and the officers informed the writer that the union was in excellent shape and there was not the least sign of trouble anywhere. Therefore, the edict of the United States Steel Corporation that the tin plate employes must work open shop (that is, no union) came like a thunder-clap from a clear sky. The men were dumfounded and dazed and could hardly believe their own senses.

So after years of voting and shouting for a "protective" tariff and the grand old party the tin plate men, like the iron and steel workers, the longshoremen, seamen and other toilers, are now being given a splendid illustration of the gratitude of capitalists. What matters

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it that the Carnegies and Fricks and Coreys and Garys and the rest of the brood have been enriched beyond the dreams of avarice? Their billions of wealth must be augmented by additional billions, and how can their adventure prove successful except by smashing the unions and by beating down wages to a bare living level? Time was when the iron and steel workers were the highest paid laboring people in the world. At the battle of Homestead they were dealt a blow that has resulted in driving those toilers to the brink of pauperism, and today the vast majority of these human cogs upon the iron and steel industry are apparently as submissive as ever were the chattel slaves of the south. They seem to have lost all hope and power of resistance. They dare not call their souls their own, and the mill towns of Pennsylvania and the Middle West are nothing better than modern slave stockades.

There is no material change in the struggle of the marine workers against the Lake Carriers' Association, controlled by the steel trust, from the conditions that existed last month. One day the trust agents secure a few deserters from the union side; the next day the unionists win accessions from the strike-breakers. Each day the trust publicity bureau announces that the strike is broken, and each day the union spokesmen declare that the outlook continues to grow brighter for a victory.

The struggle on the lakes and the efforts of the trust to import strike-breakers from abroad has attracted the attention of shipowners in foreign countries, and now there is a revival of the agitation to form an international federation of capitalists engaged in shipping to deal with labor questions. During the great strikes in Hamburg, Antwerp, Rotterdam and New York there was considerable talk of forming such an organization, but it seems that the plan was dropped. Now a conference is about to be held in London to bring about a federation of the shipping masters of the world. It is proposed, among other things, to establish an insurance system to reimburse all vessel owners whose ships may be tied up by a strike, and to organize bands of strike-breakers in all countries to be drawn upon in case of trouble. Doubtless the formation of such an organization will have the effect of bringing about a closer federation of the marine workers of the world and intensifying the class struggle, which is nowadays becoming so plain that even a blind man can see it.

The valiant struggle of the hatters against the open shop and to preserve their union label is proving successful. During the month the manufacturers of Danbury, Bethel and New Milford, Conn., with few exceptions and including some of the largest firms in the country, have broken away from the employers' association and made peace with the men. An agreement was arranged by which the unionists will work ninety days without using the label and after that period the label is again to be placed in hats. It appears that the manufacturers were under $25,000 bonds each to carry out the open shop program, and under the arrangement made with the union those employers who capitulated hope to save their forfeit. Mundheim, the president of the manufacturers' association, declares that his battered organization will yet enforce the open shop, but it is hardly probable that the obstinate bosses will succeed, for while those establishments that surrendered will capture the cream of the trade the men employed will also be enabled to extend better support to their fellow-workers who continue the contest.

The hatters are another organization that gave the world an example of solidarity and heroic self-denial that will not be lost upon the working class. Not only have they been subjected to a rak-

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ing fire upon the industrial field, but for several years they have been the targets for bitter attack through the courts that would have discouraged many other trades less class-conscious. Although in a political sense the hatters have been exteremely conservative, they deserve the respect and undivided support of every Socialist and progressive person in the country. It is enough to know that they were being fought by the common enemy, and in all probability a good many of the hatters are learning that there is a class struggle and that the old political parties that they supported in the past defend and uphold the capitalist side in that struggle.

The A. F. of L. executive council has declared war upon the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and has circularized the state and city central bodies to bar the locals of the flints. The Green Glass Bottle Blowers' Association claims jurisdiction over the jobs that some of the flints hold. The flints have offered to amalgamate with the greens, but have been rebuffed, and now it is likely that a struggle for the mastery will be precipitated, to the great delight of the manufacturers. The unions are dual in character. The flints are the most skilled mechanics, many of the greens being displaced by bottle-blowing machinery and other devices. D. A. Hayes, a vice-president of the A. F. of L., is president of the green glass men and for several years he has fought against the admission of the flints to the Federation. Now the turmoil is to be carried into the local labor bodies and some of the latter have already defied the A. F. of L. executive council and announced that they will not unseat the flints, who are, in many places, active and tireless workers for the cause of organized labor and usually have the sympathy of the rank and file in other trades.

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From the Wilshire Book Company comes a little volume of extraordinary interest, one which all Socialists will do well to read since it concerns a subject which is bound to loom large in Socialist discussions during the next few years. Its title in **Mendelism,** and its author, Professor R. C. Punnett, of Cambridge University, a distinguished English biologist. Our friend, Gaylord Wilshire, contributes a brief introduction to the volume, which is admirably printed and bound.

Of late the name of Mendel has crept into our Socialist discussions, and there have been refernces, more or less obscure, to a "Mendelian Law," and it is not too much to say that for most readers the words have possessed little or no meaning. Who is, or was, this Mendel, and what is this Mendelian law? These are questions which have been asked many times by sorely puzzled readers. This useful little volume answers both questions with admirable lucidity and conciseness.

Gregor Mendel was an Austrian monk, who 50 years ago made important scientific researches and discoveries which would undoubtedly have caused Darwin to make important modifications in his theory of natural selection had they been known to that great thinker. Born in 1822, the son of Austro-Silesian peasants, at twenty-one years of age he entered a religious foundation at Brunn, and was ordained priest a few years later. Later on he became a monk, entering the cloister at Brunn. But in the meantime he had studied natural sciences at Vienna and became deeply interested in the problems of hybridization. At Brunn the good monk, who afterwards became the Abbot of the order, carried on some experiments in plant hybridization, using the common edible pea as his subject. He contributed a paper on the result of his experiments to the Proceedings of a natural history society at Brunn, which is almost his only contribution to biological literature. It is this little known pamphlet which Darwin so unfortunately missed. We know that Mendel carried on a series of experiments on other plants, for in a series of letters to Carl Nageli, the botanist, he gives an account of his experiments on peas, thistles, and other plants.

The worthy Abbot was a very versatile man, it appears. He was interested in meteorology, and wrote much on the subject; sun spots interested him deeply, and he was for a time manager of a bank. It is unfortunate that the record of some experiments on the hybridization of bees has been lost, for it would have been of great interest and value to know how far, if at all, they coincided with his plant experiments. A strange man, little understood by his fellow monks, but lovable withal, he died of Bright's disease in 1884.

So much for the man: Now what is the "law" which bears his name? Briefly it is this: When plants of similar species, but which differ in one characteristic, are crossed, there is a definite mathematical ratio by which the results are governed and can, therefore, be known beforehand. This is the Mendel-

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ian Law. Any desired characteristic, existing in either one of the parents, can be transferred to the offspring, and such characteristics definitely fixed.

Until the re-discovery of Mendel's great discovery it had been thought that Darwin had practically said the last word concerning hybridization. The discovery of Mendel, which was re-discovered in 1900, has, however, opened up the whole question, including much doubt as to whether natural selection is, as Darwin believed, a sufficient explanation of the production of new species. Admittedly, natural selection is a very slow process, requiring great periods of time for the production of new species: that has always been one of the great difficulties in the way of a ready acceptance of the Darwinian theory. The immense periods of time required baffle the imagination. The Mendelian Law wipes this difficulty away entirely: the element of chance is eliminated and it becomes possible to calculate results and verify predictions.

The importance of this Law, if law it be, to Socialist theory may not be immediately obvious, but a little thought will reveal it. In the first place, it is no longer necessary in speaking of social evolution to assume that all the changes involved in the process have been slow and almost imperceptible. It links on to the mutation theory of De Vries. In the second place, the fixity of inherited characteristics, which cannot be modified by changes in environment, goes far to disprove, as Mr. Wilshire very well observes, the old contention that Socialism would reduce all to a dull level.

For a full description of Mendel's method and results I must refer the reader to the book itself. Only a very brief illustration is possible here. As is well known, the common edible pea has many varieties. Some are tall while others are dwarfed; in some varieties the peas are round and smooth, in others they are wrinkled; some peas have purple flowers and others white. Now, Mendel took, for example, peas of the tall variety and crossed them with peas of the dwarf variety. The result was that he got all tall plants and no dwarfs. So Mendel named the tall plants' habit "dominant," while that of the dwarf plants he named "recessive." His next step was to collect the seeds of these plants, offspring of a cross between tall and dwarf parents themselves all tall. In this second generation of hybrids the offspring were both tall and dwarfs, with no intermediate types. Thus in one series of experiments he got 1,064 plants, of which 787 were tall and 277 were dwarfs. That is to say the tall plants were about three times as numerous as the dwarfs. The dominant and recessive characters occurred, therefore, in the proportion of three to one.

Now, when the seeds of these were in their turn planted it was found that the seeds secured from the dwarf plants produced dwarfs invariably. The recessive character bred true. The seed secured from the tall plants, however, produced both talls and dwarfs in the proportion of three to one. Some of the tall plants bred only tall plants. These were called "true dominants"; they were as true to type as the recessive. No matter how many generations the process of the test might be continued, the result was invariably the same. So we have two groups which invariably breed true to type—the pure dominants and recessives. There remains a third group to be considered: From some of the tall plants both talls and dwarfs were secured, in the proportion of about three to one. These "impure dominants" as they are called, produce talls and dwarfs, generation after generation, in the same three to one ratio.

It will be seen that the Mendelian Law enables breeders to calculate results to a nicety, and that the process of devel-

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oping a fixed type is very much more rapid than the Darwinians have generally supposed. It should perhaps be said that the United States Department of Agriculture in its experimental stations employs the Mendelian principle for selection with success. In this hasty survey of the book I have given only a taste of its contents, but enough, I hope, to send many readers to the book for full and first hand knowledge.

Professor Edward T. Devine, head of the New York Charity Organization Society, and Eschiff professor of Social Economy at Columbia University, has just published, through the Macmillan Company, a volume containing the six lectures on **Misery and Its Causes,** delivered at the New York School of Philanthrophy under the Kennedy foundation.

I confess to some feeling of disappointment with the book. I turned to it hoping to find some statistical measure of the problem of social misery, similar to that contained in books like Hunter's **Poverty,** but more comprehensive in its scope. Here and there Dr. Devine's pages contain statistical hints of the magnitude of the problems of social misery, but that is all. Still, it is a book which all Socialists will do well to read, for Dr. Devine represents in his person and work the new spirit which brings philanthropic work, so-called, to the very borderland of constructive Socialist effort. He is as far removed as possible from the harsh, individualistic spirit represented by older exponents of charity organization, such as, for example, C. S. Loch, of London. Sometimes I think that Dr. Devine must have great difficulty, as he comprehends the social programme he has helped to develop during the past six or seven years in New York, in explaining to his own satisfaction why he stops short of Socialism.

The question which he raises is, substantially, whether the poor who suffer in their poverty are poor because they are shiftless, depraved, immoral, and have too many children, or whether our social institutions and economic arrangements are at fault. With his usual courage he answers that the latter theory is the only true one. He says: "I hold that personal depravity is as foreign to any sound theory of the hardships of our modern poor as witchcraft or demoniacal possession. With such a point of view as these words indicate it would be impossible for the author to believe in the old method of relying solely on moral agencies directed towards the "reclaiming" of the individual. He sees that the problem is a social one and that only social remedies are of any use at all. So he sketches a programme which embodies many of the palliatives which Socialists have advocated for many years—being derided as "Utopians" most of the time for doing so. But the world moves!

In his latest book, **The New Ethics,** Mr. J. Howord Moore continues the propaganda of humanitarians with which his earlier works have been identified. One gets the impression from these pages of a very gentle and lovable personality. There is no very obvious reason, however, for calling the ethics of which he is such an indefatigable exponent "new." On the contrary, his ideas are as old as the hills. His thesis is that the inhabitants of the earth, human and non-human, are bound together by common ties. That man is different from all other sentients only in degree, not in kind. There can be no other rational ethic which treats of life only from the standpoint of one species. There is the same reason for regarding all the lower sentients as part of ourselves, as the basis of ethics, as for so regarding other human beings.

This, I say, is not at all a new ethical concept, but is on the contrary incalculably aged. But that is after all a relatively unimportant matter. We are concerned very little with the fitness of the

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nomenclature Mr. Moore chooses to bestow upon his system, and very little with its practical side. And here, it seems to me, Mr. Moore fails to meet the requirements of practical efficiency and becomes a rather futile sentimentalist. Vegetarianism, anti-vivisection, protests against hunting and shooting for "sport," and against wearing furs, skins or feathers for dress or ornament, seem to me to be almost unconsequential and as far removed from a practical ethic for the real world in which we live as possible. Vegetarianism as a matter of hygienic living is intelligible enough, and has much to commend it. The argument then is based upon human efficiency. But vegetarianism in the interest of my far-away relations, the ox, or the speckled trout in the brook, does not impress me.

It is worthy of note, perhaps, that, like so many other amiable sentimentalists, Mr. Moore has hardly a word to say concerning the enormous mass of suffering incidental to our industrial system, which constitutes the real ethical challenge of our time. Personally, let me say, I am satisfied that vivisection, while extremely liable to grave abuses, has, when rightly and wisely employed, great practical value to the human race. And that is for me its sufficient justification. To relieve the suffering or save the life of a single human child, I would most gladly sacrifice the lives of a thousand guinea pigs or frogs—and, if it seemed inevitable, inflict measureless pain upon the poor creatures in the interest of the child. The principle underlying my action in such a case would be akin to that which animated me an hour ago in killing the bugs which infested my roses in the fine old Vermont garden where this is written. Human happiness is for me the supreme law.

That genial philosopher, my friend Professor Simon N. Patten, has contributed a very suggestive and stimulating little volume to the series of small "Art of Life" books issued by B. W. Huebsch. The title of the little volume is **Product and Climax,** and the theme a spirited protest against the "merciless grinding out of product that depresses men," and an argument in favor of a better adjustment in our economic system of effort and result. What men everywhere need is a constant renewing through climaxes of satisfaction, deep and full mental and spiritual exhilaration. And this is what is made impossible by an industrial system which concerns itself only with piling up product and disregarding the producers' need of and right to climaxes of satisfaction. In a camp community Professor Patten found a rule posted, "Do not bring in more fish than the cook needs," and applying its principle to our industrial life in the following terms: "Do not overwork the producer of wealth" and "Product that weakens the producer is murder." A little book that can be slipped into the pocket and read in an hour or two, **Product and Climax** should find many readers this summer.

THE HAND OF GOD. By Cora Bennett Stephenson, Boston, the Ball Publishing Co. This is no religious novel. It is no common book. It is something else. Cuvier, the great naturalist, could take a single tooth of an extinct animal and from it reconstruct the whole body. A truly scientific imagination can reconstruct the unwritten history of primitive mankind from its myths, folklore and superstition. "The Hand of God" is such a revivification. From the meager story of Samson and Delilah as told in the Book of Judges, Mrs. Stephenson reproduces the life of that bygone age before us in all its reality. The story is a most courageous and venturesome use of the scientific imagination in the reconstruction of the past. It is strong, senuous, vivid, virile, dramatic. Not our life of today transplanted into the

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past nor what the uneducated dream that past to be (what most historical novels are); but the old, instinctive life resurrected as it actually was. The story is interesting, not as an art-form only but as a sociological study lit up by a wide sweeping and deeply-penetrating imagination. The story is instructive—not in the sense of a novel with a purpose but in the sense that an artist after long study and practice would depict in imagination; not in the cold, dead facts of history but in the warm, young life that these facts connote, indicate and bespeak. Yet amidst the crude life, the weird superstitions, the shocking customs, the incipient forms of the religions of the times, we see the true woman, the strong man, not of our virtue or of our strength but of the instinctive life of primitive humanity.

The greatest tax that the author puts upon our tolerance in the light that to the pure all things are pure is to accept "The Hand of God" in the truly moral sense that those ancient people accepted it. This is done by the scholarship of the world today: For example Professor J. G. Frazier in his "Golden Bough" and Grant Allen in his "Evolution of the Idea of God."

Shall art lag behind another generation before being a teammate with science?

The reception of "The Hand of God" will indicate the condition of public opinion on the moral and mental evolution that has been going on in the heart of the race in the last thirty years. This novel is the forerunner of the use of the imagination in a field which will give us the past of the race in artistic forms, infinitely more true than the grouping of cold, dead facts that have hitherto passed for science or the airy nothings that have passed for art.

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NEWS & VIEWS

Brocklyn, N. Y. The engraving on this page shows a few members of the Workingmen's Educational Club, 477 Atlantic avenue. Brooklyn, standing in front of their club room. They have a large hall, which they propose to make the center of working class activity in that part of Brooklyn. It is already used by several trade unions and three ward branches of the Socialist party. A socialist Sunday-school is held there Sunday afternoons; there are Sunday evening lectures with an occasional debate, an oratory class meets Wednesday evenings to train speakers for the campaign, and Socialist literature, including the Review, is on sale there. Comrade T. N. Fall, who sends us the photograph with this information, suggests that it would be well if comrades in other cities maintaining headquarters were to send photographs to the Review, so that traveling socialists might be enabled more easily to locate their friends in each city. To this we agree heartily, and we shall also be glad to have any photographs likely to interest our readers. The paper we are now using is much better adapted for reproducing pictures of any kind than the paper used heretofore.

Comrade A. M. Stirton, editor of the Wage Slave, published at Hancock, Mich., dropped in to pay the publishing house a visit a few days ago. He brought good news of the work done in the northern peninsula. The more we know the editor of the Wage Slave the better we understand the continued improvement of that virile weekly, for Comrade Stirton be-

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lieves first, last and all the time in the wage-worker. You may search in vain through the columns of the Wage Slave for articles on "How the XYZ Trust Cheated the Government," or "Lower Taxes" or discussions of any other bourgeois ills. That little paper devotes itself exclusively to the battles and interests of the proletariat. Write for a sample copy; subscription rate is 50 cents yearly. Address The Wage Slave, Hancock, Mich.

JAPANESE STRIKE—Seven thousand Japanese plantation laborers are on strike for higher wages in Hawaii. They have been receiving $15.00 (for women) and $18.00 (for men), with free cottages, medical attendance and fuel besides their wages. The cost of living there is, under these conditions, from $5.00 per month up. It appears, therefore, that it was not the pressure for subsistence that has caused this strike but rather a desire on the part of the laborers to get a larger portion of the value of their product. The employers have been making enormous profits and the Japanese evidently hope to gain an advance in wages through concerted action. This strike may furnish food for the comrades who claim that the oppressed wage-worker is more likely to demand higher wages than those who are not suffering from economic pressure. The Japanese agricultural worker in these islands is the best paid unskilled worker I have ever known. He is in a position to save money, which he sends in large sums to his fatherland. He is very independent and ready to leave his job when the time to do so arrives. For these qualities he is heartily disliked by his employers and would gladly be discarded if a suitable substitute appeared. The Japanese chose a most favorable time for their strike as this is the harvesting season. Delay at such a time is most costly to the capitalists. Yet, the planters consider concession to the demands of the workers even worse. The planters are well organized in their opposition to the Japanese and will probably defeat them. Race prejudices complicate the situation to the disadvantage of the workers. The Chinese are hostile to the Japs and will doubtless be glad to fill their places at the increased rate of $1.50 a day, as strikebreakers. The Portuguese and Hawaiians are also unfriendly to the Japanese, so that the planters will be able to secure several thousand workers from the army of the unemployed. The legislature just adjourned was importuned to appropriate a sum of money to assist in the immigration of labor. A scarcity of men was charged, due to the fact that the natives will not, as a rule, work in the canefields. This strike has, however, been a refutation of the statements made by the employers, as their offers of $1.50 per day for men has drawn droves of Hawaiians who are willing to work. Again we have the spectacle of one class of workingmen assisting the employing class to prevent another body of workers from improving their conditions.

H. CULMAN.

Honolulu, T. H.

South Carolina in Line. The Socialists of South Carolina are to meet at Charleston July 4, for the purpose of forming a state organization. Officers will doubtless be chosen at that meeting; meanwhile all who desire to get into touch with the new state organization should address the secretary of Local Columbia, A. J. Royal, 1724 Richland street, Columbia, S. C.

THE DES MOINES AMENDMENTS. I would like an opportunity to reply to the criticism of these amendments appearing in the June number. There is one fine thing about Comrade Kerr's writing, it is always readable, whether you like it or not.

I may be an unblushing egotist, but I claim to be the original election-by-referendum man. I wrote the amendment

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which transferred the power of electing from the national committee to the membership, and I pushed the amendment through with my pen. That was in 1905. The amendment was somewhat similar to the one now introduced by Milwaukee. But I have advanced since then, while poor Milwaukee seems to have only caught up to that point.

The Review damns our amendments with faint praise, criticises only one provision, and advises leaving the constitution as it is for the present.

The criticised provision is one of the best features of our amendment. It gives every candidate a fair show by providing for a rotation of the names. It is a well-known fact that the candidates at the top of the ballot have an unfair advantage. Last year the stand-pat Republicans in Iowa ransacked the state in an effort to find some available man with a name beginning with A or B to run against Cummins at the primary, in order to secure that well-known advantage, but could not find one. Let it be remembered that the individual member only handles one ballot. It is therefore impossible that there should be any confusion in marking the ballots. As for confusion in counting them, if our officers were little boys and girls there might be some weight to that objection. But they are grown men and women, of at least average intelligence, and the counting will not require any more ability or accuracy than is required of the employees of any business house every day. So, there is literally nothing at all in the criticism.

And the constitution ought by all means to be amended at once. As it stands at present, it does nominally provide for the preferential ballot, but it does not really do so. The seven divisions nullify the object of the preferential ballot and prevent election by majority. They effectually prevent the members from voting for the candidates they want. The Des Moines amendment contains all the good features of the present provision, eliminates all of its bad features, and contains the following good features in addition:

1. It insures election by majority, by wiping out the seven divisions and providing for a bona fide preferential ballot.

2. It provides a fair, speedy and inexpensive method of filling vacancies.

3. It abolishes the special privilege of those standing at the top of the ballot, by providing for a rotation of the names.

If we leave the constitution as it now stands, we shall have another election by a minority. And, what is perhaps even worse, we shall discredit the preferential ballot so that it will probably be discarded altogether. JOHN M. WORK.

Reply by the Editor. The best answer to Comrade Work's argument is the full text of the Des Moines amendment, which is as follows:

1. Amend Article VI, Section 1, of the National Constitution by substituting the following:

The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members, elected in each odd numbered year by preferential referendum. The call for nominations shall be issued on the first day of October. Each local shall be entitled to nominate seven candidates. Thirty days shall be allowed for nominations, ten for acceptances and declinations, and fifty for the referendum. Nominations by five locals shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot. The names of the candidates shall be prepared for printing in alphabetical order. The ballots shall be printed in as many equal portions as there are candidates. On each successive portion after the first the top name shall be transferred to the bottom. Each member voting shall place the figure "1" opposite the name of his first choice, the figure "2" opposite the name of his second choice, and so on, voting on each and every candidate. If he fails to vote on all candidates his ballot shall not be counted. The seven candidates receiving the highest vote, preferentially computed—that is, receiving the lowest sum total opposite their names—shall be elected. Vacancies shall be filled by the next highest.

At the last election we had 197 candidates for membership on the National Executive Committee, and the party is growing. The requirement of a nomination by five locals will cut down the number, but even so it may easily reach 100. In that case the ballot handed each member, if printed according to the Des Moines amendment, would contain a hundred times a hundred, or ten thousand names, which would have to be sufficiently separated to admit of writing a

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number opposite each. This would require a column 1,666 inches long, which if divided up into columns the length of those in the Daily Socialist, would make 77 of them, the equivalent of eleven pages of that paper. The cost of printing and transmitting these ballots to the entire membership of the Socialist Party would run up into the thousands of dollars. Moreover, if a member should omit one name in marking his order of preference for the whole number of candidates, his ballot would have to be thrown out. We still think the amendment an unwise one. But Comrade Work's criticism on our present constitution is well taken. We do not think much harm could be done by holding one election under it. But a really practical amendment has now been offered. It is proposed by Local Aberdeen, S. D., and is as follows:

The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members elected annually by referendum of the membership. Call for nominations shall issue October 1st, thirty days shall be allowed for nominations, fifteen for acceptances and declinations, and forty-five for the referendum. Each local may nominate seven candidates, but candidates must be nominated by five locals in two states to have their names appear on the ballot; names shall be printed in alphabetical order. In voting each member shall place the figure "7" before his first choice, "6" before his second choice, then "5," "4," "3," "2" and "1," respectively. In counting ballots these figures shall be counted as that many votes and the seven candidates receiving the greatest number of votes shall be declared elected, except that in case of two or more members being elected from one state, only the one having the most votes shall serve and such vacancies, and any others, shall be filled by the next highest from states not represented on this committee.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTIONISTS—I have just returned from a trip to two prisons where the United States government is holding groups of Mexican political prisoners. In the Leavenworth penitentiary, Kansas, is Antonio de P. Araujo, the young Mexican editor; Diaz Guerra, the leader of the revolutionary forces that attacked Las Vacas; Jose Trevino and Benjamin Silva—the last named is rapidly dying of consumption. From Leavenworth I traveled south to the Mexican borderline where in the little town of Eagle Pass, on the American side of the Rio Grande, I saw Calixto Guerra in the Maverick County jail.

In the Yuma penitentiary, in Arizona, there is still a third group consisting of Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal and Librado Rivera, all members of the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal party.

In Leavenworth, Silva's case is the saddest—the man was carried in to see me on the back of a hospital attendant, so weak had the poor fellow become from confinement in a cold northern prison.

Of all these prisoners Calixto Guerra, whose extradition is demanded by the Mexican dictator, is the one around whom the most interest centers at the present time, for if he goes over the line thirty-seven other men will go with him. Guerra's case is to be made a precedent—he is charged in eighty-nine pages of testimony, filed by the Mexican government, with having been one of those who attacked the town of Las Vacas on June 26, 1908—and the Mexican governor, Cardenas, of the state of Coahuila, attaches the names of thirty-seven additional Mexican political suspects, now living in Texas, to the demand for extradition.

If Judge Douglas grants the demands of the Mexican government, and Guerra is turned over to the waiting rurales, a man-hunt will immediately commence on the American side of the Rio Grande and never stop until the last political enemy of Porfirio Diaz in the United States has been taken.

Will the Mexican president be able to accomplished what the Czar of Russia

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failed to do in the cases of the Russian patriots Rudowitz and Pouren?

The court's decision in Guerra's case will be the answer.

It was an uprising to overthrow the Mexican government by force of arms that Calixto Guerra took part in, and he makes no denial of the facts. Here is the story, plain and to the point:

"At four o'clock in the morning forty-five of us stood with our guns in our hands in the wet river-sand waiting our turn to cross. The first boat-load put off into the fog—a smothering river-fog that bridged the Rio Grande from bank to bank and swallowed up the rowers before they had made a dozen strokes from the shore. Seven trips of the boat landed us all on the Mexican side and in the gray light we moved towards the town.

"Just outside of Las Vacas a guard discovered us and the fight commenced. Our chief had divided us into two groups and the cross-fire which we poured into the soldiers drove them back into the shelter of the town. We ran through the streets after them, killing many of troops in this first rush, and when they took shelter in the houses we burned two roofs over their heads, forcing them into the street again. Then the handful of Diaz's soldiers that still resisted took refuge in their barracks and held that place until the end. We lost the town at the time when we had it all but won, for our ammunition gave out and the seven soldiers defending the barracks had an endless supply of cartridges for their Mausers.

"Brave Canales was killed at the very door of the barracks that he was trying to burn. In all, twelve of the revolutionists were killed, but we made the soldiers of Diaz pay dearly for our dead as out of the eighty men of the 12th Regiment stationed at Las Vacas but seven held together at the end of the day—the rest had either fled or lay dead upon the streets.

"It was a fight for principles, and Mexican freedom—I would do it again."

Such is the spirit of the men of the Mexican Liberal Party who fought and were beaten, but who are only waiting until they can reform their ranks to again attack the despotism of Diaz.

It is in the air along the border—there will be another uprising.

I sat in the sheriff's office and looked at Calixto Guerra; he was a man of unusual personality, tall to the lankiness of a Lincoln, with a slow, quiet determination in his speech that compelled conviction, a dash of grey in his dark hair, and long, bony fingers that, as I watched, deftly rolled and crimped a cigarette. It was a picture that will not leave me until I know, for certain, whether he is to go free or be handed over to the man that hungers for his body, namely, President Porfirio Diaz.

At this writing, the date of the hearing of Calixto Guerra before Judge W. C. Douglas, of the Sixty-third Judicial District, has not been set—it may be in ten days, it may not be for a month—but the Political Refugee Defense League has obtained the services of the one man in the state of Texas best fitted to defend him, and that man is Walter Gillis, of Del Rio, who successfuly fought the demand for the extradition of Juan Jose Arredondo and eight other political refugees in 1906. Fraternally,

JOHN MURRAY,
Secretary Political Refugee Defense League.

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A GREAT WORK COMPLETED

CAPITAL, A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, by Karl Marx, is by the common consent of friends and opponents recognized as the greatest work of the greatest of Socialist writers. It represents the labor of a life-time, or rather of two life-times, for Marx never lived to put the finishing touches to his masterpiece. He died in 1883, when only the first volume had been finished, but he had planned the two other volumes and accumulated most of the material to be used in them. The elaboration and editing of this material was left to his co-worker, Frederick Engels.

Volume I was published in the German language in 1867, Volume II in 1885 and Volume III in 1894. An English translation of Volume I was published at London in 1883, and this translation with some revision and with a complete topical index, is the first volume of our edition.

Volumes II and III have never been published in England. In 1907 we published a complete translation of Volume II by Ernest Untermann, and Volume III, also translated by Ernest Untermann and now ready for delivery, completes the entire work.

The subject-matter of the third volume was so thoroughly discussed by the translator, on pages 946 to 958 of the June Review, that we need not attempt to outline it here. But we have something to say of the mechanical features of the book and its price.

Volume I contains 869 pages, Volume II 618, Volume III 1,048—each page but a trifle smaller than a page of the Review. If this great work

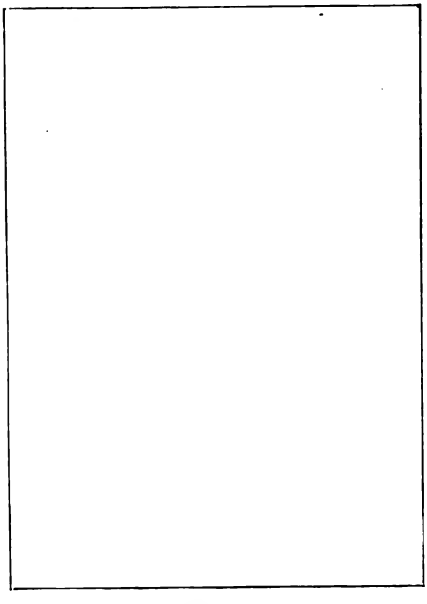
KARL MARX

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were published for profit by a capitalist publisher, the price would be not less than $15.00 for the set. Our price is $6.00, and each volume may be bought separately at $2.00. A stockholder in our publishing house buys the three volumes at $3.00 ($1.00 each) if he pays the expressage, or at $3.60 ($1.20 each) if we pay it.

If you are not already a stockholder, and want to become one, send $12.00 and we will send the complete set of **Capital**, in a strong paper box, by express prepaid, and will mail you a fully paid certificate for a share of stock. This will entitle you to buy all our books, and as many of each title as you want, at these same discounts.

A Debt of Thanks. The publication of this complete edition of **Capital** would not have been possible but for the generosity of Eugene Dietzgen, son of the great socialist philosopher Joseph Dietzgen. He has for years paid a salary to Comrade Untermann, to enable him to put his full strength upon the difficult task of translating, and he has turned over the copyright of the translation to our co-operative publishing house with no royalty or other compensation. But for this, it would have been impossible, even with our co-operative method, to publish Marx's great work at a price so far below its real value. The socialist movement owes a debt of thanks to Eugene Dietzgen.



FREDERICK ENGELS

OUR FINANCES FOR MAY. Those who are watching our reports from month to month will observe an encouraging increase in book sales and Review subscriptions. The donation of $374.90 is also an important help toward putting the publishing house on a solid basis. Our expenditures last month for the printing of books were unusually large, and we broke all records with the expenditure of $403.39 for postage and expressage. Here are the figures:

Receipts.

Cash balance May 1	$ 165.04
Book sales	1,718.81
Review subscriptions and sales	823.62
Review advertising	12.50
Sale of stock	110.48
Loans from stockholders	780.00
Donations from stockholders	374.90
Total	$3,985.35

Expenditures.

Manufacture of books	$ 954.07
Books purchased	62.53
Printing May Review	519.94
Review articles, drawings, etc.	50.40
Wages of office clerks (5 weeks)	403.75
Charles H. Kerr, on salary	110.00
Mary E. Marcy, salary	75.00
Postage and expressage	403.39
Interest	12.00
Rent	70.00
Miscellaneous expenses	62.07
Advertising	648.12
Copyrights	60.50
Loans returned to stockholders.	303.07
Cash balance, May 31	250.51
Total	$3,985.35

Names of Contributors. The following

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list includes the names of those who have contributed money from May 17 to June 17. Only the contributions received during May are included in the summary of receipts just given. Our emergency call asked for $1,000 in contributions and $2,000 in loans. It looks as if both these figures might be reached by the end of July. In three cases the real names of contributors have been omitted at their request.

H., New York	$ 10.00
Morris Rippen, New Jersey	5.00
T. A. Williams, New Mexico	1.00
H. R. Kearns, New Jersey	2.00
A. H. Warnecke, Wisconsin	1.00
J. T. Trumbull, New York	50.00
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George Dewey, Wyoming	1.10
John Walker, Ontario	22.80
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O. J. Byre, South Dakota	1.00
O. E. Samuelson, Kansas	1.00
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A Friend, New York	5.00
A Director, Illinois	125.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois	125.00
H. P. Andreson, Washington	51.20
E. F. Magargal, Cuba	1.00
James McAlpine, Indiana	1.00
Dr. William L. Holt, California	1.00
Jacob Bruning, Illinois	10.00
Total	$439.10

MORE MONEY NEEDED.

The Review is in no danger. It is in better shape than ever before. Our receipts from subscriptions and sales in May, 1908, were $192.24, in May, 1909, $23.62. A year ago the Review was a heavy drain on the resources of the publishing house; now, although printed in a far more expensive style, it is paying its way. Our book sales are paying current expenses from month to month; there is no deficit. If our friends do not contribute another cent our work will not stop. Yet we need more money urgently.

We need the money because we are scarcely beginning to supply the demand for socialist literature. We have now on hand a stock of books that cost $7,000, mostly books in cloth binding. The Appeal to Reason last year carried a stock of pamphlets that cost nearly as much money. We have bought the good will of their book business and are paying them $500 a month for this and for advertising space in the Appeal. To get the full benefit of this advertising, we should invest several thousand dollars at this time in the printing of new pamphlets. If we were selling literature at a profit, we could borrow money at commercial rates, pay interest, and still have something left for dividends. But we are selling it at cost, and as fast as the cost can be reduced we mean to reduce prices to correspond.

There are just two safe ways for us to raise the money needed to expand our work. One is from the sale of stock. If you who read this are not already a stockholder, you can strengthen the socialist movement more by buying a share than by the expenditure of ten dollars in any other way. Incidentally, this is the cheapest way for you to build up a socialist library or to get the propaganda literature needed for work in your own neighborhood.

The other safe way to raise the money is from contributions. Most of the readers of the Review are wage-workers to whom even the price of a year's subscription is a serious matter. We do not urge these readers to contribute money; they might better put what little they can spare into literature to be circulated among their neighbors and shop-mates. But some who take the Review are fortunate enough to have some money that they can use to help the working-class movement along. To them we simply promise that every dollar contributed will be used where it will bring the largest

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possible results in the circulation of straight Socialist literature. Ours is, we believe, the only Socialist party publishing house that publishes its receipts and expenditures from month to month so that contributors can see how their money is being used. This we can do because we are paying cash for our printing and paper, we are willing to let creditors as well as contributors know just how we stand; on the other hand we are paying no dividends and no fancy salaries. The money entrusted to us is used effectively, not wasted. If we are doing the work YOU want done, give us more working capital and watch the results.

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We have bought a lot of fine imported books on social science at less than cost. We might make a profit on them, but we prefer to close them out at once to those who are helping us build up the **International Socialist Review.** These books are all bound uniformly in handsome library style. Here are the titles. We have only a few copies of each:

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John Thelwall; A Pioneer of Democracy and Social Reform in England during the French Revolution, by Charles Cestre.

Biology of English Politics, by C. H. Harvey.

Public House Reform, by A. M. Cumming.

Rates and Taxes as Affecting Agriculture, by J. S. Nicholson.

The English Republic, by W. J. Linton.

The Destitute Alien in Great Britain, by Arnold White.

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The State and Pensions in Old Age, by J. A. Spender.

The Religion of Socialism, by E. Belfort Bax.

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Outlooks from the New Standpoint, by E. Belfort Bax.

Commercial Crises of the Nineteenth Century, by H. M. Hyndman.

(To this list we add three American Books):

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When Things Were Doing, by C. A. Steere.

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THE INTERNATIONAL
Socialist Review

Vol. X. AUGUST 1909 No. 2

REVOLUTION

By Jack London.

RECEIVED a letter the other day. It was from a man in Arizona. It began "Dear Comrade." It ended "Yours for the Revolution." I replied to the letter, and my letter began "Dear Comrade." It ended "Yours for the Revolution." In the United States there are 400,000 men, of men and women nearly 1,000,000, who be-

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gin their letters "Dear Comrade," and end them "Yours for the Revolution." In Germany there are 3,000,000 men who begin their letters "Dear Comrade" and end them "Yours for the Revolution;" in France, 1,000,000 men; in Austria, 800,000 men; in Belgium, 300,000 men; in Italy, 250,000 men; in England, 100,000 men; in Switzerland, 100,000 men; in Denmark, 55,000 men; in Sweden, 50,000 men; in Holland, 40,000 men; in Spain, 30,000 men—comrades all, and revolutionists.

These are numbers which dwarf the grand armies of Napoleon and Xerxes. But they are numbers, not of conquest and maintenance of the established order, but of conquest and revolution. They compose, when the roll is called, an army of 7,000,000 men, who, in accordance with the conditions of today, are fighting with all their might for the conquest of the wealth of the world and for the complete overthrow of existing society.

There has never been anything like this revolution in the history of the world. There is nothing analogous between it and the American Revolution or the French Revolution. It is unique, colossal. Other revolutions compare with it as asteroids compare with the sun. It is alone of its kind, the first world-revolution in a world whose history is replete with revolutions. And not only this, for it is the first organized movement of men to become a world-movement, limited only by the limits of the planet.

This revolution is unlike all other revolutions in many respects. It is not sporadic. It is not a flame of popular discontent, arising in a day and dying down in a day. It is older than the present generation. It has a history and traditions, and a martyr-roll only less extensive possibly than the martyr-roll of Christnanity. It has also a literature a myriad times more imposing, scientific and scholarly than the literature of any previous revolution.

They call themselves "comrades," these men, comrades in the socialist revolution. Nor is the word empty and meaningless, coined of mere lip service. It knits men together as brothers, as men should be knit together who stand shoulder to shoulder under the red banner of revolt. This red banner, by the way, symbolizes the brotherhood of man, and does not symbolize the incendiarism that instantly connects itself with the red banner in the affrighted bourgeois mind. The comradeship of the revolutionists is alive and warm. It passes over geographical lines, transcends race prejudice, and has even proved itself mightier than the Fourth of July, spread-eagle Americanism of our forefathers. The French socialist workingmen and the German socialist workingmen forget Alsace and Lorraine, and, when war threatens, pass resolutions declaring that as workingmen and comrades they have

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no quarrel with each other. Only the other day, when Japan and Russia sprang at each other's throats, the revolutionists of Japan addressed the following message to the revolutionists of Russia: "Dear Comrades —Your government and ours have recently plunged into war to carry out their imperialistic tendencies, but for us socialists there are no boundaries, race, country, or nationality. We are comrades, brothers and sisters, and have no reason to fight. Your enemies are not the Japanese people, but our militarism and so-called patriotism. Patriotism and militarism are our mutual enemies."

In January, 1905, throughout the United States the socialists held mass meetings to express their sympathy for their struggling comrades, the revolutionists of Russia, and, more to the point, to furnish the sinews of war by collecting money and cabling it to the Russian leaders.

The fact of this call for money, and the ready response, and the very wording of the call, make a striking and practical demonstration of the international solidarity of this world revolution: "Whatever may be the immediate results of the present revolt in Russia, the socialist propaganda in that country has received from it an impetus unparalleled in the history of modern class wars. The heroic battle for freedom is being fought almost exclusively by the Russian working class under the intellectual leadership of Russian socialists, thus once more demonstrating the fact that the class-conscious workingmen have become the vanguard of all liberating movements of modern times."

Here are 7,000,000 comrades in an organized, international, world-wide revolutionary movement. Here is a tremendous human force. It must be reckoned with. Here is power. And here is romance—romance so colossal as to be quite beyond the ken of ordinary mortals. These revolutionists are swayed by great passion. They have a keen sense of personal right, much of reverence for humanity, but little reverence, if any at all, for the rule of the dead. They refuse to be ruled by the dead. To the bourgeois mind, their unbelief in the dominant conventions of the established order is startling. They laugh to scorn the sweet ideals and dear moralities of bourgeois society. They intend to destroy bourgeois society with most of its sweet ideals and dear moralities, and chiefest among these are those that group themselves under such heads as private ownership of capital, survival of the fittest, and patriotism—even patriotism.

Such an army of revolution, 7,000,000 strong, is a thing to make rulers and ruling classes pause and consider. The cry of this army is. "No quarter! We want all that you possess. We will be content with nothing less than all that you possess. We want in our hands the reins of power and the destiny of mankind. Here are our hands. They are

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strong hands. We are going to take your governments, your palaces, and all your purpled ease away from you, and in that day you shall work for your bread even as the peasant in the field or the starved and runty clerk in your metropolises. Here are our hands. They are strong hands."

Well may rulers and ruling classes pause and consider. This is revolution. And further, these 7,000,000 men are not an army on paper. Their fighting strength in the field is 7,000,000. Today they cast 7,000,000 votes in the civilized countries of the world.

Yesterday they were not so strong. Tomorrow they will be still stronger.. And they are fighters. They love peace. They are unafraid of war. They intend nothing less than to destroy existing society and to take possession of the whole world. If the law of the land permits, they fight for this end peaceably, at the ballot-box. If the law of the land does not permit their peaceable destruction of society, and if they have force meted out to them, they resort to force themselves. They meet violence with violence. Their hands are strong and they are unafraid. In Russia, for instance, there is no suffrage. The government executes the revolutionists. The revolutionists kill the officers of the government. The revolutionists meet legal murder with assassination.

Now here arises a particularly significant phase which would be well for the rulers to consider. Let me make it concrete. I am a revolutionoist. Yet I am a fairly sane and normal individual. I speak, and I *think,* of these assassins in Russia as "my comrades." So do all the comrades in America, and all the 7,000,000 comrades in the world. Of what worth an organized international revolutionary movement if our comrades are not backed up the world over? The worth is shown by the fact that we do back up the assassinations by our comrades in Russia. They are not disciples of Tolstoy, nor are we. We are revolutionists.

Our comrades in Russia have formed what they call "The Fighting Organization." This Fighting Organization accused, tried, found guilty, and condemned to death, one Sipiaguin, Minister of Interior. On April 2 he was shot and killed in the Maryinsky Palace. Two years later the Fighting Organization condemned to death and executed another Minister of Interior, Von Plehve. Having done so, it issued a document, dated July 29, 1904, setting forth the counts of its indictment of Von Plehve and its responsibility for the assassination. Now, and to the point, this document was sent out to the socialists of the world, and by them was published everywhere in the magazines and newspapers. The point is, not that the socialists of the world were unafraid to do it, not that they dared to do it, but that they did it as a matter of routine, giving

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publication to what may be called an official document of the international revolutionary movement.

These are high-lights upon the revolution—granted, but they are also facts. And they are given to the rulers and the ruling classes, not in bravado, not to frighten them, but for them to consider more deeply the spirit and nature of this world revolution. The time has come for the revolution to demand consideration. It has fastened upon every civilized country in the world. As fast as a country becomes civilized, the revolution fastens upon it. With the introduction of the machine into Japan, socialism was introduced. Socialism marched into the Philippines shoulder to shoulder with the American soldiers. The echoes of the last gun had scarcely died away when socialist locals were forming in Cuba and Porto Rico. Vastly more significant is the fact that of all the countries the revolution has fastened upon, on not one has it relaxed its grip. On the contrary, on every country its grip closes tighter year by year. As an active movement it began obscurely over a generation ago. In 1867, its voting strength in the world was 30,000. By 1871, its vote had increased to 100,000. Not till 1884 did it pass the half-million point. By 1889, it had passed the million point. It had then gained momentum. In 1892 the socialist vote of the world was 1,798,391; in 1893, 2,585,898; in 1895, 3,033,718; in 1898, 4,515,591; in 1902, 5,253,054; in 1903, 6,285,374; and in the year of Our Lord, 1905, it passed the seven million mark.

Nor has this flame of revolution left the United States untouched. In 1888, there were only 2,068 socialist votes. In 1902, there were 127,713 socialist votes. And in 1904, 435,040 socialist votes were cast. What fanned this flame? Not hard times. The first four years of the twentieth century were considered prosperous years, yet in that time more than 300,000 men added themselves to the ranks of the revolutionists, flinging their defiance in the teeth of bourgeois society and taking their stand under the blood-red banner. In the State of the writer, California, one man in ten is an avowed and registered revolutionist.

One thing must be clearly understood. This is no spontaneous and vague uprising of a large mass of discontented and miserable people—a blind and instinctive recoil from hurt. On the contrary, the propaganda is intellectual; the movement is based upon economic necessity and is in line with social evolution; while the miserable people have not yet revolted. The revolutionist is no starved and diseased slave in the shambles at the bottom of the social pit, but is, in the main, a hearty, well-fed workingman, who sees the shambles waiting for him and his children and declines to descend. The very miserable people are too helpless to help themselves. But they are being helped, and the day is

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not far distant when their numbers will go to swell the ranks of the revolutionists.

Another thing must be clearly understood. In spite of the fact that middle-class men and professional men are interested in the movement, it is nevertheless a distinctly working-class revolt. The world over, it is a working-class revolt. The workers of the world, as a class, are fighting the capitalists of the world, as a class. The so-called great middle class is a growing anomaly in the social struggle. It is a perishing class (wily statisticians to the contrary), and its historic mission of buffer between the capitalist and working classes has just about been fulfilled. Little remains for it but to wail as it passes into oblivion, as it has already begun to wail in accents Populistic and Jeffersonian-Democratic. The fight is on. The revolution is here now, and it is the world's workers that are in revolt.

Naturally the question arises: Why is this so? No mere whim of the spirit can give rise to a world-revolution. Whim does not conduce to unanimity. There must be a deep-seated cause to make 7,000,000 men of the one mind, to make them cast off allegiance to the bourgeois gods and lose faith in so fine a thing as patriotism. There are many counts of the indictment which the revolutionists bring against the capitalist class, but for present need only one may be stated, and it is a count to which capital has never replied and can never reply.

The capitalist class has managed society, and its management has failed. And not only has it failed in its management, but it has failed deplorably, ignobly, horribly. The capitalist class had an opportunity such as was vouchsafed no previous ruling class in the history of the world. It broke away from the rule of the old feudal aristocracy and made modern society. It mastered matter, organized the machinery of life, and made possible a wonderful era for mankind, wherein no creature should cry aloud because it had not enough to eat, and wherein for every child there would be opportunity for education, for intellectual and spiritual uplift. Matter being mastered, and the machinery of life organized, all this was possible. Here was the chance, God-given, and the capitalist class failed. It was blind and greedy. It prattled sweet ideals and dear moralities, rubbed its eyes not once, nor ceased one whit in its greediness, and smashed down in a failure as tremendous only as was the opportunity it had ignored.

But all this is like so much cobwebs to the bourgeois mind. As it was blind in the past, it is blind now and can not see nor understand. Well, then, let the indictment be stated more definitely, in terms sharp and unmistakable. In the first place, consider the cave-man. He was a very simple creature. His head slanted back like an orang-outang's

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and he had but little more intelligence. He lived in a hostile environment, the prey of all manner of fierce life. He had no inventions nor artifices. His natural efficiency for food-getting was, say 1. He did not even till the soil. With his natural efficiency of 1, he fought off his carnivorous enemies and got himself food and shelter. He must have done all this, else he would not have multiplied and spread over the earth and sent his progeny down, generation by generation, to become even you and me.

The cave-man, with his natural efficiency of 1, got enough to eat most of the time, and no cave-man ever went hungry all the time. Also, he lived a healthy, open-air life, loafed and rested himself, and found plenty of time in which to exercise his imagination and invent gods. That is to say, he did not have to work all his waking moments in order to get enough to eat. The child of the cave-man (and this is true of the children of all savage peoples) had a childhood and by that is meant a happy childhood of play and development.

And now, how fares modern man? Consider the United States, the most prosperous and most enlightened country of the world. In the United States there are 10,000,000 people living in poverty. By poverty is meant that condition in life in which, through lack of food and adequate shelter, the mere standard of working efficiency can not be maintained. In the United States there are 10,000,000 people who have not enough to eat. In the United States, because they have not enough to eat, there are 10,000,000 people who can not keep the ordinary measure of strength in their bodies. This means that these 10,000,000 people are perishing, are dying, body and soul, slowly, because they have not enough to eat. All over this broad, prosperous, enlightened land, are men, women and children who are living miserably. In all the great cities, where they are segregated in slum-ghettos by hundreds of thousands and by millions, their misery becomes beastliness. No cave-man ever starved as chronically as they starve, ever slept as vilely as they sleep, ever festered with rottenness and disease as they fester, nor ever toiled as hard and for as long hours as they toil.

In Chicago there is a woman who toiled sixty hours per week. She was a garment worker. She sewed buttons on clothes. Among the Italian garment workers of Chicago, the average weekly wage of the dressmakers is 90 cents, but they work every week in the year. The average weekly wage of the pants finishers is $1.31, and the average number of weeks employed in the year is 27.85. The average yearly earnings of the dressmakers is $37.00; of the pants finishers, $42.41. Such wages means no childhood for the children, beastliness of living, and starvation for all.

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Unlike the cave-man, modern man can not get food and shelter by working for it. Modern man has first to find the work, and in this he is often unsuccessful. Then misery becomes acute. This acute misery is chronicled daily in the newspapers. Let several of the countless instances be cited.

In New York city lived a woman, Mary Mead. She had three children: Mary, one year old; Johanna, two years old; Alice, four years old. Her husband could find no work. They starved. They were evicted from their shelter at 160 Steuben street. Mary Mead strangled her baby, Mary, one year old; strangled Alice, four years old; failed to strangle Johanna, two years old, and then herself took poison. Said the father to the police: "Constant poverty had driven my wife insane. We lived at No. 160 Steuben street until a week ago, when we were dispossessed. I could get no work. I could not even make enough to put food into our mouths. The babies grew ill and weak. My wife cried nearly all the time."

"So overwhelmed is the Department of Charities with tens of thousands of applications from men out of work that it finds itself unable to cope with the situation."—*New York Commercial,* January 11, 1905.

In a daily paper, because he can not get work in order to get something to eat, modern man advertises as follows:

"Young man, good education, unable to obtain employment, will sell to physician and bacteriologist for experimental purposes all right and title to his body. Address for price, box 3466, Examiner."

"Frank A. Mallin went to the central police station Wednesday night and asked to be locked up on a charge of vagrancy. He said he had been conducting an unsuccessful search for work for so long that he was sure he must be a vagrant. In any event, he was so hungry he must be fed. Police Judge Graham sentenced him to ninety days' imprisonment."—*San Francisco Examiner.*

In a room at the Soto House, 32 Fourth street, San Francisco, was found the body of W. G. Robbins. He had turned on the gas. Also was found his diary, from which the following extracts are made:

"March 3.—No chance of getting anything here. What will I do?

"March 7.—Can not find anything yet.

"March 8.—Am living on doughnuts at five cents a day.

"March 9.—My last quarter gone for room rent.

"March 10.—God help me. Have only five cents left. Can get nothing to do. What next? Starvation or —? I have spent my last nickel tonight. What shall I do? Shall it be steal, beg, or die? I have never stolen, begged or starved in all my fifty years of life, but now I am on the brink—death seems the only refuge.

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"March 11.—Sick all day—burning fever this afternoon. Had nothing to eat today or since yesterday noon. My head, my head. Good-by, all."

How fares the child of modern man in this most prosperous of lands? In the city of New York 50,000 children go hungry to school every morning. From the same city on January 12, a press dispatch was sent out over the country of a case reported by Dr. A. E. Daniel, of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. The case was that of a babe, eighteen months old, who earned by its labor, fifty cents per week in a tenement sweat-shop.

"On a pile of rags in a room bare of furniture and freezing cold, Mrs. Mary Gallin, dead from starvation, with an emaciated baby four months old crying at her breast, was found this morning at 513 Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn, by Policeman McConnon of the Flushing Avenue Station. Huddled together for warmth in another part of the room were the father, James Gallin, and three children ranging from two to eight years of age. The children gazed at the policeman much as ravenous animals might have done. They were famished, and there was not a vestige of food in their comfortless home."—*New York Journal*, January 2, 1902.

In the United States 80,000 children are toiling out their lives in the textile mills alone. In the South they work twelve-hour shifts. They never see the day. Those on the night-shift are asleep when the sun pours its life and warmth over the world, while those on the day-shift are at the machines before dawn and return to their miserable dens, called "homes," after dark. Many receive no more than ten cents a day. There are babies who work for five and six cents a day. Those who work on the night-shift are often kept awake by having cold water dashed in their faces. There are children six years of age who have already to their credit eleven months' work on the night-shift. When they become sick, and are unable to rise from their beds to go to work, there are men employed to go on horseback, from house to house, and cajole and bully them into arising and going to work. Ten per cent of them contract active consumption. All are puny wrecks, distorted, stunted mind and body. Elbert Hubbard says of the child-laborers of the Southern cotton-mills:

"I thought to lift one of the little toilers to ascertain his weight. Straight away through his thirty-five pounds of skin and bones there ran a tremor of fear, and he struggled forward to tie a broken thread. I attracted his attention by a touch, and offered him a silver dime. He looked at me dumbly from a face that might have belonged to a man of sixty, so furrowed, tightly drawn, and full of pain it was. He did not

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reach for the money—he did not know what it was. There were dozens of such children in this particular mill. A physician who was with me said that they would all be dead probably in two years, and their places filled by others—there were plenty more. Pneumonia carries off most of them. Their systems are ripe for disease, and when it comes there is no rebound—no response. Medicine simply does not act—nature is whipped, beaten, discouraged, and the child sinks into a stupor and dies."

So fares modern man and the child of modern man in the United States, most prosperous and enlightened of all countries on earth. It must be remembered that the instances given are instances only, but that they can be multiplied myriads of times. It must also be remembered that what is true of the United States is true of all the civilized world. Such misery was not true of the cave-man. Then what has happened? Has the hostile environment of the cave-man grown more hostile for his descendants? Has the cave-man's natural efficiency of 1 for food-getting and shelter-getting diminished in modern man to one-half or one-quarter?

On the contrary, the hostile environment of the cave-man has been destroyed. For modern man it no longer exists. All carnivorous enemies, the daily menace of the younger world, have been killed off. Many of the species of prey have become extinct. Here and there, in secluded portions of the world, still linger a few of man's fiercer enemies. But they are far from being a menace to mankind. Modern man, when he wants recreation and change, goes to the secluded portions of the world for a hunt. Also, in idle moments, he wails regretfully at the passing of the "big game," which he knows in the not distant future will disappear from the earth.

Nor since the day of the cave-man has man's efficiency for food-getting and shelter-getting diminished. It has increased a thousand fold. Since the day of the cave-man, matter has been mastered. The secrets of matter have been discovered. Its laws have been formulated. Wonderful artifices have been made, and marvelous inventions, all tending to increase tremendously man's natural efficiency of 1 in every food-getting, shelter-getting exertion, in farming, mining, manufacturing, transportation, and communication.

From the cave-man to the hand-workers of three generations ago, the increase in efficiency for food-and-shelter-getting has been very great. But in this day, by machinery, the efficiency of the hand-worker of three generations ago has in turn been increased many times. Formerly it required 200 hours of human labor to place 100 tons of ore on a railroad car. Today, aided by machinery, but two hours of human labor are required to do the same task. The United States Bureau of

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Labor is responsible for the following table, showing the comparatively recent increase in man's food-and-shelter-getting efficiency:

	Machine Hours.	Hand Hours.
Barley (100 bushels)	9	211
Corn (50 bushels shelled, stalks, husks and blades cut into fodder)	34	228
Oats (160 bushels)	28	265
Wheat (50 bushels)	7	160
Loading ore (loading 100 tons iron ore on cars)	2	200
Unloading coal (transferring 200 tons from canal boats to bins 400 feet distant)	20	240
Pitchforks (50 pitchforks, 12-inch tines)	12	200
Plow (one landside plow, oak beams and handles)	3	118

According to the same authority, under the best conditions for organization in farming, labor can produce 20 bushels of wheat for 66 cents, or 1 bushel for 3 1-3 cents. This was done on a bonanza farm of 10,000 acres in California, and was the average cost of the whole product of the farm, Mr. Carroll D. Wright says that today 4,500,000 men, aided by machinery, turn out a product that would require the labor of 40,000,000 men if produced by hand. Prof. Herzog, of Austria, says that 5,000,000 people with the machinery of today, employed at socially useful labor, would be able to supply a population of 20,000,000 people with all the necessaries and small luxuries of life by working 1½ hours per day.

This being so, matter being mastered, man's efficiency for food-and-shelter-getting being increased a thousand-fold over the efficiency of the cave-man, then why is it that millions of modern men live more miserably than lived the cave-man? This is the question the revolutionist asks, and he asks it of the managing class, the capitalist class. The capitalist class does not answer it. The capitalist class can not answer it.

If modern man's food-and-shelter-getting efficiency is a thousand-fold greater than that of the cave-man, why, then, are there 10,000,000 people in the United States today who are not properly sheltered and properly fed? If the child of the cave-man did not have to work, why, then, today, in the United States, are 80,000 children working out their lives in the textile factories alone? If the child of the cave-man did not have to work, why, then, today, in the United States, are there 1,752,187 child-laborers?

It is a true count in the indictment. The capitalist class has mismanaged, is today mismanaging. In New York city 50,000 children go hungry to school, and in New York city there are 1,320 millionaires. The point, however, is not that the mass of mankind is miserable because of the wealth the capitalist class has taken to itself. Far from it. The point really is that the mass of mankind is miserable, not for want

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of the wealth taken by the capitalist class, but for want of the wealth that was never created. This wealth was never created because the capitalist class managed too wastefully and irrationally. The capitalist class, blind and greedy, grasping madly, has not only not made the best of its management, but made the worst of it. It is a management prodigiously wasteful. This point can not be emphasized too strongly.

In face of the facts that modern man lives more wretchedly than the cave-man, and that modern man's food-and-shelter-getting efficiency is a thousand-fold greater than the cave-man's, no other solution is possible than that the management is prodigiously wasteful.

With the natural resources of the world, the machinery already invented, a rational organization of production and distribution, and an equally rational elimination of waste, the able-bodied workers would not have to labor more than two or three hours per day to feed everybody, clothe everybody, house everybody, educate everybody and give a fair measure of little luxuries to everybody. There would be no more material want and wretchedness, no more children toiling out their lives, no more men and women and babes living like beasts and dying like beasts. Not only would matter be mastered, but the machine would be mastered. In such a day incentive would be finer and nobler than the incentive of today, which is the incentive of the stomach. No man, woman, or child would be impelled to action by an empty stomach. On the contrary, they would be impelled to action as a child in a spelling match is impelled to action, as boys and girls at games, as scientists formulating law, as inventors applying law, as artists and sculptors painting canvases and shaping clay, as poets and statesmen serving humanity by singing and by state-craft. The spiritual, intellectual, and artistic uplift consequent upon such a condition of society would be tremendous. All the human world would surge upward in a mighty wave.

This was the opportunity vouchsafed the capitalist class. Less blindness on its part, less greediness and a rational management were all that was necessary. A wonderful era was possible for the human race. But the capitalist class failed. It made a shambles of civilization. Nor can the capitalist class plead not guilty. It knew of the opportunity. Its wise men told it of the opportunity, its scholars and its scientists told it of the opportunity. All that they said is there today in the books, just so much damning evidence against it. It would not listen. It was too greedy. It rose up (as it rises up today), shamelessly, in our legislative halls, and declared that profits were impossible without the toil of children and babes. It lulled its conscience to sleep with prattle of sweet ideals and dear moralities, and allowed the suffering and misery

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of mankind to continue and to increase. In short, the capitalist class failed to take advantage of the opportunity.

But the opportunity is still here. The capitalist class has been tried and found wanting. Remains the working class to see what it can do with the opportunity. "But the working class is incapable," says the capitalist class. "What do you know about it?" the working class replies. "Because you have failed is no reason that we shall fail. Furthermore, we are going to have a try at it anyway. Seven millions of us say so. And what have you to say to that?"

And what can the capitalist class say? Grant the incapacity of the working class. Grant that the indictment and the argument of the revolutionists are all wrong. The 7,000,000 revolutionists remain. Their existence is a fact. Their belief in their capacity, and in their indictment and their argument, is a fact. Their constant growth is a fact, Their intention to destroy present-day society is a fact, as is also their intention to take possession of the world with all its wealth and machinery and governments. Moreover, it is a fact that the working class is vastly larger than the capitalist class.

The revolution is a revolution of the working class. How can the capitalist class, in the minority, stem this tide of revolution? What has it to offer? What does it offer? Employers' associations, injunctions, civil suits for plundering of the treasuries of the labor unions, clamor and combination for the open shop, bitter and shameless opposition to the eight-hour day, strong efforts to defeat all reform child-labor bills, graft in every municipal council, strong lobbies and bribery in every legislature for the purchase of capitalist legislation, bayonets, machine-guns, policemen's clubs, professional strike-breakers, and armed Pinkertons—these are the things the capitalist class is dumping in front of the tide of revolution, as though, forsooth, to hold it back.

The capitalist class is as blind today to the menace of the revolution as it was blind in the past to its God-given opportunity. It cannot see how precarious is its position, can not comprehend the power and the portent of the revolution. It goes on its placid way, prattling sweet ideals and dear moralities, and scrambling sordidly for material benefits.

No overthrown ruler or class in the past ever considered the revolution that overthrew it, and so with the capitalist class of today. Instead of compromising, instead of lengthening its lease of life by conciliation and by removal of some of the harsher oppressions of the working class, it antagonizes the working class, drives the working class into revolution. Every broken strike in recent years, every legally plundered trade-union treasury, every closed shop made into an open shop, has driven the members of the working class directly hurt over to socialism by hundreds

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and thousands. Show a workingman that his union fails, and he becomes a revolutionist. Break a strike with an injunction or bankrupt a union with a civil suit, and the workingmen hurt thereby listen to the siren song of the socialist and are lost forever to the *political capitalist* parties.

Antagonism never lulled revolution, and antagonism is about all the capitalist class offers. It is true, it offers some few antiquated notions which were very efficacious in the past, but which are no longer efficacious. Fourth-of-July liberty in terms of the Declaration of Independence and of the French Encyclopedists is scarcely apposite today. It does not appeal to the workingman who has had his head broken by a policeman's club, his union treasury bankrupted by a court decision, or his job taken away from him by a labor-saving invention. Nor does the Constitution of the United States appear so glorious and constitutional to the workingman who has experienced a bull-pen or been unconstitutionally deported from Colorado. Nor are this particular workingman's hurt feelings soothed by reading in the newspapers that both the bull-pen and the deportation were pre-eminently just, legal and constitutional. "To hell, then, with the constitution!" says he, and another revolutionist has been made—by the capitalist class.

In short, so blind is the capitalist class that it does nothing to lengthen its lease of life, while it does everything to shorten it. The capitalist class offers nothing that is clean, noble and alive. The revolutionists offer everything that is clean, noble and alive. They offer service, unselfishness, sacrifice, martyrdom—the things that sting awake the imagination of the people, touching their hearts with the fervor that arises out of the impulse toward good and which is essentially religious in its nature.

But the revolutionists blow hot and blow cold. They offer facts and statistics, economics and scientific arguments. If the workingman be merely selfish, the revolutionists show him, mathematically demonstrate to him that his welfare will be bettered by the revolution. If the workingman be the higher type, moved by impulses toward right conduct, if he have soul and spirit, the revolutionists offer him the things of the soul and the spirit, the tremendous things that can not be measured by dollars and cents, nor be held down by dollars and cents. The revolutionist cries out upon wrong and injustice, and preaches righteousness. And, most potent of all, he sings the eternal song of human freedom—a song of all lands and all tongues and all time.

Few members of the capitalist class see the revolution. Most of them are too ignorant, and many are too afraid to see it. It is the same old story of every punishing ruling class in the world's history. Fat with power and possession, drunken with success, and made soft and

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mushy by surfeit and by cessation of struggle, they are like the drones clustered about the honey-vats when the worker-bees spring upon them to end their rotund existence.

President Roosevelt vaguely sees the revolution, is frightened by it and recoils from seeing it. As he says: "Above all, we need to remember that any kind of class animosity in the political world is, if possible even more wicked, even more destructive to national welfare, than sectional, race, or religious animosity."

Class animosity in the political world, President Roosevelt maintains, is wicked. But class animosity in the political world is the preachment of the revolutionists. "Let the class wars in the industrial world continue," they say, "but extend the class war to the political world." As their leader, Eugene V. Debs, says: "So far as this struggle is concerned, there is no good capitalist and no bad workingman. Every capitalist is your enemy and every workingman is your friend."

Here is class animosity in the political world with a vengeance. And here is revolution. In 1888 there were only 2,000 revolutionists of this type in the United States; in 1900 there were 127,000 revolutionists; in 1904, 435,000 revolutionists. Wickedness of the President Roosevelt definition evidently flourishes and increases in the United States. Quite so, for it is the revolution that flourishes and increases.

Here and there a member of the capitalist class catches a clear glimpse of the revolution, and raises a warning cry. But his class does not heed. President Eliot of Harvard raised such a cry: "I am forced to believe there is a present danger of socialism never before so imminent in America in so dangerous a form, because never before imminent in so well organized a form. The danger lies in the obtaining control of the trades unions by the socialists." And the capitalist employers, instead of giving heed to the warnings, are perfecting their strike-breaking organization and combining more strongly than ever for a general assault upon that dearest of all things to the trades unions, the closed shop. Insofar as this assault succeeds, by just that much will the capitalist class shorten its lease of life. It is the old, old story, over again, and over again. *The drunken drones still cluster greedily about the honey-vats.*

Possibly one of the most amusing spectacles of today is the attitude of the American press toward the revolution. It is also a pathetic spectacle. It compels the onlooker to be aware of a distinct loss of pride in his species. Dogmatic utterance from the mouth of ignorance may make gods laugh, but it should make men weep. And the American editors (in the general instance) are so impressive about it! The old "divide-up," "men-are-*not*-born-free-and-equal" propositions are enunciated gravely

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and sagely, as things white-hot and new from the forge of human wisdom. Their feeble vaporings show no more than a schoolboy's comprehension of the nature of the revolution. Parasites themselves on the capitalist class, serving the capitalist class by molding public opinion, they, too, cluster drunkenly about the honey-vats.

Of course, this is true only of the large majority of American editors. To say that it is true of all of them would be to cast too great obloquy upon the human race. Also, it would be untrue, for here and there an occasional editor does see clearly—and in his case, ruled by stomach-incentive, is usually afraid to say what he thinks about it. So far as the science and the sociology of the revolution are concerned, the average editor is a generation or so behind the facts. He is intellectually slothful, accepts no facts until they are accepted by the majority, and prides himself upon his conservatism. He is an instinctive optimist, prone to believe that what ought to be, is. The revolutionist gave this up long ago, and believes not that what ought to be, is, but what is, is, and that it may not be what it ought to be at all.

Now and then, rubbing his eyes vigorously, an editor catches a sudden glimpse of the revolution and breaks out in naive volubility, as, for instance, the one who wrote the following in the "Chicago Chronicle", "American socialists are revolutionsts. They know that they are revolutionists. It is high time that other people should appreciate the fact."—A white-hot, brand-new discovery, and he proceeded to shout it out from the house-tops that we, forsooth, were revolutionists. Why, it was just what we have been doing all these years—shouting it out from the house-tops that we are revolutionists, and stop us who can.

The time should be past for the mental attitude: "Revolution is atrocious. Sir, there is no revolution." Likewise should the time be past for that other familiar attitude: "Socialism is slavery. Sir, it will never be." It is no longer a question of dialectics, theories, and dreams. There is no question about it. The revolution is a fact. It is here now. Seven million revolutionists, organized, working day and night, are preaching the revolution—that passionate gospel, the Brotherhood of Man. Not only is it a cold-blooded economic propaganda, but it is in essence a religious propanganda with a fervor in it of Paul and Christ. The capitalist class has been indicted. It has failed in its management and its management is to be taken away from it. Seven million men of the working class say that they are going to get the rest of the working class to join with them and take the management away. The revolution is here now. Stop it who can.

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THE BARITONE'S TALE

A TRUE STORY.

By May and E. J. Beals-Hoffpauir.

"Love cometh through the proletaire,
Or through the downmost man you meet,
Or through the hunted and the bound,
Or through the woman of the street."

D'ALMAINE stood at the door of a cheap ng house and lighted his cigar. It was an cigar and he noticed with deep regret that of its kind remained in the case. Just then acquaintance paused with a friendly word and D'Almaine held out the case and was genuinely sorry to learn that the other was a non-smoker.

"Yes, eet ees hard lines," he said, but his voice was that of a conqueror. "Eet ees hard lines, but you understand, M'sieu Hendreck, eet ees not for myself zat I grieve. Ah, no! Eet ees vaire often zat I am what you call broke. I am to eet well accustom. We boys have no grief for ourself. But, mon dieu! ze young demoiselles."

"Too bad about the girls."

"Non, non," cried D'Almaine, mistaking the other's meaning. "I tell you, M'sieu Hendreck, zare ees not'ing bad about zose girls. Look you, eet ees zat zey go in a show. For zat are zey misjudge."

"Oh, yes, of course. You misunderstood me. I mean it's too bad they're up against it like this. They're so young."

"Mam'zelle Florabelle ees fourteen," said D'Almaine with a break in his soft southern voice. "Mam'zelle Fifi ees sixteen and so also ees Mam'zelle Inez. So young are zey and so far from zey home. Ze heart zat would have for zem no peety, eet ees of stone."

"I guess you've found a good many stony hearts in this burg."

"Oui, mon Dieu! And I have learn mooch, M'sieu Hendreck. I have learn mooch."

They were strolling up the sunny street together—D'Almaine talking excitedly and gesticulating with hands, shoulders and eye brows.

"Eet ees last night I say to you, 'Tell me who ees ze best man in

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zees town.' Eet ees last night, M'sieu Hendreck."

His vehement voice and manner seemed accusing.

"Yes," admitted Hendricks, "it was last night."

"And you say to me, 'Reverend Meestair Allison, ze pastor of ze Church of ze Immaculate Mother; he ees ze best man for good works of charity and for ze saintly life."

"Yes," said Hendricks, "he has that reputation."

"He ees zen a fake, a hypocrite, M'sieu Hendreck. He ees a tombstone whitewashed. Sacre! I would not have ze heart of zat man. Eet ees of a stoniness! Diable!"

"You called on him this morning?"

"Oui, M'sieu Hendreck. I tell him all. He has already heard zat our manager have abducted all our fund, and zat we are stranded in zees town. He know eet ees not ze fault of any one of us. I relate to heem ze so tender age of ze young girls. Mon Dieu! You could not conceive hees answer what eet was, M'sieu Hendreck?"

"No. I banked on his digging up."

"He said to me, 'I am a meeneestair of ze gospel. I cannot soil my hands of such creatures.' Sacre blieu! Zose young girls innocent. He ees not fit for to wipe zaire feet upon. I tell heem so. 'Damn your gospel!' I say, for hees scorn go like wine to my head. 'Eef your gospel make zat eets meeneestair must not help ze perishing innocents zen was your gospel spawned een ze blackest hell.'

"I say more, teel ze Reverend Meestair Allison grow white and shake of a rage. He say, 'I am a meeneestair of ze gospel. How dare you address me thus?'

" 'Eef you pose as a meeneestair of ze Christ who make hees last command on earth, "Feed my lambs," zen I dare tell you zat you are a liar and a fake, and you are too a thief, for you have stolen ze place of ze true shepherd who would feed ze lambs.'

"I turn my back on ze so unnatural pastor. I slam ze door between us. I shake ze dust from my feet. I ask ze first tough I meet to tell me ze name of ze worst woman een ze town.

" 'Glenda Jackson,' he say. 'She ees ze proprietor of ze Jackson House. She have shot two men. I guess her rep could not be of a more shadiness.'

"I go zen to ze Jackson House and ask for ze madame. Eet ees a high-class house. All ze women I saw were vaire well-gowned and to appearance outwardly well-bred and modest. Glenda Jackson came to see me een ze parlor and I told her my beezness. She ask ze age of ze girls and I tell her. Look you, M'sieu Hendreck, eet ees to her interest economic zat such girls come upon ze street. So young are zey, so beau-

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tiful, and zey dance, zey sing. But Madame Jackson have ze heart motherly.

"'I weel myself pay ze fare of ze youngest girl to her home,' she said. 'Eef you have deefeeculty to raise ze rest, come to me and I weel geeve more.'

"But I had no deefeeculty to raise ze rest, for I go no more to preachers. I go to scarlet women and to bartenders."

D'Almaine smiled and his rich, baritone voice grew caressingly tender.

"Ah," he said, "eet ees een ze underworld zat we find ze loving heart. Eet ees strange, yes, zat what you call, ze respectablees always ze tombstone whitewashed.

"You haf a poem een ze Anglais," he went on after a moment, "which tell zat an angel came down to a son of Adam een in a golden light like a lily een bloom. 'I am writing een a book of gold,' ze angel say, 'ze name of all zose who love ze Lord.' You and zat poem are fameeliar, perhaps, M'sieu Hendreck?"

"No," said Hendricks, wishing to hear the Frenchman's version, "it doesn't occur to me."

"He say to ze angel, zat son of Adam, 'Ees my name at all written among ze name of zose who love ze Lord?'

"'Nay, so eet ees not,' ze angel tell heem.

"So he say to ze angel, 'Write me zen at ze last as one who love hees fellowmen.'

"And ze angel write something and vanish. But nex' night he again appear and show to ze son of Adam zat book of gold. And lo! ze name of ze man who loves hees fellowman ees written highest of all."

D'Almaine paused to relight his cigar.

"Eef ze Reverend Meestair Allison find hees name at all written een ze book of gold," he said, whimsically, "eet weel be een ze rear of ze name of ze bartenders and ze scarlet women."

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THEY WILL REMAIN IN THE CITY DURING THE VACATION SEASON.

Mrs. Lezinski, of 392 1-2 Jefferson street, expects to spend the summer in the city, and will not go to the country for the hot season. The illness of one of her children, together with certain reasons of a business nature, make it impossible for her to leave town for a period of much needed recuperation and rest.

Mr. James Quinn, connected with the gas company, will not take a vacation this summer. Imperative business necessitates his presence in the city during the torrid season, and, for this reason, he will not go to the country or the seashore. His family will also remain in the city.

Mrs. Joseph Bergman, of West Canal street, will remain in her town house through the summer. She had hoped to take her children to the country during the intense heat of July and August, but business reasons make it inconvenient to do so.

There are few keener observers of men and things than McCutcheon, the Chicago Tribune's cartoonist, but we naturally expect his work to be colored by the material interests of the capitalists who pay him a salary proportioned to the scarcity of first-class artists. The cartoons reproduced above, which appeared in a recent issue of the Tribune, are a pleasant surprise, and we are glad to pass them on.

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THE HIGHER CRIMINAL COURTS

years ago a certain prominent judge is re-
to have made the statement that the poor
d no show in the courts. This may sound like
ds of an obscure agitator, but the man who
m is no less a personage than President Taft.
This remark is quoted from an address he gave before the Virginia Bar Association.

It is becoming more and more patent every day that money talks louder in the courts of America than any other commodity. "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none" was a famous American slogan. Yet among the rich men who have been tried in the United States during the past ten years, very few have ever been convicted. Even the capitalist papers confess that Charles L. Morse, recently sentenced to serve several years, has been allowed to leave the jail to attend to his business affairs.

Rich men come from the exploiting class. When their piratical methods smell to the heavens and they are unable to conceal their deeds—when the hue and cry against them can not be smothered, these men receive the support of their class. The best lawyers are retained

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for them, appeals are made; stays are granted and quibbles framed. In fact, the rich man, who has been indicted, may feel almost certain that, all else failing, his case can be prolonged for years—that he will be able to end his days peacefully in the full possession of his liberty.

If rich men were often sent to prison, it would only be a short time before we would see a marked improvement in the places of confinement. The ruling class would not long hesitate to take care of the members of its own class even at the expense of bettering the conditions of the wage-worker prisoners. For the men in power are thoroughly class-conscious. A Senator or Congressman can not be arrested during the time he is in office. And it is almost impossible to prosecute a police officer or a judge. If they are brought to trial, we usually find several big politicians giving them their support to the last extremity. Generally, the accused has been closely allied with them and his "crimes" are so honeycombed with their own shady affairs that self-preservation compels them to see him through.

Have you ever attended court and observed the austerity and dignity of the average judge? If you have not, make it your business to be present occasionally at the criminal or higher court proceedings. And mark well the Judge! The man who decides the fate of the poor wretches that come up before him. With what calm unconcern he consigns the starving workman, who has stolen a few dollars, to the slow death-breathing horror of Sing Sing! Or with what off-hand

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certainty measures the "crimes" of the hold-up man, who is but the product of society and the proof of her failure! She hath sown the wind and reaps these men, the whirlwind, therefore, let us punish the whirlwind.

The Constitution provides that "excessive bail shall not be required," also "that cruel and unusual punishment shall not be inflicted." But in such things, of course, the Constitution is out of date. In the matter of injunctions, however, and where its provisions can be cited to their ends, the Constitution is ever on the tongue of our judiciary.

Gilson Gardner, in an article that appeared in the Appeal to Reason, credits (?) Judge Wright with saying that "there is always somebody that has to be ground in the mud." Evidently they do not intend that it shall be the judiciary.

Not long ago, President Taft is reported to have said that we would probably soon eliminate the jury system. The first action I have seen to this end has already been taken by the District Attorneys' Association of Southern California. It was decided to recommend to the State Legislature important changes in the laws governing grand juries, civil and criminal cases, viz.: a reduction in the number of grand jurymen, the return of a verdict by three-fourths of a jury, reduction of the number of challenges allowed the defense, and a broadening of the scope of indictments.

All over the country, from Maine to California, the state legislatures, urged by the prosecuting attorneys, officialdom and members of the exploiting class, are assiduously at work cutting off and curtailing rights and privileges. In this way they will make it almost impossible for a member of the working class to escape the clutches of the law, once he is placed under arrest—be he guilty or innocent.

Do you know the men who "chance" (?) to be drawn on juries year after year, who never have any other jobs, and yet manage to live somehow in comfort? It has always seemed a little strange to me, particularly when I noticed that the juries on which these men served invariably brought in a verdict against the defendant. Perhaps some one more closely connected with the administration of "justice" could explain this phenomenon.

No man is ever wholly unprejudiced, a judge least of all. He usually comes from a well-to-do or a wealthy family. Often he has been a corporation lawyer. His friends and interests are with the exploiting class. He sees things as they see them. His advancement is dependent on their continued prosperity. Actual bribes may very rarely be paid our judiciary. At any rate, cases where this has been done rarely

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come to light. But the judge is often influenced just the same. A more potent, a more dangerous and subtle factor—a desire to serve those who are powerful and can return the service, accomplishes the result. And even where a judge has nothing to gain, his associates, his own experiences and the experiences of his class, all tend to incline him toward leniency in his dealing with the rich. The same may be said of all prosecuting attorneys. Even juries hesitate to convict a rich and powerful man. Besides, should a case be decided against him, the Supreme Court can always reverse the decision.

Nothing can shatter the beautiful faith (of the exploiting class) in the "integrity of the courts." The courts have never yet failed to protect the property holder. And this is as it has always been. The law has ever been the bulwark of those who possess economic power. Always as new economic forces have arisen, the laws have changed also to foster and maintain them.

Gradually the courts are becoming stronger. The attention of the people has been diverted toward other matters, until the powers of our judiciary are becoming a huge menace to the working class.

Backed by the press, this great force is slowly but surely enmeshing us, threatening the few liberties the proletariat still possesses. It will only be a question of time before the poor man who once falls into the hands of the police may well abandon hope.

Already is the man who has served one sentence regarded as the legitimate prey of official powers. For him at least a government even nominally "of, for and by the people" has ceased to exist.

HORRORS OF PRISON LIFE.

American officials have drawn considerably upon the fiendish devices of European countries in promoting respect for the law. They have borrowed from France the identification system of Bertillon, which aids in the capture of escaped prisoners, or to locate convicts who have served their terms, but who may be suspected of further offenses. They have searched the criminal codes of Russia, Germany, England and, in fact, all countries for new forms of punishment. They have even drawn on the Dark Ages for other ways to chastise their fellow-men.

Writing of the Rhode Island state prison, Charles Budlong says, "Men are sometimes kept in dungeons, damp, foul and rat-inhabited, chained to doors with only a crust of bread and a cup of water to sustain their miserable existence. I have seen poor fellows beaten with clubs or 'black-jacks' until rendered unconscious and bleeding, then

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thrown into these dungeons and kept there for days. One fellow in particular was kept 38 days in this condition, and when at last released, resembled more nearly a skeleton than a human being."

The rules of these places are very rigid and inmates are punished for the merest trifle. I have known mere boys to be placed in a strait jacket and laced so tightly that they could only breathe with the greatest difficulty and kept in this condition from one to twelve hours for the awful offense of talking in their cells. When they were released from this sorry plight, they could not stand upon their feet and their limbs would be covered with welts and ridges made by the ropes with which they had been tied. One of the unfortunates told the head warden that he could not work right away and the reply was, in a voice of thunder, "YOU'LL WORK!" Yet this warden delighted to preach and to exhort! A young man afflicted with epilepsy often fell to the floor. On one occasion when reviving from this condition, he found the head warden plunging needles into him to find out if he was alive. Another man on coming in from work, fell suddenly ill. He asked for medicine and he was told to go to his cell. He started to obey, but fell dead on entering his cell. Another man was reported for punishment every day, as he had incurred the enmity of one of the guards. He was put into the dungeon. After twenty days he was released and died in less than two hours. He was nailed up in a box and interred in the Potter's Field. Another man, tied up in the strait jacket, frequently fainted away. At other times his screams and pleading cries would be heart-rending in the extreme. In case visitors chanced to heard the cries and inquired into the cause, they were informed that a man had just been brought in suffering from the "horrors" and a physician was trying to quiet him! God knows the horror part of it was true enough, but it was a lie just the same.

Another man had committed a small offense, but in such a way that he was held technically guilty of a greater one. He was sentenced for ten years, and the rigorous treatment to which he was subjected so worked upon his sensitive nature that in a short time he became insane. I have seen this man beaten and knocked down a hundred times, until after suffering this way for several years he was transferred to the insane asylum. One burly guard told another that "Andrew has had several ribs broken, also his collarbone, but he gets punished regularly every week whether he needs it or not, just to keep him in trim!" Generally, if a prisoner finds a chance he will commit suicide.

The writer then goes on to mention the great number confined in prisons who are *entirely innocent.* The author continues: "But suppose an innocent man is restored to liberty, what is given him for his loss of time and the indignity to which he has been subjected? NOTHING—

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absolutely NOTHING. He is simply 'pardoned,' that is all. Think of the awful irony in the word 'pardoned' in a connection like this! How is it possible to pardon a man for an offense he did not commit?"

Another case that I remember is that of a young man, recently married, who shortly after, was driven by poverty to steal a few dollars. He was sentenced for five years. The poor fellow so brooded over his disgrace that he tried to end his trouble by jumping out of a high story shop window to the stone pavement fifty feet below. Several bones were broken but the man lived. The next day the papers were full of the bold attempt this man had made to escape. These "escapes" are called "cheating the law." Yes, the man had made a bold attempt to escape, but not in the sense that the guards had the papers give to the affair. It would never do to let the public know that prisoners were treated so inhumanly that they preferred death rather than living. So it was made to appear that the well-fed and lazy guards were hard pressed to keep such unruly men in check.

It is generally thought by the people that a man must have com-

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mitted some awful crime to land in the "pen." This is by no means the case. A very small thing will often conspire to put a man there.

Many years ago, Hon. I. T. Reynalds of Kansas wrote his "Twin Hells," a fearful disclosure of the horrors of the state prisons of Kansas and Missouri. Although the book was widely read, no actual changes ever came of it. In fact, reform of any kind is precisely what the public officials do not want.

The sad spectacle was presented, but a few months ago, of an ex-convict pleading with the state legislature at Sacramento, California, for certain reforms to be placed on the statute books of the state. One of his measures was passed by a narrow majority of the members. The Governor of the State (Gillette) did not, however, sign the proposed bill. The author of the bill was Col. Griffith J. Griffith, to whom I am indebted for some of the following material.

Says he: "Last summer I traveled 10,000 miles in the United States, and visited every prison in the republic. It is my conviction that the average prison hardens and degrades and is a perpetual exhibition of cruel arbitrary power. In the short course of my life in San Quentin, the Pacific chamber of horrors, I can only say that it was one grim, grisly, ghastly record of life in one of the world's greatest penitentiaries, a glimpse of hell on earth, and I could relate of it one continuous stream of fearful disclosures, tales that appall the mind, causing the brain itself to stand still as the story slowly unfolds.

"You ask, why do not the prisoners revolt? They have tried and failed many times. A huge arsenal is one of the possessions of the officials and they do not hesitate to shoot, and shoot to kill, on the slightest pretext. California is disgraced before all civilization for, if related, the deeds done in the dreadful dungeons twenty feet below the surface of the earth would fairly stagger humanity. The doctors there are heartless and cruel and many a time have I seen sights, shielded by shrouds, that were enough to sicken the soul. Most of the men there are not bad men, yet the story of San Quentin would be one red record of suffering endured by prisoners whose agonizing shrieks for mercy rend the heart of man. I slept in Room 48, right over the dungeon where most of the torture was carried on. The demons in the Dark Ages have been outdone. You ask why are not these things exposed? The papers will not print them, the legislature can hardly be made to take any notice of them. The humiliation that these men are subjected to is revolting and blood-sickening."

It is hard to get the facts of the situation as they exist in the penitentiaries. A censor reads the correspondence of all prisoners who are only permitted to write what the wardens desire told. And who

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would accept the word of a penniless ex-convict? The dark frown of an official, the menace of a bludgeon is sufficient to silence him. Col Griffith, however is of too great wealth (being a millionaire) to be silenced by official bulldozing and intends to keep on with his crusade for prison reform.

Sometimes, however, there are courageous men and women, who have never been in prison who do not hesitate to speak out upon these subjects that the officials would like so much to see suppressed. Miss Kate Barnard, Commissioner of Charities and Corrections of the new State of Oklahoma, is one of these. Oklahoma prisoners were at that time sent to Kansas, but the former state has requested the Kansas officials to return them. According to this lady the Kansas pentitentiary is a den of horrors. After the disclosures had been made to the Oklahoma legislature, some lying Kansas official was heard to remark, "The prisoners demanded roast turkey with apple sauce, brown gravy, mashed potatoes and truffles and we refused to give it to them." This statement flooded the country during the Oklahoma investigations and was given wide publicity in the press and was commented on in the capitalistic press editorials. It is safe to say the prisoners would gladly have welcomed one good meal per day!

"Almost all prisons," says Col. Griffiths, "are a nightmare of realities. A favorite torture is the 'strait jacket.' Another is the 'Oregon boot.' All the prisons are a living tomb, a sepulchre of living souls. Calloused officials abound and the deeds they do to deform and degrade the prisoner exceeds the bounds of belief. If all the damnable facts could be given wide publicity in the press they would shake the sentiment of the people from 'turret to foundation stone.' All is horrible and awful. The devilish ingenuity of the officials creates in every prison a reign of terror where diabolism is rampant. I shall denounce these things in spite of all attempts at intimidation."

There should be no jails. They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. If you would wipe them out, there would be no more criminals than now. They terrorize nobody. They are a blot upon any civilization, and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their greed.—Clarence Darrow, in "Crime and Criminals."

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Woman and the Socialist Philosophy

A REPLY TO JOSEPH E. COHEN.

By Lida Parce.



N installment VIII of "Socialism for Students," under the title of "Socialist Philosophy," Mr. Cohen makes some misleading statements which, it seems to me, ought to be corrected. These are his statements concerning woman. They ought to be corrected; first, because they are not a part of the Socialist Philosophy, and are untrue to it. Second, they ought to be corrected because they would have the effect of antagonizing intelligent women. There are numbers of women who are socialists at heart, but they are women's women first and they do not feel that the interests of women would be safe in the hands of the Socialist Party. Such women would hardly be reassured by Mr. Cohen's exposition of the Socialist philosophy on the woman question. The party is now making a special bid for the support of women and it must have that support before it can succeed.

According to Mr. Cohen, the Socialist philosophy disposes of woman in the following off-hand way: "The impulse below intellect is intuition, which is developed further in many animals than in man. Thus animals scent danger more quickly than man and are better weather prophets. And because woman is nearer to the lower forms than man, intuition is more deeply seated in the female of the race, enabling her to peremptorily pass judgments that the male arrives at only after laborious thought. Intuition is often spoken of as a female attribute."

This statement contains several errors:

(1) Intuition is not an impulse, it is a process. Feeling is the force below intellect and imparts the impulse to it.

(2) Animals do not "scent" danger by intuition, but by highly developed senses of sight, smell or hearing. If they are able to cognize impending dangers or states of the weather more swiftly and accurately than man, through intuition, they are to that extent higher and not lower forms.

But Mr. Cohen has not defined intuition for us. Lester F. Ward defines it as being "a perception of relations." And he says: "The

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data for an intuition are combined already in the brain into a psychological unit which is used as an integer and not decomposed by the intuitive act. The appropriate cortical nuclei have been previously built up by the registration of experiences." (Psychic Factors of Civilization, pp. 171-172.) Prof. Ward goes on to say: "Men do not depend upon their reason in the ordinary affairs of life. They do not employ the syllogism in seeking to decide what will be the best course to adopt to insure success in any enterprise. They use what is called "common sense."

What is there, then about this "intuition" that identifies woman with the "lower orders?" Is it the fact that woman has developed these "psychological units" by the registration of experiences? And how does man come to be a "higher form?" By not having developed them? So one would judge, by Mr. Cohen's "Philosophy."

The experience of woman, throughout the ages, has been an industrial, a constructive experience, and it is by the registrations of the constantly repeated acts of this experience, in addition to her protection of the young that woman has built up these "cortical nuclei" through which intuition functions.

Man has applied his less-developed "perception of relations" to specialized subjects more widely than woman. But will any one say that because woman's perception of relations is more highly developed than man's, therefore she can not apply it to special problems as well as he? She has not applied it to special problems to the extent that he has. because she has been handicapped by having the entire social burden of the care of the young upon her shoulders. She has not done heroic things in the past, because she had all the work to do, and was enslaved to the family. That burden is now being shifted. Man is doing his share of the work for the first time in history, whereby he is developing the higher integration of brain tissue, and acquiring intuition. Woman is beginning to have that leisure and surplus of energy which is necessary for the application of intuition to special problems, and already, though the bonds of legal enslavement, and of prejudice and tradition are not removed from her, the achievements of Madame Curie, the discoverer of radium, and of Clemence Royer, and many others have refuted this "lower form" theory.

(3) Mr. Cohen's assertion that woman is nearer to "the lower forms" is also a bit hasty. Some conclusions of Havelock Ellis (Man and Woman, pp. 447, 449) come in very neatly on this point:

"The progress of our race has been a progress in youthfulness.

"Women, it is true, remain nearer than men to the infantile state:

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but, on the other hand, men approach more nearly than women to the ape-like and senile state.

"When we have realized the position of the child in relation to evolution we can take a clearer view as to the natural position of woman. She bears the special characteristics of humanity in a higher degree than man and led evolution. Her conservatism is thus compensated and justified by the fact that she represents more nearly than man the human type to which man is approximating. It would not be difficult . . . to multiply examples of the ways in which women are leading evolution.

It seems as if Mr. Cohen's statement of the Socialist Philosophy ought to be supplemented as well as corrected on these points. It is right to claim that the Socialist Philosophy appropriates the best and latest scientific thought on the subject both of woman's biological place, as the main trunk of the species, and on that of her necessary social freedom, as a condition of social progress.

The National Platform of the Socialist Party demands "Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women," and it will hardly be claimed that this plank is inserted through "chivalry." Yet if the Socialist Philosophy had nothing more to say on the subject of woman than Mr. Cohen represents there could be no other reason than that for this plank in the platform.

What we are pleased, somewhat whimsically, to call civilization has been a distinctly masculine affair. It has been singularly deficient in the "perception of relations." Means have been considered of more importance than the end; the symbol more significant than the fact. The external has been more important than the internal, the artificial than the real. Man has thought that ways of doing things were of more importance than the people who do them. He has thought that property is more valuable than life, that capital is of more importance than labor. The capitalist system is the masculine system of production.

The prehistoric system, the feminine system of production was co-operative. It was an expression of woman's "perception of relations." It was necessary to subjugate woman—to put her perception of relations literally out of business, before the competitive system, the profit system, the system of exclusive ownership of the necessaries of life could be established. No wonder the capitalists have cold fits about "feminism." It is organically opposed to their wild Utopian scheme of the private and exclusive ownership of the necessaries of life.

The age of masculinism has been an age of religious martyrdoms, of tribal and national wars for personal ends and of sex enslavement. A little of woman's intuition would not have come amiss at any time during the last four or five thousand years. The perception and estab-

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lishment of proper social and economic relations is the whole keynote of the Socialist Philosophy. Men are beginning now to bring into action those higher integrations of brain tissue that they have been forming in their industrial life of the last few centuries, and the result is the Socialist Party. Socialism proposes to re-establish the co-operative, the feminine system of production, with those improvements in process which men have been enabled to make by reason of their greater freedom and leisure.

The Socialist Philosophy advocates the complete emancipation of woman from every social limitation that tends to limit the development of her human powers or to prevent their application in any direction in which she may see fit to apply them. Havelock Ellis expresses the Socialist Philosophy very aptly when he says:

"The hope of our future civilization lies in the development in equal freedom of both the masculine and feminine elements in life. The broader and more varied character of modern civilization seems to render this more possible than did the narrow basis of classic civilization, and there is much evidence around us that a twin movement of this kind is in progress. . . . . We are not at liberty to introduce any artificial sexual barrier into social concerns. . . . . An exaggerated anxiety lest natural law be overthrown is misplaced. The world is not so insecurely poised. We may preserve an attitude of entire equanimity in the face of social readjustment." (Man and Woman, pp. 451, 452.)

"When the darkness of ignorance has been lifted from the human mind, when want or the fear of want is no longer the nightmare of the masses, when all men are brothers and all women are sisters, the race will move higher. I do not prophesy perfection; but it is not unreasonable to hope that human beings may at least be as happy as the birds of the air, and as virtuous as the beasts of the field. I am not speaking cynically, but seriously, when I say that that will be a great improvement over ther present condition. Already I hear the rumble of the coming revolution—a revolution not of blood and bullets, but of ideas and ballots. The revolution that shall break every yoke and let the oppressed go free."—May Beals, in "The Rebel at Large."

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AN INTERVIEW

OOLEY

e gives how ire the ndustries.

that Mr. Dooley had
ılist Party, my friend
ır pads and sharpened
hunted him up at his bench in the basement of 224 South Liberty street, where he now resides. We knew that what he had to say on the subject of socialism would make a story no editor would refuse. And we were right.

We chose Friday evening for the night of our interview, as we had been given to understand that the regular meeting of the Socialist Local which Mr. Dooley had joined, met on Monday evening. Tuesday was devoted to the annihilation of debaters inveigled from the old political parties and Wednesday evening was reserved for the Young People's League. On Thursday the Class in Economics occupied the Local headquarters; while Saturday and Sunday evenings were given over to rising speakers and orators. Of these latter, Mr. Dooley was reported to be one of the most promising members. Friday seemed likely to be about the only date open on his engagement calendar. This proved to be the case.

Instead of the optimistic and enthusiastic man we had expected to meet, we found Mr. Dooley sitting before a work bench with his face buried in his hands, apparently wrapped in gloom. Reams upon reams of paper covered with miles of rows of figures lay about the room in the utmost confusion. The old pipe, so often mentioned in the delightful stories of Mr. Peter Dunne, lay forgotten upon the work bench and the can, wont to foam with the beverage that cheers, was empty.

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With a careless glance, Mr. Dooley told us to "be sated." When we made known the occasion of our call, he shook his head sadly and said, "Yis," he had joined the only true workingman's party. Then he relapsed into his attitude of despair and seemed to forget all about us. I looked at my friend and he looked at me. This was not what we had hoped to find.

"Are you ill this evening?" asked my friend, in an effort to break the ice.

"Naw," Mr. Dooley replied, heaving a deep sigh. "Only worrit—turrble worrit." Here he drew a large red handkerchief out of his pocket and wiped his brow, shaking his head hopelessly.

"Ever since I j'ined the par-rty," he began, "I've bin thry-in' to figure out the bist way fer us to take over-r the nation's industhries. It's a grate pr-roblem. Some of the comrades air fer buyin' 'em an' some says they'll hev to be took. Hinnessey's thinkin' we'll be able to penshun off Jawn D. an' th' rist. While others sez it 'ud be bitter to lave the Plutochrats kape their property an' star-rt out compatin' with 'em. It's a big quistion, and I've made up me moind I'll niver take the can over to Moike's ag'in till I've sittled ut."

At this juncture somebody knocked at the door and asked to see Mr. Dooley. The visitor proved to be the landlord come to get a pair of shoes he had left to be mended. Mr. Dooley informed him they were not ready. The landlord seemed very angry. He said he wished Mr. Dooley would pay him the back rent if he didn't intend to do the work he brought him. While the air was still heavy, the grocer appeared and demanded the payment of a grocery bill, which, it appeared, Mr. Dooley seemed inclined to neglect since the new party problem had begun to occupy his mental horizon. It took some time for Mr. Dooley to reassure him. As Wilson, the grocer, disappeared down the alley, Mr. Dooley looked at us vacantly, shaking his head again.

"It's a gr-rate quistion," he repeated, "an' I'm that worrit I can't slape nights. Ivery toime I doze off, I drheam Jawn D. Rocklfeller's a-standin' before me demandin' tin million dollars for the Standard Oil Company. I'd loike to decoide this matter and git ut off me moind. After we hundred millions iv wage-wur-rkers git complate conthrol—how'll we satisfy the half duzzen plutochrats that'll be ownin' the kunthry be thut toime?"

"Well, you said you might start out to compete with them," said my friend. "You could lay new railroads beside all the lines owned by Hill and Harriman, the Goulds and the Vanderbilts. You might gather up the oil wells old John D. had left (if there were any) and you could raise

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a few million head of cattle and put the beef trust out of business in a few years."

"Sure," said Mr. Dooley. "We cud do all thut an' a gr-rate deal more—only we'd be gittin' purty thin livin' on nothin' be th' toime we done ut. We'd hev to buy from the plutochrats in the mane toime. We wudn't hev anny money to pay 'em with, an' they'd be chargin' us intrust on ivery loan we made, an' be th' toime we got a railroad fer ourselves we'd be owin' it to thim. There don't seem to be anny solution in the compatin' loine." He sighed wearily and cast a longing glance at the empty can. Then he kicked it further under the bench.

"Besoides," he continued, "if the wurrukin' min who has got conthrol be thut toime, go to boycottin' the thrusts, we moight as well confiscate their property and be done with ut. Phat good will ut be to thim? We'd be takin' away their chanct to made dividinds."

"Why don't you decide to buy them out?" asked my friend. Mr. Dooley looked up at us sadly. He seemed surprised at the question.

Didn't ye hear phat me landlord sed here awhilst ago? An' Wilson, th' grocer, he was after his money, too. Most of me comrades is worse off. We haven't got the money. Besoides there ain't enough gold in the wurrld to satisfy Jawn D. and the others. We'd hev to give bonds an' ther'd be about twinty-foive hundhred millions we'd be owin', an' the intrust wud be somethin' turrble. Whin I died Mrs. Dooley an' me little Willie wud hev the dit tr-ransferred to their account. An' Willie's childhren wud still be a payin' ut."

"I think I'd rather pension them and be done with it," said my friend.

"That wud niver satisfy 'em," began Mr. Dooley sorrowfully. "Count Boni de Castelainey an' Anna Gould (thut wuz) wud be sayin' at wance, 'After all the hard wurruk I hev done providin' fer th' childer, wud it be ye chatin' thim out of their golden spoons? Ye'll hev to penshun thim too!' An' the pa-apers say it takes about a million a year supplyin' those paple with the nicessaries of loife.

"We wurrukin' min wud hev to be handin' out half iv our pay chicks ivery wake as long as we lived and the little ones, too. But that wudn't be enough to satisfy thim plutochrats. They'd want enough to buy up the counthry over again. They'd only ask a pinshun and a chanct to invist it—at 100 per cint." Mr. Dooley dropped his head again and sank back into his former despondent attitude.

"I'm afraid I should feel like treating the capitalists exactly as they have treated the workingmen—as they ARE treating them," said my friend.

"They niver gave us anny chanct," resumed Mr. Dooley. "They say, 'There's the job; toike it or lave it at sivin-twinty a wake.'"

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"I'd give them a dose of their own medicine," continued my friend.

Mr. Dooley shook his head sadly. "That'd suit me," he said. "They got their money payin' wurrukin' min less than their products wuz worth. We built the railroads an' operated thim; we dug the oil wells an' raised and kilt the cattle."

"But some of the comrades wants to show thim plutochrats we wurrukin' min is honester thin they are. Begorra, I think Hinnessey was right whin he set ut was foolishness to pay th' burglar fer givin' back th' things he stole—if ye'd got a strong holt on his coat collar. But some of me friend say we'll hev to give old Jawn D. a fair exchange for his property. Spakin' iv thut, I had a dhream on Chuesday, after I cum home from the debate. An' this is phat I drimt:

"It wuz the day afther th' revolution. Tin hundhred millions iv us wurrukin' min wuz standin' on Jawn D.'s dure-stip discussin' state measures. We had all the political offices an' were bossin' the job. The militia had j'ined us whin they seen how many iv us there wuz and the navy followed suit. Ivery cop on ivery bate wuz with us fer kapes. There wuzzen't annybody thut wuzzen't with us excipt th' tin grady plutochrats thut owned the airth.

"I wuz dhreamin' along, aisy, whin me knowin' fillow-citizens an' comrades app'inted me th' diligate to confer with Jawn D. on ways an' manes fer acquirin' his property.

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"'Mr. Rokyfeller,' I sez, when at last I found him in wan iv thim bomb proof rooms he'd bin livin' in since the revolution had started, 'what'll ye take for thim oil an' railroad properties iv yourn? We got all th' paple with us out here on your dure-stip waitin', an' our objict is to git hold iv all th' industrial property to operate thim fer our own binifit. We mane to do th' wurruk and own th' product.

"Me frinds has app'inted me to cum in here paceable-like, to talk ut over with ye. We don't want to hurt yer feelin's none, so phat-de-you-say?'

"Thin old Jawn D. tur-rned pale an' I saw he had some queer kind iv a big swingin' gun p'intin' right at me hade. His finger was feelin' the thrigger thut careless I felt sick.

"'I'm glad to see ye,' sez old Jawn, 'fer me frinds has app'inted me to spake fer thim—all tin iv 'em. We've got the stocks an' bonds iv all our holdings right here in this room,' he sez, 'an' we mane to kape 'em, onless thut ignernt mob gives us what they're worth.'

"'Kape yer dirty old pa-apers, I had on me tongue to say, 'they ain't wur-rth a cint. We've got the rale wurruks OUTSIDE.' But me orders wuz to remimber me manners, so I said:

"'Phat do ye own—all th' tin of ye?'

"'Well,' old Jawn said, thinkin' fer a minute, 'altogither, we hev a monopoly on about iverything.'

"'Phat air ye drivin' at? Phat'll th' tin iv ye make the price iv iverything fer?' I says.

"'We don't care to sill,' sez old Jawn, 'onless we git our price. Go till thim frinds of yourn we will sill at th' full value fer cash GOLD.'"

Here Mr. Dooley sighed deeply and his head fell forward on his hands once more. An atmosphere of deepest gloom settled over the room.

"As I sid to Hinnissey," said Mr. Dooley, wiping his eyes on the big red handkerchief, "it's a big quistion. That's the divvil iv ut; an' there ye are."

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"Value, Price and Profit" Under Universal Monopolies

By James W. Hughes.



T is by no means an easy task to write an article on this subject for a magazine, intended primarily for a propaganda purpose, for while it should be and is, the intention of the writer to present the subject to the general reading public in as clear and as concise a manner as possible, it will be necessary, however, to deal more or less with some of the technical polemics between Marxian students upon the minor details of the theory of value. The theory of value here referred to, and most of the laws governing same, are clearly set forth in Marx's masterpiece entitled "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT."

The question which here arises is: Do these laws of value hold rigidly true and are they applicable to all conditions of production under the present capitalist system?

To discuss this question intelligently, it here becomes necessary to place before the reader some of the most important laws of value as set forth by Marx in his "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT," and these laws and theories are as follows:

First. "The relative values of commodities are determined by the respective quantities or amounts of social labor, worked up, realized and fixed in them." "Or, the value of one commodity is to the value of another commodity as the quantity of labor fixed in the one is to the quantity of labor fixed in the other."

Second. "Price taken by itself is nothing but the monetary expression of value. The values of all commodities of this country (England) for example are expressed in gold prices."

Third. "The value of gold, like all other commodities, is regulated by the quantity of social labor necessary for its production under a given state of society."

Fourth. "Supply and demand regulate nothing but the temporary fluctuation of market prices. They will explain to you why the market price of a commodity rises above or sinks below its real value, but they never account for that value itself."

Fifth. "It suffices to say that if supply and demand equilibrates each other, the market price of commodities will correspond with their

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natural prices, that is to say, with their values, as determined by the respective quantities of labor required for their production,—and apart from the effect of monopolies and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are on the average sold at their respective *values* or natural prices."

Sixth. "To explain, therefore, the general nature of profits, you must start from the theorem that, on an average commodities are sold at their real value; and that *profits are derived from selling* them at their values, that is, in proportion to the quantity of labor realized in them. If you cannot explain profit upon this supposition, you cannot explain it at all."

Seventh. "There exists no such thing as the 'Value of Labor' in the common acceptance of the term. What the workingman sells is not directly his labor, but his 'labor power,' the temporary disposal of which he makes over to the capitalist."

Eighth. "Like that of every other commodity the value of *labor power* is determined by the quantity of labor necessary to produce it. The laboring power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man like the machine will wear out and must be replaced by another man. Besides the mass of necessaries required for his *own* maintenance, he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of laborers."

"Moreover, to develop his laboring power and acquire a given skill another amount of values must be spent. For our purpose it suffices to consider only *average* labor the cost of whose education and development are vanishing magnitudes. Still I must seize upon this occasion to state that, as the cost of producing laboring power of different quality differs so must differ the value of laboring powers employed in different trades. The cry of an equality of wages rests, therefore, upon a mistake, is an insane wish never to be fulfilled. It is an offspring of that false and superficial radicalism, that accepts premises and tries to evade conclusions."

Ninth. "In buying the laboring power of the workman and paying its value, the capitalist like every other purchaser has a right to consume or use the commodity bought. You consume or use the laboring power of a man by making him work as you consume or use a machine by making it run." "Now suppose that the average amount of daily necessaries of a laboring man requires six hours of average labor for their reproduction. Suppose, moreover, six hours of average labor to be also realized in a quality of gold equal to 3s '. .'. To daily reproduce his laboring power he must daily reproduce a value of three shillings, which

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he will do by working six hours daily. But this does not disable him from working ten or twelve or more hours a day. But by paying the daily or weekly value of the workman's laboring power, the capitalist has acquired the right of using that laboring power during the whole day or week. He will, therefore, make him work, say, daily *twelve* hours. Over and above the six hours required to replace his wages, or the value of his laboring power, he will therefore have to work *six other* hours which I shall call hours of *surplus* labor, which *surplus labor* will realize itself in a *surplus value* and a surplus produce."

"The value of a commodity is determined by the total quantity of labor contained in it. But part of that quantity of labor is realized in a value for which an equivalent has been paid in the form of wages; part of it is realized in a value for which no equivalent has been paid. Part of the labor contained in the commodity is paid labor; part is unpaid labor. By selling, therefore, the commodity at its value, that is, as the crystallization of the total quantity of labor bestowed upon it, the capitalist must necessarily sell it at a profit. He sells not only what has cost him an equivalent, but he sells also what has cost him nothing, although it has cost his workman labor. The cost of the commodity to the capitalist and its real cost are different things. I repeat, therefore, that normal and average profits are made by selling commodities not above, but at their real values."

Tenth. "The surplus value or that part of the total value of the commodity in which the surplus labor or unpaid labor of the workingman is realized I call profit. The whole of that profit is not pocketed by the employing capitalist. *Rents, Interest and Industrial Profit* are only different names for different parts of the *surplus value* of this commodity, or the unpaid labor enclosed in it and they are *equally derived from this source, and this source alone.* They are *not* derived from land as such or from capital as such, but land and capital *enable* their owners to get their respective shares out of the *surplus value* extracted by the employing capitalist *from the laborer.*"

Having laid before the reader the above extracts from "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT" we are now ready to discuss each proposition in its regular turn, relative to the application of each to the present day conditions. As to the first, second, third and fourth theorems, it is safe to say all Socialists worthy of the name thoroughly agree and acquiesce with the author as well as with each other as to the truth and clearness of these statements. Any further discussion here, of these first four theorems would be as foolish as useless, for they have been proven and reproven in the most logical way by the author in his "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT" and all those who are not familiar with this splendid

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little book have a treat before them, in reading it, which they cannot afford to miss.

In regard to the fifth proposition, we have here a more difficult proposition to deal with, especially in regard to "the effect of monopolies and some other modifications."

The question which arises here is: can the price of a monoplized commodity be forced perceptibly above its real value at the will of the person holding the monopoly of such a commodity? In other words: can a trust put up the price of a commodity "way above its real value" simply because the trust holds a monopoly on that commodity? Many of our best Marxian students take the affirmative on this question, and I, in turn, am forced to say that I must take issue with them regarding their views.

In the first place let us not forget that "Price," as Marx says, "is nothing but the monetary expression of value." And furthermore let me add what I have already said in the July number of this magazine that the "dollar is the unit of value in the United States and is equal to the value of 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine, or, in other words, the dollar as a unit of value is equivalent to the amount of social labor that is necessary to produce 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine and will purchase just as much of any other commodity as can be produced with the same amount of social labor that it takes to produce 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine." (For a further discussion of this subject kindly see the article referred to).

To those who hold that a monopolist can put up the price of his monopolized commodity under present conditions, at will, let me say to you that the logic of your premises in the very outset destroys your conclusion through the lack of consistency. In the first place you tell us that a monopoly on a product enables the monopolists to sell their product at a price, expressed in gold, above the product's real value, and in the same breath you assert that gold, which is also a monopolized commodity, cannot be sold at a price, expressed in other commodities, equal to the real value of the gold.

I am willing to admit that, so long as gold remained in the anarchy of production, that is to say, so long as it was produced in competition, it was in the power of the monopolists of other commodities to raise the price of their commodities as expressed in the value of the commodity gold, but no sooner than gold was monopolized, as it is at present by the great American Smelting and Refining Company (Standard Oil domination), then the Marxian Law of Value again steps out as truly applicable to the present day conditions, as it ever was in the former days of universal competition.

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Gold when monopolized, like all other monopolized commodities, gives its owner the incentive to try to sell the gold at a price (expressed in other commodities) above its real value. Other commodities when monopolized, like the commodity gold, give their owners incentives to sell their commodities at prices (expressed in gold) above their real value. The result is obvious: one force counteracts the other and compels all monopolized commodities to sell, or exchange on a whole at prices equal to their real value.

"But, ah!" you say, "gold is not completely monopolized." Neither is any other commodity completely monopolized, but most of the commodities are nearly so, and gold is as nearly monopolized as any other commodity throughout the world. There is one important commodity, however, that is *not* monopolized and that commodity is human labor power, which is bought and sold in the markets of the world, like all other commodities but under the severest and fiercest competition the world has ever seen. While all other commodities have advanced in price as expressed in gold, in order to retain their normal value, as gold grows ever cheaper and cheaper in production, so fierce has been the competition between labor, that labor power has scarcely retained its old price expressed in a new gold, produced almost twice as cheaply as gold was formerly produced. The general rise of commodities at present is not due, as some think, to the manipulation of prices by the trust magnates, but merely signifies a cheapening in the production of gold, and if the prices of our labor powers, that is, our wages or salaries do not rise in proportion, then we are being "skinned" even out of what is coming to us under this infernal system of capitalism and wage slavery.

So much for commodities being sold above their real value, by the artificial restraint of monopolies. We will now turn our attention to the other theorems of Marx.

As to some commodities always selling above their real value while others fluctuate about a point below their real value due to the compensating influence of the "average rate of profit," as set forth by Marx in Vol. III of "Capital," I will not attempt to expound here, as I intend to discuss this subject in a future article, after I have studied this work more thoroughly. It suffices here to say that so far as I have gone into Vol. III of "Capital" it is the most interesting work of Marx, especially the masterly discussions of "The Relation of the Rate of Profit to the Rate of Surplus Value" and "Formation of the Average Rate of Profit."

We now come to the question of no little importance, namely: can the productive workers be robbed in any way at the point of consumption? In other words, do the productive workers, as consumers, ever pay over to an idle set of parasites part of the value of their products, for the

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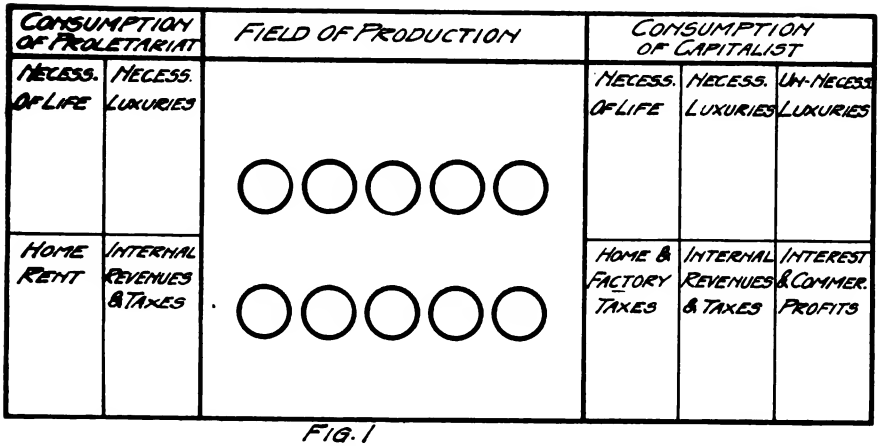


FIG. 1

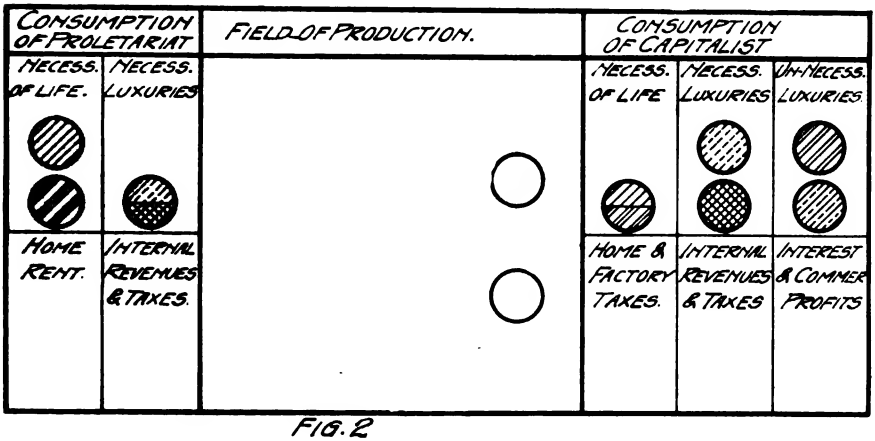


FIG. 2

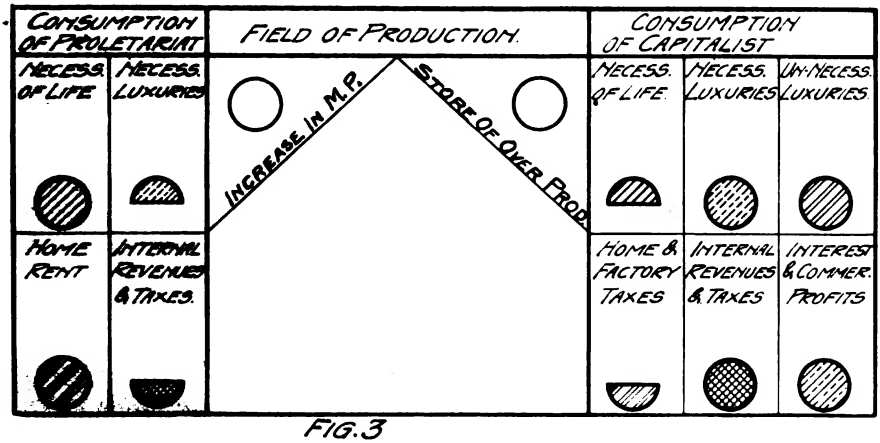


FIG. 3

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privilege of staying on the face of the earth and enjoying certain commodities? Some seem to think that this proposition is impossible, that the worker as a consumer cannot be robbed in any sense of the word, but what they really mean to say is that, the robbery of the productive worker cannot in the least be diminished by eliminating the robbery that is inflicted on him as a consumer. While the productive worker is primarily exploited almost to the limit in the field of production, yet in several cases he is robbed as a consumer, such as in the payment of his home rent, internal revenue, and other superfluous taxes. This proposition, however, can best be illustrated by the accompanying diagrams: Figure 1 represents the state of things in the field of production after the workers have worked, say, ten hours and produced the ten units of value in the form of commodities, as represented by the ten plain circles, all other fields are at this stage inactive.

Figure 2 represents the next step taken after the products are made. Three units are here converted into money for the maintenance of the proletariat and say two of those units pass into the field of the "Necessities of Life" while one unit say passes into the field of "Necessary Luxuries." Two units of value here remain on the field of production, while five are converted into surplus value money and pass to the consumption of the "Capitalist" distributed as shown under the heads of the "Necessities of Life," "Necessary Luxuries," and "Unnecessary Luxuries." As soon as this arrangement of things is consummated the third and last arrangement takes place as shown in Figure 3. Here in the act of consumption the proletariat must pay out of the "Necessities of Life" one unit of value into "Home Rent" which passes over to and is consumed by that sycophant of society known as the Land Lord. While he consumes such things as his tobacco, beer and booze, he must pay out of his "Necessary Luxuries," one-half of a unit of value levied as "internal revenue," most of which goes to support our intelligent Representatives and Senators at Washington who are actually bright enough to try to create value by legislation in the form of an Aldrich Bill.

Now since the productive worker has paid the "internal revenue," "taxes" and "home rent," both from the standpoint of having produced the value with which it was paid as well as having performed the transaction of the actual payment for the privilege of consumption of certain commodities, it is clear to be seen that he has paid these robberies in every sense of the term and that too at the point of consumption.

Now it will be noted that a similar action has taken place on the side of the "consumption of the capitalist," but as they say in the South, "Nobody cares a damn for who robs a robber," we will not trouble ur-

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selves in the least about this end of the game. It is well to note at this point the role taken by the two units of value first left in the field of production; there one of the units of value has passed into the general "Increase of the Means of Production," while the other unit of value has passed into the "Store House of Over Production," which when finally filled to overflowing it precipitates a "panic plethorique," when the worker is thrown out of a job, and left to starve and seek employment.

I must say here for the benefit of those who might think that the internal revenue is extracted from the surplus value contained in the alcohol that all they need to do is to remember that the selling price of good denaturalized alcohol on which there is no revenue is always approximately, if not exactly, equal to the selling price of grain alcohol, less the amount of duty levied on same, which proves conclusively that the grain alcohol sells at a price above its value, equal to the amount of duty levied thereon.

Now let us analyze what would take place if we should go out on a "wild goose chase" so to speak to stop the robberies inflicted on the productive workers in the field of consumption.

Let us suppose, for instance, that we join hands with the "Single Taxers" and other reformers, in which we would be assisted by the exploiting class as well as by many other loafers and parasites.

And after spending our time and energies (which should be exerted all the time to the ultimate overthrow of wage slavery), suppose that we should win and succeed in abolishing Home Rents, Taxes, Internal and External Revenues, and other forms of petite graft, what would be the effect on the condition of the productive workers as diagrammed in Figures 1, 2 and 3.

At first thought it would seem as if he would wind up in the field of consumption with the benefit of three units of value at his disposal, as shown in diagram of Fig. 2, instead of the one and a half unit of value, as shown in diagram of Fig. 3. In other words, it would seem as if he could retain, for his own use and behalf, the one and one-half unit of value, formerly handed over to the landlord and tax gatherer. But let us not be too quick to jump at conclusions. Let us not forget that vast industrial reserve army of unemployed, which in the words of Marx, "rivets the laborer to capital more firmly than the wdeges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock."

Let us now see what happens to John Jones, who so fervently supported the reform movement that eliminated rents and abolished the superfluous duties and taxes. As soon as the consummation of the reformation is made, and John has just begun to enjoy the relief from

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rent and unnecessary taxes, he steps into the factory one morning to be greetd as follows: "Good morning, John," says his boss. "Morning, sir," replis John. "We won a great victory, John, when we eliminated the superfluous taxes and rent, didn't we, John?" "Yes, sir-e-e," replies John, "and now I can live something like a man." "What do you do with that money, John, with which you formerly paid your rent and duties?" "Well," says John, "sometimes we go to the theatre, sometimes I take my wife and children for a little outing, and sometimes I save a little for a rainy day." "Well," brutally replies his master, "what the hell right have *you* to go to the theatre and take outings, etc., while there is an ever increasing army of unemployed men outside the factory gates begging for a job? Leave *me* that one and one-half unit of value with which you formerly paid your taxes and rent, you don't need it now any way." "But," says John, bristling up, "I helped to fight for the elimination of rent and superfluous taxes, and what I have saved thereby

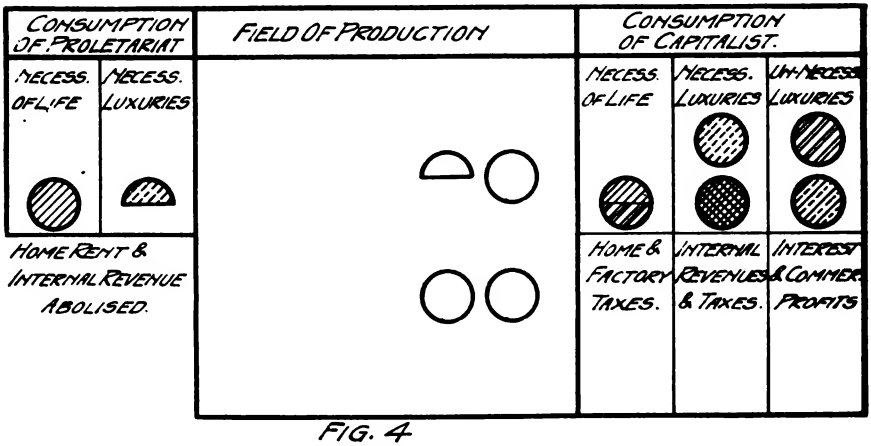


FIG. 4

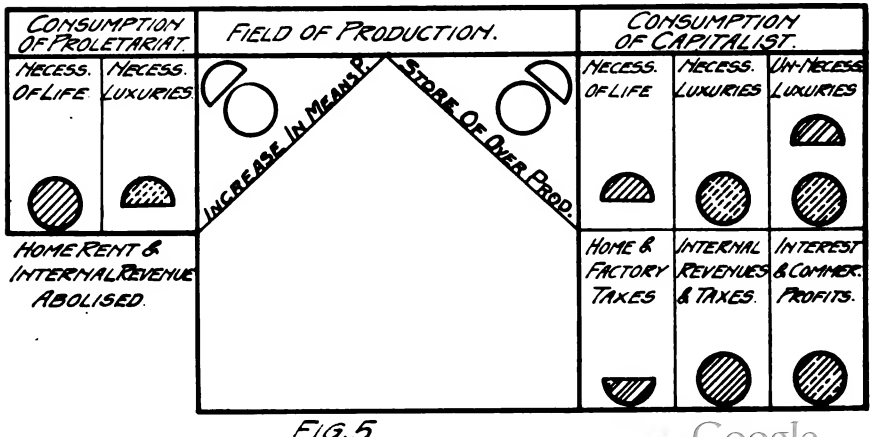


FIG. 5

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belongs to me and not to you, and I won't work for any less than I formerly did, so there now." "All right," replies the capitalist, "you don't have to, this is a free country, and if you don't want the job at that price I will offer it to someone else," and thereupon John starts out tc hunt another "job." And thereupon this offer and "free contract" is put to the man just outside the door, whose ears are full of the cries of his hungry children, with his eyes full of tears, his heart full of hope, and belly full of nothing, it is not hard to guess what this man will do under such circumstances. He accepts the "job" laid down by John for the one and one-half units of value, and thus matters rearrange themselves as shown in Figure 4, where the workers only receive one and one-half units of value instead of three and where the original surplus value left in the field of production increases to three and one-half instead of two.

In the final adjustment of things as shown in Figure 5, the "Home Rent" and "Internal Revenue" being abolished, the productive worker finds himself in exactly the same fix that he was in before, so far as his enjoyment of commodities is concerned, that is to say he gets just enough to subsist on and nothing more.

In the field of production we find that the "Increase in Means of Production" or the productivity of machinery has been accelerated by an extra half unit of value, which means an extra increase in the industrial reserve army of the unemployed. For just as much as machinery increases, labor must be thrown out of employment.

We also note another extra half unit of value has been thrown into the "Storehouse of Overproduction," which means the hastening of crises and panics, while the third half unit of value formerly used by the proletariat for the payment of rent and revenue, has passed into the hands of the plutes to be consumed, in the field of the "Unnecessary Luxuries," or rather to be wasted there as it would be next to impossible for them to actually consume any more luxuries than they formerly did.

By a careful study of the diagrams it is clear to be seen that, as the robberies in the field of consumption are eliminated the worker's lot in life must grow ever harder and harder while many like our friend John join the army of the unemployed and become wandering vagrants out of employment seeking for work. And thus they are justly repaid in stinging rebuke, as they reap the rich reward of rotten reformation.

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TO the Cave people, dreams were chief among the great mysteries. None of the strange occurrences of the world about them, so filled them with wonder and awe, as the deeds they performed and the adventures they encountered while their bodies lay wrapped in sleep. Often it was difficult for them to separate the dream from the world of reality. This may account for the reports of those anthropologists who charge savage tribes with being the most amazing liars in the world. It may be that some of these primitive men and women have merely related the remarkable exploits of their dreams which they were not always able to distinguish clearly from their actual experiences.

Often a Cave Man might go forth alone in the night, and after traveling a journey of many suns, slay fearlessly all the members of a hostile tribe, while he slept securely in his cave. But when he reported his dream adventures to his wife, she refused often to believe them. Whenever she stirred during the night, she had found him at her side. Or perhaps she had groaned through the long darkness, with the colic that comes from too much eating of the early fruit. This she made known to the dreamer. Indeed he had slumbered peacefully through all her trouble!

Again, when a Cave Dweller fell asleep beside his brothers and dreamed of dispatching the sabre-toothed tiger with a single blow, the whole tribe was ready to assure him, in the language of the Cave People,

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that he had not moved from his resting place, but had slept continually. This was all very strange.

When the fire dashed through the sky, during a storm, or the waters of the river climbed up over the banks and flooded the woods, they were not so wonderful as these dream things.

Many men and women of the tribe had closed their eyes in the long sleep, but when the Cave People slumbered, the dead came back again, to journey and hunt the forests with their brothers and sisters. And so, in time, the Cave People came to believe that their friends, who had deserted the body, still lived. That they had, themselves, fought and hunted while their bodies slept, the Cave People well knew, and that the dead come back again, they knew also, for they had seen and spoken with them in their dream journeyings.

This was the origin of the idea of spirit, at first only dim and confused but gathering strength as the years rolled away. The seed of the idea of immortality sprang also from the dreams of primitive man. Though the sabre-toothed tiger devoured a brother he would surely return again. They had seen these things with their own eyes, in dreams.

The Cave People saw also their shadows that followed where they went, moving slowly when they walked, and swiftly when they ran, keeping ever at their sides.

When a Cave Man gazed into the river, always a face looked back at him, and the other members of the tribe told him he saw his own image. This also was very strange. If he journeyed as far as the great canyon, and sent his voice echoing among the big rocks, a call came bounding back to him, although there was no other man there. Gradually he came to believe the cry was the voice of a spirit and that the face he had seen in the waters of the river was the face of a spirit also.

To all things the Cave People attributed animation. To them everything was alive. Young trees were the children of big trees and great stones were the fathers of small stones. Little they spoke of these things, for their words were few and it is impossible to tell many things in a gesture language. Danger and confusion they saw everywhere, for the whole world was filled with happenings they could not understand.

Many seasons had passed since they had found the Fire beast eating up the trees in the woods. The small blaze they had kept alive in the Hollow had died long before, when Quack Quack forgot to feed it. In these days the Fire flashed only through the heavens during a storm. Strong Arm had been able to call it by striking a sharp stone against the rock before his cave. When the darkness came on and he struck the rock swiftly, a small spark fell. Again and again the Cave People saw these

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sparks. But so quickly were they gone that no man or woman was able to catch them, or to feed them the dead leaves they had brought.

At this time Big Nose made a great discovery. He had chased a fat lizard over the rocks and had seen it disappear into the hollow of a tree that lay prone on the river bank. Immediately he poked violently with a long rod of bamboo, in order to drive the lizard out. To him the fresh flesh of the lizard was sweeter than any other meat.

On removing the rod, Big Nose found the end of it warm. From one side to the other, Big Nose tipped his brown head, like a great monkey, in an effort to understand this new experience. Then he trotted off to make known these things to the tribe.

Soon all the Cave People gathered around the dead tree, chattering curiously. Big Nose thrust the bamboo rod into the hollow trunk and pulled it out again. But this time it was not warm. The friction of the bamboo rubbed violently against the dry wood of the tree had caused the heat before, but Big Nose did not know this.

For a long time the Cave People chattered and gesticulated about the tree while Big Nose continually made the fire sign, waving his fingers upward, like smoke arising. One by one all the Cave People threw themselves upon their bellies and gazed into the hollow trunk. But they saw nothing.

At last Big Nose again thrust the bamboo into the tree, this time angrily, jamming it in and out with all the strength of his great arms. And the end of the rod came forth warm again. Then every member of the tribe must have his turn in thrusting. Each one sought to outdo his fellows in the frenzy of his movements.

Meanwhile the end of the rod had worn away, leaving a soft inflammable saw-dust in the old tree. And when Light Foot sent the rod in and out sharply with her strong, brown arms, the end of the bamboo came forth smoking.

A flood of excited chatterings greeted her success and the Cave People cried "Food! Food!" which was the word they used for "eat" also. For they thought the Fire (within the tree) had begun to eat the bamboo rod. Many of them ran about gathering dry leaves to feed the Fire.

When the rod came forth at last, with its end a dull glow, Light Foot laid it on the rocks in the dead leaves. A soft breeze came from the river and coaxed the embers into a blaze. And the Cave People jabbered franctically as they gathered brush and wood.

Often they threw themselves on the rocks to gaze in wonder into the hollow tree. But many of them believed Light Foot had driven the

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Fire from the tree trunk, just as they had often forced out the lizard.

Thus for the first time in the memory of the tribe, a fire was kindled. And the hand of the maiden, Light Foot, had worked the miracle. The Cave People laughed and danced and sat in the Hollow long into the darkness; for security came with the Fire and their forest enemies were afraid.

But a time came when great rains fell and the Fire died away with every drop. And Strong Arm gathered a brand and carried it into his cave. But the smoke from the burning choked him and forced him out. Then he carried the Fire to the hollow of a tree that towered very high, and he fed the Fire in this hollow. There it lived for many suns, eating slowly into the tree trunk on one side.

* * * * * * * * *

The Sun saw many strange mysteries on the day when the Cave People first came upon the great canyon. It was during the period of the year that comes before the season of plenty.

Keen hunger assailed every living thing and sent them forth, sharp-eyed into the forest. The wild hog grew strong and wary from the struggles of the hard and meagre days. The green snakes hidden away, waited continually for the small forest folk to run into their coils. The lank black bear grew bold and desperate with the hunger passion and the Cave People acquired a new skill in hunting.

Beside the strength of their forest enemies, they were weak indeed. But armed with their long, sharp bone weapons, and a wonderful cunning, they fought in all their numbers and were able to triumph over the animals of the forest.

With eyes keen and tense hands gripping their weapons, they followed the trail of the black bear which led them through strange ways. At the breaking of a twig, they paused. And no falling leaf escaped them. Sounds they made none, as they slipped through the deep woods, one before the other.

At last they came to an open space, where the trees ceased to grow and where the tracks of the bear were lost in a rocky way. Beyond them lay the great canyon, which had been once the bed of a river. Only the waters of the spring rains lay in the hollows of the rocks that lined its bottom.

Here the Cave People halted, for they knew not which way the black bear had taken, nor how to follow her. As they separated to seek further for her tracks, no word was spoken. Only Strong Arm gave a low grunt of approval, as his comrades departed.

Then, in the silence of the old world, it came, the strange voice

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cchoing down the great canyon, grunting in the tones of Strong Arm! The whole tribe heard it and they paused, motionless, while their eyes swept the canyon for him who had spoken. But they saw no one.

Silently they gathered together, with weapons raised. But the stillness remained unbroken. Then Strong Arm raised his voice in a soft "Wough!" And, in his own tone, the Echo answered him, "Wough!"

It was very strange. The Cave People could not understand. But they forgot the black bear and sent their voices ringing down the great canyon. Came again the echo, in many tones, back to them.

Then a great chattering arose among them, and even as they spoke, the chatterings of many voices arose from the canyon.

"Wough-ee!" said the Cave People. And they gave a sign in the gesture language, for they thought the sounds were the voices of their enemies, the Hairy Folk.

With great caution they departed to the point whence the sounds had come. Not boldly, but by varied paths they made their way, slowly, concealing themselves behind the rocks and the trees as they progressed. Long they hunted, one and all, but no man they found, nor any signs of man, and they returned at length to the mouth of the great canyon.

Again their voices rang down the bed of the old river, this time defiantly. And the Echoes replied once more, challenging them. The Cave People grew angry and the search was continued, but they found no one. And they were compelled to return to their caves in the Hollow with hearts heavy with wrath against the Hairy Folk.

Often they returned to the great canyon, bearing their bone weapons. There they remained long in hiding, awaiting the advent of the enemy, till at last they learned no one was there. Then the mystery grew more strange, for no man could tell whence came the voices that replied to them.

But there came a time when the Cave people believed that these cries were the voices of the spirits that came to hunt with them, in their dream journeyings. No longer were they afraid. Only a great awe filled them and much wonder concerning these things.

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A Conflict Among Leaders

By Robin Ernest Dunbar.



FTER studying the symposium of the Socialist Party leaders in a recent number of *The Saturday Evening Post*, I did not wonder at the editor's asking, "Is there any such thing as 'Practical Socialism'?" The proposals on the method of bringing about the Co-operative Commonwealth, ranged all the way from sapient opportunism to senseless anarchism. The expressions of men who have made a hobby of Socialism and who have achieved national and even international reputation by reason of their positions in the party proved miserably inadequate and even contradictory. This to the ordinary reader of bourgeois literature is a matter of little moment. Such a one has already discounted the predictions of the "misguided dreamers," and "the free lovers," as he terms all Socialists of whatever brand they may be. We should by no means entirely ignore the popular verdict. It is generally founded on some shrewd instinct or warning intuition. But we rely rather on a rigid, scientific analysis, the conclusions of logic and the facts of natural history.

To those who are living at all in the intellectual world the self-contradictions of the leaders of the party come as a matter of course. While they expected better things, yet they knew confusion still surrounds the question. Intellectuals have nothing but contempt for the charlatan, the pretender and the quack. They realize that the age is becoming scientific; that sentimental and emotional considerations are no longer valid. The study of mankind has been reduced to the science of sociology. Ernst Haeckel has put Sociology at the top of philosophy in the place that ethics formerly occupied. The way he points to investigate society is first to find out the underlying principles that sway it before setting about to revolutionize it.

Now, if we take up the questions that befuddled the leaders and discuss them along purely materialistic lines we shall arrive at better conclusions than if we set out on our way to establish what we want rather than what is already here. "How will the co-operative commonwealth be brought about?" and "Suppose that you should elect a Socialist President and Congress, how would you go about transferring private property to public ownership?" As queries to politicians they serve a

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purpose and were, for that matter, treated well enough. Suppose we ask those who favor an income tax, to predict its exact effect, is it not likely the replies would show considerable variance? Or, take another case, that of the tariff. Are the authorities all agreed on the effect of free trade? Or on the question, "How is universal peace to be brought about?" No doubt some will answer, "Peace will come via the cannon," just as a few of the leaders claimed that the co-operative commonwealth will be ushered in by force.

Outside of the natural and excusable contradictions of the Socialist leaders, there is one strange omission in all the replies, that is truly blameworthy. Socialism is founded on the doctrine of the class struggle. Yet no reference is made to this important aid toward attaining the co-operative commonwealth. The class struggle leads to "The ex-propriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."—Marx. Just how this will occur is debatable. Perhaps some analogy can be drawn from history. Grant's second administration witnessed the rise of the Railway Magnates. They seized one of the common necessities of the people, the means of quick transportation. Thus, they got the power of life and death over their fellow countrymen. Coal, iron, wheat and corn are unevenly distributed but everywhere needed. So, sometimes, soldiers must be sent quickly from one place to another. The magnates were prepared to do this work adequately, so they began to dictate terms to the state. When they found that the state obeyed them, they realized that they were its masters. The revolution from democracy to oligarchy was *un fait accompli.* The reins of government fell from the feeble hands of the middle class into the strong ones of the upper class. This revolution was marked in 1872 by the defeat of Greeley by Grant. The issue between the classes was fought out and the upper class won. To be sure the revolution was not immediately recognized then, but for that matter what revolution has been so recognized? Historians have to wait generations before they catch the inner significance of the times. The materialistic interpretation of history is comparatively a new science.

This particular election was a critical one in American history. Grant was wax in the hands of the Capitalists. Colfax was friendly to Oakes Ames and the *Credit-Mobilier* crowd. They fell victims to the schemers of the transcontinental railways. Greeley stood for the little mercantile and petty trading classes of the east and the *petite Bourgeoisie* of the middle west. He was beaten badly and it broke his heart. Had he won, the result in the end would probably have been the same. For Capitalism was the new power. It was destined to bend or crush stronger persons than Greeley on its onward march. He only kicked against the inevitable course of Capitalism. An apt comparison lies between him and a recent

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president. The former at first represented the middle class and surrendered reluctantly to the oligarchs. The latter stood for the people ostensibly; in reality, he long ago secretly made terms with the upper classes.

Revolutions do not come throngh politics or politicians; they come through the operation of economic law to which politicians are the first to yield. The office seeker is a weather vane who points the way the wind blows. To think that by electing a Socialist President, we can hasten the dawn of the Co-operative Commonwealth is to imagine that we can veer the wind around by sheering the weather vane.

The object of the Socialist organization is to send the voter to school; to teach him the class struggle and to instill in him, the talent for organization; to unite the proletariat into a self-conscious and class conscious party and to perfect labor solidarity. When this has been done, the revolution will have been accomplished.

The control of the state is in the hands always of the most highly organized class. The capitalist class is the best organized, and the most class conscious—hence it rules. When 51 per cent of the workers unite in a close industrial union, and will work or strike as a unit, then they will become the dominant class, and the revolution will have been accomplished. Whatever party is in office—even the Republican party—will not matter, for the orders of the union will be final.

As Capitalism has not snatched woman from the domestic hearth and launched her into social production to emancipate her, but to exploit her more ferociously than man, so it has been careful not to overthrow the economic, legal, political and moral barriers which had been raised to seclude her in the marital dwelling. Woman, exploited by capital, endures the miseries of the free laborer and bears in addition her chains of the past. Her economic misery is aggravated; instead of being supported by her father or husband, to whose rule she still submits, she is obliged to earn her living; and under the pretext that she has fewer necessities than man, her labor is paid less; and when her daily toil in the shop, the office or school is ended, her labor in the household begins. Motherhood, the sacred, the highest of social functions, becomes in capitalistic society a cause of horrible misery, economic and physiologic. The social and economic condition of woman is a danger for the reproduction of the species.—PAUL LAFARGUE, in "The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies."

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A Workingman's College

By G. Sims, Ruskin College, Oxford, England.

STUDENTS ON THE WASH-UP.

T an interesting subject to study is the "captain of ıdustry!" Having, by reason of his acquisitive faculty, ɔcumulated a vast fortune, a result achieved by methods hich in "lower" walks of life would have secured him ɔme years of governmental supervision, fawned upon and feted by the motley crowd of less successful adventurers known as "business" people, and the not less lurid circle known as "society," small wonder is it that he imagines that he is a genius of the first magnitude. Having as a result of hard work (other people's) become "possessed" of wealth, invariably persuading himself that he has been "the instrument in the hand of God" for finding the wherewithal to live for the working people he employed (at times) he frequently takes upon himself to become the fairy godfather to the working class in other

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spheres than the industrial. Not understanding the real nature of the system upon which he and his like thrive, he takes upon himself to eliminate the *effects* without knowing the *cause*. The usual result follows—failure—and with it disgust for the ineradicable vices of human nature among the "lower orders."

Sometimes his hobby takes the form of charitable societies for the free distribution of soup and blankets; labor yards, where the unemployed can retain their "self-respect and self-reliance" by working at sweating prices so as to further crowd the already over-burdened labor market and manufacture more candidates for "labor yard relief measures"; the establishment and endowment of technical schools, to add to the supply of skilled workmen in trades where there are already thousands of people in a state of chronic unemployment, and where the introduction of a machine may make the handicraftsman an object of interest to the antiquarian, rather than to the manufacturer; farm colonies; building societies; temperance movements; purity crusades, etc., all these receive attention more or less from our "captain" on the search for new worlds to conquer—or redeem. All of them demonstrating that the intellectual acumen of our "self-made" men, outside of mere money making, is on a level with their business morality.

The particular institution we are dealing with, Ruskin College, is a case in point. It owes its inception to the desire on the part of an American "captain"—Mr. Walter Vrooman—to "do something" for the working class. Starting out with this laudable object his inability to grasp the situation showed itself in his letting the control be placed in the hands of irresponsible persons, rather than securing the control to the representatives of organized labor. This question of control may have seemed to him of small importance compared with the giving of opportunities to working men to study. Therein lay his mistake, for we socialists know that the question of control is more important than any other thing, particularly in education, for on this question of control rests the sort of education which is to be given, *the* most important matter to the working class student, and his class.

Ruskin College was founded in February, 1899, its object being to instruct the workingman in the duties of citizenship on non-partisan lines. In practice this has meant that the teaching (apart from the principal, Mr. Dennis Hird) the student receives is, that the capitalist system is an eternal nature-ordained necessity, the idea and hope being that he will teach this in turn to his fellows and become an able lieutenant in the administrative work of capitalist society. It aims at teaching him "to raise, not to rise out of, his class"; a piece of phrase-making that has been the stock-in-trade of the people who are managing the college.

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When it is suggested that its aim should be to equip the worker to fight for the abolition of classes we soon find where we are, and what value there is in their platitudes. The maintenance of the present organization of society is purely partisan, the abolition of it is also partisan, no middle course is possible, "to be or not to be, that's the question."

When Ruskin College was founded there was small sign of that growth of opinion in favor of independent political representation of the working class which has since assumed such huge proportions, and consequently there was considerable opposition to the college from the short-sighted members of the governing class in residence at the university. This was added to by the fact that Mr. Vrooman had instituted lectures on that "foreign" study known as sociology, and, *quelle horreur,* taught by a man who had been cast out of the Church

MEMBERS OF THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS IN RESIDENCE, 1908.

Top row—J. H. H. Ballantyne (Springburn, No. 2), W. Francis (Woolwich No. 4), A. G. Moorman (Ipswich).

Second row—W. J. Higgon (Gosport), J. A. Martin (Coventry, No. 4), F. E. Jones (Blackburn, No. 3).

of England for daring not only to think for himself, but to write about what he thought, Mr. Dennis Hird. Last and crowning infamy, he was a Socialist! Oxford was scandalized! Oxford was up in arms! Oxford would have none of him, or his

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subject! Was Oxford, the home of the good (!), the true (!), the beautiful (!) and the cultured (!!), to be openly flouted by this one man, and his fustian clad followers? Perish the thought. But, in spite of its open disapproval and hostility, Ruskin College and its principal remained, and gradually drew to its support the large trade unions and co-operative societies; pursuing the even tenor of its way indifferent to the university and its teaching.

After the general election of 1906, which demonstrated the growing power of the independent political movement of labor, "a change came o'er the scene." Oxford became friendly. Oxford became anxious. Oxford had all along perceived the necessity of "giving" the representative workingmen a "liberal" education, only Oxford was sadly afraid that the methods employed and the subjects given were not the best for its beloved representative workingmen. It would put this right. It would suggest a new curriculum which it was sure would be better for the worker than his present crude lines of study. Why! they had even heard that their dear workingmen were receiving an education which led them to believe that the present form of society was only a stage in the evolution of the human race; that it was possible for the workers, with a knowledge of the forces in operation in the real live world, to so act and teach their fellows to act, that evolution would be speeded up and a new era dawn wherein the results of social labor would be socially owned and controlled; and that the power to so organize society was not the attribute of a class but latent in the whole of the people—even workingmen and women! How absurd! This is what comes of allowing "foreign" subjects to be taught to ignorant workingmen. Of course it is not your fault! but it really is a misfortune. This must be altered. Oxford will look after you in future, and see that your time is not wasted in foolish subjects, but that you get a really *sound* education.

So Oxford set to work. The Executive Committee of Ruskin College chose five *safe* members of its number (three university men, a retired Indian official and a workingman) as a sub-committee to draw up a scheme of lectures and classes. In place of evolution, sociology and logic, they proposed literature, temperance and rhetoric. These latter subjects are so useful, so practical and so helpful. Literature is such a useful subject, it is food, drink and shelter, so nice when you are unemployed to pass the time away in reading of the rollicking deeds of the mighty dead, so useful to offer to your friends in similar circumstances; to offer the members of your class to obliterate the passionate thoughts that will rise when they view the effects of the capitalist system, sweating, hunger, etc., so unlikely to lead you to speculate as to the cause —and the cure—of so many evils. Temperance, again, is so practical, it

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gives the explanation of the evils you see around you, even if the sufferer be a teetotaler he is suffering because of the drinking habits of his fellows; so easy, you know, to explain the otherwise unexplainable; so different from those other subjects we are removing, *they* lead to class hatred by attempting to prove that these evils are inherent in the form of society, and that only by abolishing the cause can you get rid of the effects, so crude! so impossible an explanation that we should refuse to discuss it with these silly people! Besides it would lead to Socialism! And then rhetoric! You know how easy it is to govern the people by wordy, polished sentences! So easy to get a position among your fellows by flowing phrases and impassioned formulas, and really you need never make any definite promises, or give pledges which you may be called to fulfill! You may know no solution of the difficulties which confront your class, but if you only have a ready command of language it will never be noticed, you will get on, you will become a labor leader! So different with logic when allied to the other subjects, you will constantly be confronted with the supposed mistakes of your class, you will frequently have to antagonize your people by pointing out that the position they propose to take up on a given subject will not be to their best interests, you will be shut out from office because you are a revolutionary, you will lose your job at the works because you teach your fellow-workers that the interests of Capital and Labor are diametrically opposed, you will be like the carpenter of Nazareth "despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." All this you will be saved from by our reasonable and sound educational policy, office, trust and influence, all these things will be added unto you our way. Choose!

Strange to say, the students refused to accept the proposed alterations. They signed a statement objecting to the removal of sociology, evolution and logic. They also held a meeting at which they decided to leave in a body if the proposed alterations were carried out. It was withdrawn. The time was not yet ripe for the change to be successfully carried out.

In the meantime, outside, an organization grew up known as the Workers' Educational Association, financed in the main by the capitalist class, for the purpose of spreading "higher" education among the workers. It is somewhat curious that this body met with so much added support from the capitalists and the government *after* the aforementioned general election and the triumph of so many labor men. Last year a joint committee was formed on the subject of "Oxford and Working Class Education." The W. E. A. appointed seven members and Oxford University a similar number (five of whom were members of the Council of Ruskin College), to consider what could be "done" for the education of workingmen.

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Among other things they suggested that Ruskin College should become a sort of half-way house to the university. Now Ruskin College had, up to this time, boasted that it held no tests or examinations of any sort. This made two difficulties to be overcome: (1) to get rid of Mr. Hird and his subjects; (2) to have some sort of an examination in the college. This was soon done. A form of examination, known as revision papers, was instituted, and, after some opposition from the students, carried out. Difficulty one was settled. How to overcome the other? A sub-committee was appointed in November, 1908, to inquire into the internal

MEMBERS OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS' MUTUAL CONFIDENT ASSOCIATION IN RESIDENCE, 1908.

Top row—J. Parks (Eltringham), W. Dent (North Seaton), H. Floyd (Ashington).
Second row—E. Edwards (Ashington), C. Pattinson (Woodhorn), A. Bacon (Hartley).

the removal of Mr. Hird. With him, of course, would go his subjects. affairs of the institution. It conveniently found an excuse to recommend The carrying out of this recommendation led to the famous "strike" of the students. It failed to achieve one of its objects, the prevention of the proposed removal of Mr. Hird, but it succeeded beyond expectation in its primary object, the raising of the question of independent working-class education. The result of the "strike" is that an influential and well-supported movement is now on foot for the establishment of a new Central Labor College in Oxford as a definite part of the working-

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class movement in England. We already have our own industrial and political structures. Now we are out to secure our own educational structure. Slowly, but surely, we are convincing our fellow workers that, in the words of the "Plebs" magazine (the organ of the students), *"there is no alchemy that can change an industrial enemy into an educational friend."*

The new college will teach sociology, economics and history from the working-class viewpoint, it will have no false ideas about non-partisan education, its pioneers know that "those who are not for us are against us."

We are sending this short account of the working-class struggle in England for independence in education as likely to interest our American comrades, and because for good or ill America has had a great deal to do with the work of Ruskin College. Founded by an American, it has added to our debt by giving us our text books on sociology, particularly the works of Prof. Lester Ward. Although rather hazy in places, the works of Dr. Ward have had a great effect upon the students and have added considerably to their knowledge of social science. Last, but not least, the books of Messrs. Kerr & Company, Chicago, have become the most treasured possessions of scores of working-class students during the last two years. They have discovered that there are dozens of scientific works to be had, written from the proletarian point of view, armed with which they can confidently face and overcome the difficulties which confront the independent inquirer. Many opponents of the working class have had reason to curse the day that introduced Ruskin College students to the well-stocked book shelves of Messrs. Kerr & Company. These works find an ever-increasing sale here in England, a result which is to the advantage of the working-class movement the world over.

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Where Do We Stand on the Woman Question?

By Theresa Malkiel.

we Socialists assert the equality of sex
y, "All people are born equal," and ac-
ll our efforts towards the abolition of
l regime. But around the one upper-
e numerous planets around the sun,
ller problems which, though they will be solved with the solution of the whole, are important enough to be taken up and fought for separately.

The Woman Question is attracting today world-wide attention. The evolution of society has brought woman to the point where she realizes at last her degrading position and vehemently claims redress.

As Socialists we recognize, of course, that the real freedom of woman cannot be achieved before the entire social problem is solved. But we realize at the same time that under a regime of political tyranny the first and most urgent ideal is necessarily the conquest of political liberty. And therefore, our women here, like our disfranchised male comrades abroad, are taking up the fight for universal suffrage.

But there are many Socialists who cry out in fear whenever that subject is viewed from a practical and not only a theoretical point of view. This element, in keeping with its views, demands that we drop the woman question altogether, that it is no concern of ours and that every active participation in the enfranchisement of woman is a crime against scientific socialism.

Another portion of our scientific socialists go a step further and in their great wisdom assert that it is all a mistake, that man and woman are not equal.

Says Enrico Ferri: "Utopian Socialism has bequeathed to us a mental habit, a habit surviving even in the most intelligent disciples of Marxian Socialism, of asserting the existence of certain equalities—the equality of the two sexes, for example—assertions which cannot possibly be maintained." He even censures Bebel for claiming that from the psycho-physical point of view woman is the equal of man.

Then, only as late as last month, comes another of our scientific men

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and says: "The impulse below intellect is intuition, which is developed further in many animals than in man. And because woman is nearer to the lower forms than man, intuition is more deeply seated in the female race."

Is there greater wisdom in the assertion of a man who says: Woman is nearer to the animal than man, because she is endowed with an extraordinary amount of intuition; then in that of Mr. Roosevelt who says: "Every Socialist must be a free lover, because one or two of the Socialists had rather exciting marital experiences."

Was woman ever given the chance to display fully the strength of her intellectual ability? How could anybody, in view of woman's long subjection, judge her ability or the standard of her intellect? If our scientists would follow closely the history of woman and then note how today, though unprepared, she enters the different spheres of science, literature, music and art, where she holds fully her own with man, they might come to the conclusion that woman belongs rather to the higher plane of animal life.

True enough that there were but few great artists, musicians or scientists among the female of the race, but does not the writer himself state that a prolonged exercise of the brain cells goes to increase their quantity? If woman was able to achieve that much in the limited time of her brain development it goes to show that the quality of her brain cells is as good or even better than that belonging to the members of the opposite sex. In the face of the beastly acts so often characteristic of man, it is simply beyond human understanding how anybody could claim that woman is nearer to the animal, while man remains the supreme being.

With all due respect to our wise men, I think that even they would come to recognize our equality—if we only had the power to enforce it. It may be true that I am expressing myself with too much fervor, but if our male comrades were women they could understand easily how a statement like that goes to exasperate one. I have been always in the habit of speaking my mind freely and cannot see why this subject could not be discussed openly and thoroughly.

It is almost incomprehensible to me how our scientists came to such conclusion. And I, a plain ordinary mortal, challenge them in the name of my sex to set forth frankly and exhaustively the grounds on which they make these assertions.

My main object, however, in writing this article is to discuss our attitude on the Woman Question. For the workingwoman of today finds herself between two fires—on the one hand she faces the capitalist class, her bitterest enemy; it foresees a far-reaching danger in her

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emancipation and with all the ability of its money power tries to resist her gradual advent into the civilized world. In her anguish the workingwoman turns towards her brothers in the hope to find a strong support in their midst, but she is doomed to be disillusioned, for they discourage her activity and are utterly listless towards the outcome of her struggle.

In the heat of the battle for human freedom the proletarians seem to forget that the woman question is nothing more or less than a question of human rights. That the emancipation of woman means in reality the emancipation of the human being within her. They seem to overlook the fact that it is as much their duty to fight for the workingwoman's political freedom, as it is to her advantage to make common cause with the men of her class in order to bring about the regeneration of society.

What revolution will yet have to take place in the conceptions of men! What change of education, before they will be able to attain the knowledge of a pure human relationship to woman! For every day experience teaches us that even the most progressive of our men are still considering woman as the being who, chained by a thousand fetters of dependency to man-made conditions, broken in spirit and in health by her long degradation and continual maternity, became a weak, thoughtless being that was neither man nor beast. They do not take into consideration that the woman of today has marched forward on the road of evolution.

What grandeur and beauty are contained in the meaning of this sentence in our platform: "There can be no emancipation of humanity without the social independence and equality of sex."

But how bitter is our disappointment whenever we come to look upon matters as they really are—men who take enthusiastically the pledge to abide and follow the party principles and ideals follow their promise to the letter, as far as generalities are concerned, but stop short where the question comes to the practical point of sex equality, an act to which they had earnestly pledged themselves in accepting the Socialist platform.

The bulk of womanhood, that is linked some way or other to the Socialist movement, is kept ignorant of the necessity of its participation in same (as well as of the justice of its political rights), for man is a man for all that and fears that he might suffer by woman's immediate freedom.

To those of us who had the courage and initiative to strike out for ourselves, the path is being covered with more thorns than roses. We are told very often to keep quiet about our rights and await the social millennium. Safe advice, rather, for the men.

The question before us is whether it is really possible that a host of men whose whole life is spent in the fight for human freedom should at

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the same time turn deliberately a deaf ear to the cry for liberty of one-half of the human race.

It is very humiliating for us Socialist women to be forced to admit this, but the question must be disposed of once for all, for we women cannot possibly build our expectations on the future freedom and at the same time submit calmly to the present oppression.

Among the fifty thousand dues-paying members of our party there are only two thousand women. Or, in other words, one woman member to every twenty-five men. Considering the fact that a number of our women members had entered the Socialist Party on their own accord, we may safely say that out of every thirty men within the party but one was ideal enough to bring in some female member of his family or a friend's into the ranks of the party, while the other twenty-nine preach the ideals of Socialism and the necessity of party alliance everywhere except within the walls of their own homes.

We may bring amendments reducing the dues of the women in our party, we may elect National and Local committees for the purpose of increasing the membership, but we will not achieve any considerable progress until our men will change their views as to woman's scope of activity in the movement. I know my sex and will admit freely that woman still looks to man as the guiding spirit of her life path and it is therefore for him to direct her steps into the party membership where she belongs—side by side with him.

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The Class-Consciousness of Capitalists. Once more we are indebted to our valued exchange, the Exponent, of St. Louis, for a clear and logical discussion of a live question. In its July issue it publishes a speech recently delivered by former Congressman Charles E. Littlefield at a banquet of the National Association of Manufacturers at the Waldorf-Astoria. He testified to the value of the work done by that association at Washington "in connection with legislation whose purpose was to undermine industrial development and shake the very foundations of the government under which we live." He expressed the opinion that the congressmen and senators, in their desire to win the "labor vote," might have passed the legislation asked for by the American Federation of Labor, if it had ever come to a vote. But all such measures were referred to the Judiciary Committee.

"One of the members of that committee heretofore, who I have no doubt will be a member again, is my friend Mr. Malby, of New York, whom I had the greatest pleasure of receiving on the Judiciary Committee in his first term, as a member of my subcommittee to which, by the way, all this interesting legislation, which I shall not take the time now to discuss, was referred. By some curious combination of parliamentary circumstances it came into the hands of that subcommittee of which I was Chairman, and my friend here was the other Republican member. And allow me to suggest to you that it came to a mighty good place, where it was properly taken care of." (Applause and laughter.)

Mr. Littlefield pointed out that in the next Congress the Judiciary Committee will be appointed by Mr. Cannon, who "has rendered greater service to this country, to the men and women in it, to the business interests in it, than any other one man who has been a member of the House of Representatives for a long time." So that Mr. Littlefield can assure the National Association of Manufacturers that the country is safe for two years more. As for the future he continued:

"Now let me say that there is not a Congressional district in the United States, outside of perhaps four or five, where a single Member of Congress can even be renominated unless he has behind him the business men of the community where he lives, nor is there a district where one of them can be re-elected, unless he has behind him the business men of the district. I do not say Republican, I do

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not say Democratic, because so far as I am concerned if a Member of Congress in advance tied himself up to the propaganda of these distinguished gentlemen who are insisting upon this legislation in season and out of season, if he was on the Republican ticket, and a Democrat, on the Democratic ticket, undertook to stand up and be a man, I would vote the Democratic ticket. (Applause.)

"If throughout the country the business men will simply discharge their fundamental political duties, and will see to it, not that Congressmen are elected to represent any class or any sect, but that the kind of man is elected, who when he gets there will wear his own hat, exercise his own judgment, do his own thinking and act as his convictions require him to act, without pledging himself in advance to any man or any set of men. If the business men of this country will see to it that such men receive their support for nomination and election, there will be no difficulty about this matter. In order to produce this result, I want to say to you right now that you do not necessarily need any primary law, because there is not a place in this country where under existing laws, if the business men of this country will take this matter in hand, they cannot produce this very desirable result. It is not a primary law that is needed, but what is needed is that the business men of this country have patriotism and public spirit and they must exercise it. If they do that, then whether it is a caucus, a convention or a primary, they can absolutely control and dominate the situation, and that is the word I leave with you."

Workingmen and those "friends of the workingman" among whom Darrow wittily classes himself can get many valuable suggestions from Mr. Littlefield's remarks, and we hope they will be given a wide circulation. Sentimental reformers may believe and try to make others believe that the government of the United States is or "ought" to be administered in a spirit of justice to all. Mr. Littlefield and his friends know better. They know that the government is a business proposition. They have certain interests of their own to serve. Knowing clearly what they want, and not being hampered by any considerations of sentiment, they get what they want.

Not until the working class become as clear-headed and as ruthless as the capitalists will the revolution be possible. But the very successes of the capitalists are developing the needed qualities in the working class. By defeating the reforms, which in any case would be of trifling benefit to those who ask for them, they are strengthening the world-wide surge of Revolution.

Fred Warren's Speech. Judge Pollock of the United States District Court at Fort Scott, Kansas, has sentenced Fred D. Warren, Editor of the Appeal to Reason, to serve six months in jail. The facts in the case were explained on page 998 of the June Review, and the sentence of the court was no surprise. But there was a surprise in the great speech which Warren delivered when asked to show cause why sentence should not be passed against him. He responded with a masterly argument which establishes without any reasonable doubt what the Appeal set out to prove

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in the first place, namely, that the United States courts are used to protect the interests of the capitalist class, and to keep the working class in subjection. We quote a few paragraphs:

For years the Appeal to Reason has been waging, almost single handed, a fight against the oppressive and intolerable industrial and political conditions which confront this country. We frankly admit having been unsparing in our criticism of the acts of public officials and the courts of this land. We have dared to tell the truth and it is because of this that I face this court today a convicted felon in the eyes of thousands of men and women whose respect I covet.

Whence came this prosecution? The Kansas City Journal in November, 1907, editorially stated that the Department of Justice at the instance of the President of the United States, had been instructed to commence proceedings against a Socialist sheet at Girard, Kansas. I do not know the Journal's source of information, but I am inclined to believe from facts now in my possession that this prosecution of the Appeal to Reason has been directed from the Attorney General's office in Washington.

* * * *

This case has dragged its weary way through this court for over two years, continued from time to time at the instance of the government. I submit from these facts that I am not prosecuted for having violated any federal law but purely because of my political opinions and my work in behalf of the working class of this nation.

This prosecution is not unexpected to us. As plainly stated by the government official to whom our attorney talked while in Washington secret service agents of the government have been camping on the trail of the Appeal for lo, these many years.

Is it not pretty conclusive evidence that we have observed religiously the laws and regulations governing the conduct of a newspaper when after ten years of effort the government is able to find only this lone and paltry alleged violation?

Personally I feel proud of this record. I feel no sense of guilt nor will the world approve this conviction when the truth prevails and the facts are known.

* * * *

In conclusion permit me to say that I am not asking the mercy or leniency of this court. I have committed no crime and there is festering in my conscience no accusation of guilt, but if my conviction and punishment will serve to rivet public attention upon the abuses which I have tried to point out then I shall feel that I have not suffered this humiliation in vain.

After all, this is the price of human progress. Why should I expect immunity? The courts have ever been and are today the bulwarks of the ruling class. Why should they not punish offenders against that class? In feudal slavery the courts sustained the feudal lords, in chattel slavery they protected the slave owners and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters.

Whoever protested for the sake of justice or in the name of the future was an enemy of society and persecuted or put to death.

In one of the most eloquent characterizations of history Charles Sumner, tracing the march of the centuries, pointed out that the most infamous crimes against the liberty and progress of the human race had been sanctioned by the so-called courts of justice.

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This case is a mere incident in the mighty struggle of the masses for emancipation. Slowly, painfully, proceeds the struggle of man against the power of mammon. The past is written in tears and blood. The future is dim and unknown but the final outcome of this world-wide struggle is not in doubt. Freedom will conquer slavery, truth will prevail over error, justice will triumph over injustice, the light will vanquish the darkness, and humanity, disenthralled, will rise resplendent in the glory of universal brotherhood.

Lack of space forbids our publishing the speech in full, but every revolutionist should read and circulate it. The complete speech is in number 710 of the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas. The subscription price of the paper is 50 cents a year, and extra copies of the issue containing the speech can doubtless be had from the Appeal office at one cent each or fifty cents a hundred. Fred Warren will be out on bail until the higher courts have passed on his appeal. Money has been pledged for his defense, but the fight of the United States government against the Appeal is not yet over, and the most effective way to help the paper is to increase its circulation. Most of the readers of the Review are already readers of the Appeal also. To those who have not seen it lately we wish to say that the Appeal is now fighting in a very effective way for revolutionary socialism, and that it deserves the heartiest co-operation of all who are through with reform and ready for revolution.

Revolution. Jack London's article with which this month's Review opens was written several years ago. One of the big New York weeklies agreed to publish it, and even put it in type, but finally decided that to print it would hurt business. A great British review published it last year, but ours is the first complete and authorized publication in the United States. We are printing it as Comrade London wrote it, without changing a word or a line, since while capitalism has gone on developing meanwhile, the author was keen in his forecast, and his words are even more pertinent and significant now than when first written. As we go to press, workingmen are being shot down at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, to break a strike for living wages by a mass of half-organized laborers. Slowly and systematically the courts are piling up precedents which will outlaw the most effective tactics thus far used by striking labor organizations against their employers. The strategy of the great capitalists is for the moment irresistible. None the less it is fatally short-sighted. "After us the deluge!" Each victory of capital over labor makes revolutionists; it is more powerful than logic or oratory in driving out of the workingman's head the idea of "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work." Meanwhile the expansion of the trusts into field after field of industry is crushing out the little capitalists whose conservatism has ever been one of the chief bulwarks of the profit system. Comrade

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Ghent in the Independent of July 15 shows that these little capitalists constitute a declining percentage of the population of the United States, and their decline in industrial importance is still more marked. The field is clearing for the death-struggle between organized capital and organized labor. For the moment the advantage is on the side of the capitalists. That is because they know what they want. The great capitalists want to employ the great body of wage-workers at bare subsistence wages, and to use the surplus value in organizing the remaining spheres of production as efficiently as they have already organized the production of oil, steel, sugar, tobacco and beef. They will do it. But meanwhile, the laborers will in ever-swelling numbers learn in their turn to want a definite thing, that is to say, the full value of what they produce. When they want that, as they will, they will find a way to get it. We shall have more to say later of what that way must be. But meanwhile the task of us who make up the Socialist movement is clear and simple,—it is to show the rest of the working class that we are the producers of all the good things of life and that we can become the owners when we resolve to take them.

Who Pays the Taxes? Our International Notes this month tell of the struggle between capitalist parties in Germany over the new taxes required for army and navy. In England this problem is equally acute, and even in America it is discussed at great length in the daily press. Without a doubt the burden of taxation is growing heavier in all the great capitalist countries. How to adjust this burden is a serious problem, *for the politicians and the capitalists.* Revenue laws are powerful to enrich favored capitalists at the expense of those not favored. But the man with nothing to lose but his chains may as well stop worrying about tariffs. If his cost of living goes up, his wages will go up, provided his union is strong enough to force a raise. And if the cost of living goes down, his wages will fall farther still, unless he is strong enough to keep them up. Without organization, our standard of living will inevitably be pressed down and ever down. With organization, the world is ours.

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RUSSIA. The International Socialist Bureau and the Czar. As the Review goes to press the Czar of Russia is on the point of making a round of official visits. It is announced that his tour is to include Sweden, England, France and Italy. Of course he will be received everywhere, will be toasted and toadied to as though he were a hero. The working class naturally objects to this proceeding. In the English House of Commons Will Thorne, Labor member, recently raised vigorous protest. To a question as to whether the Czar was to be officially entertained he received no satisfactory answer from the Foreign Secretary, was told, on the other hand, to keep quiet. Nevertheless, he had a chance to cry out to the Minister, "The Czar is an inhuman brute." In the Swedish parliament a similar protest has been made.

And now the International Socialist Bureau has raised its voice officially against the Russian tyrant. In a letter addressed to the central committees of the affiliated parties it issues a general warning to the working-class of Europe. It rehearses in brief the crimes of the Czar, oppression, founding of the Union of the Russian People, pardoning of members of the black bands, etc., etc. Prison conditions in Russia are particularly dwelt upon; a hundred and eighty-one thousand prisoners occupying space designed for half that number, the prevalence of disease, the practice of all sorts of torture—these and other crimes are rehearsed in some detail. Then the working-class is called upon to protest against the author of these crimes, to show him and the world that his welcome is far from universal.

It is to be hoped that this letter will have a powerful effect. From one point of view it is abundantly justified. Czar Nicholas certainly represents absolutism at its worst, so it is good tactics to concentrate attack upon him. On the other hand the letter of the International Bureau seems to me an unsatisfactory document. In fact it misses the chief point in the whole matter, and that is the fact that the rulers of western Europe are as much like the Russian autocrat as they dare to be. Visits such as the one in prospect merely serve to emphasize the unity of the governing class in different countries, and this is the fact that should be thrown into relief at the present moment. The government of England is just as criminal in spirit as that of Russia. When we pick out one man for attack we imitate the terrorist, and run the same danger.

GERMANY. Social Democracy and the Crisis. The financial crisis faced by the Emperor's government is a matter of tremendous historical importance. For years now the German government, like the English, has been facing bankruptcy. It is true that the annual income of the empire has increased enormously. From 1872 to 1875 it averaged 225,000,000 marks; from 1901 to 1905, 948,000,000. That is to say, it has more than quadrupled. During the same period, however, the expenses of the empire have multiplied by five. The following figures

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will give some idea of the distribution of the increase. The sums are given in marks: For the army (1872-5) 324,800,000, annually, (1908) 855,800,000; navy, (1872-5) 36-200,000, (1908) 339,200,000; interest on debt (1872-5) 3,000,000, (1908) 156,000,000. For years, it is evident, the imperial debt has been increasing. Succeeding governments have been conscious of the fact that a crisis would have to be faced sometime, yet the insane policy of increasing army and navy has continued. A scaling down of expenditures seems never to have occurred to anyone in power.

The present government is thus forced to face a situation which has resulted from a generation of reckless expenditure. It is now to be seen whether a nation will deliberately decide to foot the bills resulting from unexampled military expansion.

The manner in which the various classes of the empire have met the crisis is characteristic. It goes without saying that hitherto the working-class has borne the brunt of taxation. Revenue has been drawn almost exclusively from import duties and taxes on internal manufactures. But in this direction the limit has been nearly reached. Rising prices and decreased consumption of the necessities of life have become the rule. Of wheat, for example, there were consumed per capita, in 1904, ninety-five kilograms; in 1909, ninety kilograms. The difference, of course, indicates actual want. The figures for other food products exhibit a similar decrease. The working-class has been taxed to the limit.

Therefore, when the government prepared a taxation scheme to meet the constantly increasing expenditures it bethought itself of a plan for extracting something from the wealthier classes. It's chief proposal was that of an inheritance tax. It was necessary to raise an additional 500,000,000 marks. According to the governmental project 100,000,000 of this was to be raised from the wealthy by the inheritance levy, and the remaining 400,000,000 from the proletariat by the old, familiar methods. Now it is precisely the wealthy class, represented by the Conservatives, that has always made much of its patriotism and cried down the anti-military socialists as traitors. But at the new tax proposal this class suffered a sudden diminution of patriotism. With the Centrists, the church party, the Conservatives have formed the heart of the government's bloc. Both these factions turned against the inheritance tax. So when that part of the new scheme came up for vote on June 26th, it was defeated by a substantial majority. The Social Democrats and Liberals voted with the government.

The outcome of the whole matter is already becoming clear. Of course, the German ministry is not responsible to the Reichstag. Herr von Bülow will remain in office and proceed to devise some new tax which will bring in the required 100,000,000. Since the rich refused to stand and deliver the poor will have to endure still greater burdens.

Meantime the Social Democrats are making the most of their opportunity. Vorwaerts is showing up the greed and short-sightedness of the owning classes in ringing editorials. On July 1st, twenty-five public meetings mere held in Berlin to denounce the turn of events. No one knows when the Reichstag will be dissolved and a new election be ordered. But until that time comes no stone will be left unturned to open the eyes of the working-class to the game that is being played.

FRANCE. Labor Tactics. The division in the ranks of the Confederation General de Travail promises to lead to nothing worse than violent altercations. In last month's Review I gave a brief account of the origin of this trouble. The failure

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of the recent general strike led to charges and countercharges. The "Reformers," or Moderates, who favor peaceful methods of campaign, blamed the Revolutionists for having led the organization to defeat. This accusation was voiced especially by M. Niel, elected secretary at the last convention of the Confederation, since the executive committee is controlled by the Revolutionists M. Niel was practically forced to resign. The Revolutionists maintained, for their part, that N. Niel had been elected by a minority and that this minority was trying to obtain control of the organization. There were even occasional hints that the moderate wing had received secret assistance and advice from the government.

For a time matters looked dark. There was open talk of secession. In fact a convention of railway employes decided to withdraw. Cooler counsels seem to have prevailed, however. Comrades Jaurés and Bracke threw all their influence on the side of unity, and for the present seem to have triumphed. At least the conflict appears just now to be dying out for lack of fuel. Very likely it will be allowed to lie dormant till the annual convention next autumn.

Comrade Jaurés, in a recent editorial, pointed out the real source of the difficulty. The confederation is top-heavy, it has not struck deep enough root in the working-class. Here we have, in round numbers, 8,000,000 workers, about 800,000 of these organized, and of these some 300,000 in the confederation. For the present, says M. Jaurés, the main business of the organization should be to educate and swing into line the great majority of the proletariat. When it really represents the main body of workers its time will not be taken up with dissensions.

ENGLAND. Visit of the Laborites to Germany. English and German Socialist circles have been much wrought up over the recent tour of a delegation representing the Labor Party. This tour was first suggested a year ago, and at that time it was proposed to make it the occasion for an official exchange of greetings with the German Social Democracy. But the German leaders feared the English Social Democratic party might take offense. So the event was postponed, and when it did finally take place it was unofficial. This was where the trouble came in. The Laborites were received by various German municipalities, Cologne, Frankfort, Verline, etc., and entertained by city officials regardless of party. This hobnobbing of Socialists with Liberals and Conservatives aroused a good deal of unfavorable sentiment among German Socialists, sentiment which ultimately found expression in an official statement published in Vorwaerts. Of course English Social Democratic Party leaders were quick to make the most of this. On June 19th Justice published an editorial condemnatory of the Laborites. These latter, however, returned from their jaunt well satisfied. In a recent number of the Clarion Comrade Fred Jowett writes appreciatively of the treatment accorded them and tells in detail of the lessons learned from the Germans.

IRELAND. Prospects of Organization. For some time there has been on foot in Ireland a movement looking toward a general organization of Socialists. Hitherto there has been the Irish Socialist Society, but it has included only a fraction of those calling themselves Socialists. Many are adherents of local labor groups, while hundreds have carried on their propaganda individually. On Sunday, June 13, a mass-meeting was held at Trades Hall, Dublin. All the elements of the Irish movement were represented, and the deliberations were harmonious and fruitful. Comrade William O'Brien presided. He stated in his opening address that the number of unattached So-

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cialists on the island exceeded the membership of all societies combined. The following motion was agreed to almost unanimously: "That this meeting affirms the necessity of a Socialist party for Ireland which would comprise Irish Socialists of varying shades of opinion, applicants for membership to affirm belief in Socialism as the only remedy for the evils of society." A committee of fifteen was appointed to draft a constitution and arrange for another mass-meeting.

AUSTRALIA. Defeat and Persecution. The early stages of the mining strikes at Broken Hill and Port Pirie have already been recorded in the Review. It will be remembered that toward the end of March a group of strikers led by Tom Mann were attacked by the police. They were arrested on the charge of riot and transported to Albany, a distance of 1,000 miles, to await trial. Judge and jury were bitter against them. Tom Mann, apparently, they were afraid to convict, but a number of others received jail sentences. To this number was added Harry Holland, a Socialist leader. The charge against him was sedition. In an address at Broken Hill he had advised the workers to rise "with a force like that of dynamite." This was taken as counsel to use force, and Comrade Holland was sentenced to two years at hard labor. The working-class of Australia is thoroughly aroused and determined to use all its power to secure his release.

The last Australian papers which have come to hand report the close of the strike. The men have been defeated at nearly every point. It will be remembered that the trouble originated in the refusal of the miners' union to submit to the provisions of the now famous Industrial Disputes Act, an arbitration law passed by the federal parliament. This action of the men was met by the company with the announcement of a ten per cent. reduction in wages. The miners refused to accept the reduction and walked out on January 1st. At Port Pirie the struggle was complicated. When the strikers came to consider their position they found that they were worse off than any other miners in the civilized world. They were obliged, e. g., to work seven days a week for meager pay. Tom Mann was engaged as organizer, and managed to get ninety-eight per cent. of the men into the organization.

Despite this success, however, starvation gradually did its work. The strikers insisted almost to the end that their leaders should not be victimized, but finally yielded even this point. The most regrettable circumstance is that Tom Mann and the other leaders have been subjected to violent criticism for finally yielding.

From one point of view the strike has been a great success. The workers of Australia are aroused as never before and becoming more and more revolutionary in their temper. Evidence of this is to be found in the ovation given Tom Mann on the occasion of his acquittal. Wherever he went he was greeted by immense throngs, and the speeches on these occasions had no uncertain sound. All of them came out straight for Socialism and industrial unionism.

HOLLAND. Another Anti-Socialist "Victory." The election to the Dutch Chamber of Deputies occurred toward the end of June, and was generally reported in the American dailies as a defeat for Socialism. Now foreign papers bring the news that though the Socialists did not gain any new seats, merely retaining the seven already in their possession, their popular vote increased from 65,743 (1895) to 82,494. The new Socialist party, the Tribunistists or "Marxists" received but few votes.

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The United States Steel Corporation hardly expected to meet with such stubborn resistance as it is encountering in endeavoring to non-unionize its tinplate mills. Before the trust forced the strike its spokesman declared that a number of the mills would disobey the call of the Amalgamated Association, but later events demonstrated the fact that there was but one mill in which there was any lukewarmness displayed and subsequently a large percentage of the men in that plant walked out.

On the other hand, the third week of the strike the unionists captured two non-union mills and are making steady inroads in secretly organizing the trust employes. At the present writing the situation is chaotic, with both sides claiming to have gained important advantages. Like all recent contests between labor and capital, this battle will be a long and hard one. The men have got tremendous odds confronting them. The 8,000 sheet and tinplate workers are really the last remnant of the 60,000 unionists formerly employed in the trust mills; they are the old guard who have stood loyally by the once powerful Amalgamated Associatioon through every stress and storm. The insidious attacks of the capitalists, the corruptions and blunders of alleged leaders, the secession and desertion of fellow-workers in other branches of the iron and steel industry could not shake the faith of these stalwarts who are now subjected to the most raking fire that has yet been aimed at the men of the mills by pitiless plutocracy.

While the names of Corey and Gary and a lot of obscure lieutenants are mentioned in the newspapers as being the prime movers in the campaign to destroy the unions in the trust mills, the real power opposing the working class in this contest is J. P. Morgan. It was about seven years ago that Morgan inaugurated his campaign to crush organized labor. As is well known when he formed the United States Steel Corporation (a trust of trusts), he added more than a dollar of fictitious value for every dollar of real value to the capital stock. By introducing the most scientific labor-saving machinery, by crushing small competitors and developing almost a complete monopoly in certain branches of the iron and steel business, and by pounding up prices and hammering down wages, this modern industrial pirate hoped to pay dividends on watered stock mounting into hundreds of millions of "made" dollars. It was the greatest adventure ever undertaken by any financial brigand since the world began, for not only would these dividends represent millions of dollars of graft without the investment of a single penny of capital, but the stocks sold upon the markets

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would bring in still further millions for not greater outlay than to have the certificates printed.

There was little opposition to Morgan's colossal steal. The hireling press eulogized him to the skies for his "unparalleled business genius," the office-holders winked at his bold and brazen violation of national and state laws, the party managers passed the hat to the world's greatest robber for campaign contributions, many good churchmen blessed him for his donations to convert the heathen, the professional Wall street wolves licked their chops in pleasant anticipation of coming feasts, and the little cheap-skate capitalists with more money than brains, including the intolerable snobs with plutocratic minds in the working-class, who have an uncontrollable mania to become Morgans and Rockefellers, purchased watered stock and began to plan what they would do when they became fabulously rich.

The only opposition that developed came from the iron and steel workers when Morgan began to put on the thumb-screws in carrying out his program at the production end of the line. They went on strike and fought hard. Their spirited resistance threatened to puncture the balloon of inflated values and let out the wind. The late Senator Hanna, as chairman of the National Civic Federation, arranged a "compromise" and thus made himself still more popular with the alarmed Wall street thieves and also with the iron and steel workers, who were assured by their President Shaffer, who has since fallen into the hole of obscurity, that they had gained something.

Morgan boiled with rage at the thought that the workingmen dared to strike against his imperial will and at the further thought that he was humiliating his royal personage in making a settlement to save the water in his stock and assure the continuance of the political bunco game of the day. He swore to be revenged. It turned out a sorry compromise. The Amalgamated lost 14,000 men during the year by the gradual victimizing, blacklisting and coercive policies that the capitalists knew so well how to operate. In 1904 the hoop mills were "open shopped" and the union lost another 10,000 members. The following year the bridge trust wing of the trust forced a fight and 12,000 more men were cut out of the Amalgamated. In 1906 the loss was 3,000 members, in 1907 about 6,000, and last year 7,000 were driven out of the Amalgamated. Now the retreating army is making a last stand and unquestionably its most desperate fight.

Throughout the class war upon the industrial field the watered stocks of the steel trust have been juggled up and down. The hungry lambs have been shorn of millions of their fleece; the nasty little capitalistic parasites have been stripped of hide and tallow by the big plutes, and they deserve small sympathy—they are the most detestable of labor exploiters and apologists of plutocracy. I am little concerned in their fate, anyhow. The most deplorable phase of this industrial tragedy—for tragedy it is—is that, compared to a generation ago, the wages of the iron and steel workers have been pounded down 300 to 500 per cent. Yet prices of iron and steel products appear to remain stable. Now the trust demands not merely the open shop, but still further tribute in the shape of a wage reduction from the tinplate workers ranging from 2 to 25 per cent., which fact is carefully kept hidden by the capitalist press.

Strange as it may seem, it has never occurred to the iron and steel workers, who, more than any other trade, have been forced to struggle against the encroachments of brutal capitalism, to join the Socialists and engage in independent political action all the while

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they were fighting on the defensive upon the industrial field. I don't know whether they are affected by the heat in which they are compelled to work (or more properly, slave) or they lack the intelligence to understand that they are engaged in a class war in which Morgan and his gang have the powers of government on their side, but the fact remains that the iron and steel workers display no more political progress than a crab. They have prided themselves on being high protectionists and good Republicans, like Morgan, Corey, Gary, Frick, Carnegie and the rest of their kind masters—the men did the voting and shouting and their masters got the plunder.

It is likewise true that the iron and steel workers have been badly advised. Nearly all of their so-called leaders have turned out to be nothing but political fakirs or sold out to the master class to assist in the game of despoliation. There was John Jarrett, Weike, Garland, Shaffer and numerous others who seem to have used their prominence in the Amalgamated Association merely as a sort of stepping-stone to climb into political jobs and then use their influence to keep the rank and file chained to the Republican party. The Lord only knows how many more object lessons, how much more oppression, must be heaped upon these unfortunate workers before they acquire the moral strength to cut loose from the capitalistic parties and stand up for their class interests on the political field. Surely they are making plenty of sacrifices on the industrial field, and as Socialists they wouldn't have to suffer any more than they do at present.

Collisions, explosions and breakdowns are of almost daily occurrence on the Great Lakes. In their determination to smash every vestige of labor organization the handful of bosses who control the Lake Carriers' Associatioon are sparing neither money nor men to make a showing. Although it is now three months since the publicity agents of the association announced that the strike was broken and that they had about all the marine workers they could use, if one picks up a capitalistic daily the same stereotyped announcement will be found almost any day, "the strike is broken and we have only a few more vacancies for good men."

The truth of the matter is that the shipowners have got a good nucleus of competent seamen who are being worked to death in trying to break in a small army of college boys, professional bums and strike-breakers and ignorant foreigners who have no understanding of the trouble. The result is that accidents by the score, attended by much loss of life and property, are happening constantly and many of these occurrences are carefully suppressed and the public hears nothing about them.

After a trip or two the strike-breakers usually have their fill and desert the ships in considerable numbers, and their places are taken by other landsmen, either for the novelty of the thing, as in the case of the unprincipled college boys, or because hunger incites some of the workers to accept the hazardous employment, while the professional strike-breakers serve their masters for the reason that they are natural-born traitors and hate their fellowmen and themselves.

While the marine workers have been forced into a struggle such as has confronted no other organization—being opposed by the huge steel trust and allied corporations and having no opportunity to picket the ships except when they arrive in port—the union men are grimly determined to wage the contest indefinitely, according to their present plans and subject the trust and its consorts to as heavy financial losses as possible. The unionists declare that those of their men who have remained true up

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to the present will stand like a stone wall and that gradually those who deserted will return to the ranks.

The next two or three months are the most dangerous period in the navigation season, and the experienced seamen look for wholesale desertions among the strikebreakers, who have no desire to assume the risks of finding watery graves during the autumn storms. Meantime many of the small vessel owners, who permitted themselves to be coaxed or bullied into the Lake Carriers' Association, have received little or no support from the United States Steel Corporation and its allies. They have been used as tools with which to fight the labor organizations and are being bankrupted as their reward.

No progressive workingman or woman in the country will regret to learn that retributive justice or an avenging Nemesis is overtaking one by one the gang of conspirators who sought to destroy the Western Federation of Miners and hang or imprison the spokesmen of that famous organization. It has already been mentioned in the Review that the notorious Peabody, dumped overboard by the mine operators after they used him, has become a bankrupt and virtually an outcast in his native village and was even refused the scant comfort of a political spittoon-cleaning job that would net him a hundred dollars per month.

Western papers announce that "General" Sherman Bell, who brought pain and suffering upon many a miner and his family, went bankrupt as a mining promoter, is wandering about from place to place making a precarious living, and was recently arrested at Raton, N. M., upon the charge of creating a disturbance.

Supreme Judge Goddard, who was driven from the bench at the last election after having earned the contempt of every decent citizen of Colorado for his outrageous decisions against labor and who perjured himself in the Haywood case, is trying to eke out an existence promoting real estate schemes, but is virtually ostracized.

John Holmberg, who was state auditor and treasurer and Peabody's chief lieutenant, and who has never accounted for a discrepancy of $10,000 when he was retired from office, tried to commit suicide when he heard that his peculations were being investigated.

Ex-Governor McDonald, who stole his position to carry on the disreputable work of Peabody, is carrying a heavy load because of a sensational murder and suicide in his family, and is said to have become broken in spirit and poor in purse.

Harry Orchard, the "hero" who was lionized by the whole gang of conspirators, tyrants and thieves after he confessed to being a wholesale murderer and guilty of every crime on the calendar, and who was treated like a prince in the Idaho penitentiary by Governor Gooding, has been placed at hard labor by the new warden who took control of that institution.

The Citizens' Alliance, which was once all-powerful in Cripple Creek, Victor, Pueblo, Colorado Springs and other places, is now down and out and it is said that no business man will admit today that he ever had any connection with that infamous organization of brutes and cowards. Nevertheless, many of the working people in those places have long memories, and not a few of the arrogant business men who (in Colorado like everywhere else) imagined they had a right to boss everybody, were disillutionized and are now out of business.

It appears that the spirit of class-consciousness and the determination to resist oppression is becoming stronger in Colorado. When that spirit finds expression at the ballot-box the workers will be doubly strong.

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Prompted by the accession of certain wealthy persons to our ranks, I wrote, some years ago, an article pointing out that it was almost impossible for such persons to do other than harm to the movement by contributing money to it freely out of their large fortunes. That view is, of course, the very opposite of that enunciated by the versatile and scintillating George Bernard Shaw, but it is, I believe, a thoroughly sound one. It would be easy enough to point to practical examples of the evils inherent in that policy on the part of the wealthy few in our ranks.

Nevertheless, it would be idle to deny that there are great services to the movement which can be rendered by those endowed with the rare union of great wisdom and riches. We have a conspicuous example in the valuable service which Eugene Dietzgen has performed for the Socialists of the English-speaking world in making it possible for Comrade Untermann to devote years to the gigantic task of translating the second and third volumes of Marx's **Capital**, now fortunately completed. The whole movement is deeply indebted to Comrade Dietzgen, as well as to Comrade Untermann, for the consummation of this vast undertaking. The publication of the third volume of Marx's great work is an event of cardinal importance to the American Socialist movement.

One of the foremost members of the Socialist Party wrote me recently saying: "The Socialist movement all over the world is getting further and further away from Marx"—an echo of a very prevalent criticism. So far as the Socialist movement in America is concerned, it would, I am convinced, be much nearer the truth to say that it is getting nearer and nearer to Marx—the real Marx—and it is because the publication of the long-waited-for third volume will hasten that movement "back to Marx" that it becomes an event of the highest importance to Socialists and students of Socialism. With no adequate biography of Marx, and only one of the three volumes of his great work accessible to the reader of English, both the expositions and the criticisms of Marxism long current in this country have been based upon a very partial summary of the great thinkers economic teachings. With the completion of the publication of the English translation of **Capital** we enter upon a new phase of Socialist scholarship in America. The crude "more-Marxist-than-Marx" type of Marxists, who, in spite of rent, strikes and hunger riots, in all our great cities, would deny secondary exploitation of the workers, and heap torrents of ridicule and abuse upon those who have the temerity to say that the proletariat can be exploited in the circulation of commodities as well as in their production, can now read for themselves how completely they differ from Marx.

Not less interesting and important in its bearings upon our theoretical discussions is the manner in which this third volume reveals Marx's profound appreciation of the fact that the law of value is set aside when monopoly conditions prevail. Some of the so-called "revisionists" have obtained a good deal of credit for their alleged discovery of this fact and been hailed as the intellectual

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superiors of Marx, whereas that great thinker made it perfectly clear.

It is generally known by now that, although Marx did not live to actually finish the second and third volumes, they were roughly drafted and worked out before the first volume was completed and published. Thus, he was busily occupied with the writing of volume three in 1865, while volume one did not appear until two years later. His working method was to first prepare a rough sketch of the whole work. This done, he went back over it and filled in the details, chapter by chapter, book by book. Then, having the three volumes roughly assembled, he went back to the beginning and calmly took up the work of revising his labors for the printers' hands. This method of working is important since it provides us with a key to the understanding of a very common criticism of Marx and his work. It is commonly alleged by certain academic critics of Marx that between the publication of the first volume and the preparation of the third his thought had so much matured that he was led to conclusions which practically overthrew and refused those of the first. So I was gravely assured by a certain well known political economist at a dinner of a New England economic society only last winter, and when I suggested that if such was the case the publication of the third volume, as a complete refutation of the first, would be a strategic move on the part of Mr. Belmont's Civic Federation, the joke was rather lost upon him. How ridiculous this criticism is may be gathered from the volume before us.

In a way, the second and third volumes of **Capital** are quite as much the work of Engels as of Marx himself. His share in them is much larger than that indicated by the term "editor." Shortly before his death Marx spoke to his daughter, Eleanor, about the unfinished manuscripts, directing that they be turned over to his friend. "Perhaps Engels will be able to make something of them," he said. What Engels made of them we know. With marvelous scholarship and an almost romantic fidelity to his dead friend, he took the mass of rough materials and put them together as no other man could have done. No other mind, it is certain, could have followed the course of the author's thought through the jumble of fragmentary manuscripts and notes left behind. The greater part of the material was hastily scribbled, without literary form, in German, French and English, according to Marx's mood at the time of writing. Often a whole chain of reasoning was indicated merely by a few catchwords, which to any other than the author's twin-spirit must have been unintelligible hieroglyphics. In a sense, therefore, the second and third volumes of **Capital** are a monument to a most remarkable literary partnership and friendship.

There is now available for the English reader the complete Marxian system of political economy. The first volume deals with the process of capitalist production. The charge brought against Marx that he indulged in abstract reasoning instead of dealing with realities rests upon a very superficial examination of this part of his great work. Absurd as it is in some particulars, it contains a certain modicum of truth, as Marx himself realized. As an introductory study he certainly considered the process of production by itself, without regard to the process of circulation, though in the actual world the one is interwoven with the other. But in the second volume this process of circulation of capital is treated and subjected to the keenest and profoundest analysis. In the third part of the second volume especially, Marx demonstrates with splendid lucidity that the capitalist process of production, considered as a whole, is a combination of the processes

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of production and circulation. And because this is so, secondary exploitation in the circulation of commodities, must be recognized. The third volume completes the synthesis. Here we have the actual movements of the whole combined productive and circulative processes analyzed. The course of surplus value, and its division are set forth.

Here, too, we have elaborated the Marxian theory of rent with which heretofore few of our English-speaking Socialists have had opportunity to acquaint themselves. And since there is no country in the world where the subject has greater practical importance, this section of the book will doubtless greatly influence the theoretical and practical development of the movement itself. Marx nowhere appears to greater advantage as an economist than in his treatment of rent. Applying the historical method with which all students of his works are familiar, he traces the evolution of rent from Labor Rent to Rent in Kind and thence to Money Rent. And this last form of rent, peculiar to capitalist production, he divides into two divisions—Differential Rent and Absolute Rent. The former may arise either from the investment of capitals, equal or unequal, upon lands of varying degrees of natural fertility, or from the investment of equal or unequal capitals successively upon the same land, but with different results. Absolute Rent, on the other hand, is due to conditions which partake of the nature of monopoly, as when the agricultural products are sold at monopoly-prices.

Finally, this third volume contains the solution to the "great Marxian contradiction" which has troubled economists like Bohm-Bawerk and others. Engels, in the preface, has a good deal of fun at the expense of the "vulgar" economists who tried vainly to solve the apparent contradiction between the Marxian law of value and an equal average rate of profit. In the preface to the second volume Engels challenged the economists of Europe to demonstrate the way in which an average rate of profit is made inevitable by reason of the law of value. For the solution one must refer the reader to the work itself. Suffice it to indicate here that the critics of Marx have made the mistake of seeking to apply to individual capitals and capitalists what Marx applied to the entire social capital and the partition of the total surplus value produced by all the workers.

In this connection I have read with interest the preface which my good friend, H. M. Hyndman, contributes to the fourth edition of his **Economics of Socialism,** just published by the Twentieth Century Press, London. This little volume, with which most of my readers are, I hope, familiar, remains to this day the best short compendium and exposition of Marxian economics in the English language. To review it at length would therefore be a superfluous task. Suffice it to say that the value of the present edition is greatly enhanced by the suggestive preface. The volume is creditably produced and should find a place in the library of every Socialist. To read it first, before attempting to read the voluminous work of Marx, is perhaps the most useful piece of advice one can give to the young Socialist student who desires to equip himself with a thorough knowledge of Marxian theory.

Another volume from England is an English translation, by Edith C. Harvey, of Edward Bernstein's famous work **Die Voraussetzungen des Sozilismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie,** which has for its title the much more descriptive **Evolutionary Socialism.** In its way, the publication of this volume is quite as important as the completion of Marx's great work in its English rendering. Most comrades have heard of it

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and become familiar with the word "Bernsteinism," but comparatively few have yet had an opportunity to read it. The I. L. P. Publication Department, London, has therefore done the English-speaking Socialist movement a distinct service by publishing the book in such an admirable translation at a low price.

I do not hesitate to say that every Socialist in America ought to read this book of Bernstein's, and that no comrade who assumes to be a propagandist or teacher in the party can afford not to do so. Whether we agree with Bernstein or not is relatively unimportant: what matters is that we should become perfectly acquainted with his views. I trust that I may not be misunderstood when I say that the Socialist movement, in common with every other popular movement, is prone to become narrow and intolerant of the independent thinker who is not willing to continue the repetition of old formulas and creeds. Heresy hunting has been the bane of the whole working class movement, for it has fettered a living movement to dead dogmas, thus making the movement a mere sect. It is for this reason that I personally hope that an American edition of Bernstein's book will soon be forthcoming. We need from time to time to be called to such a re-examination of our position as that to which this book challenges us.

For many years Edward Bernstein was the trusted friend and confidante of Friederich Engels, and as editor of the **Sozialdemokrat** during the era of Bismarck's repression laws he stood high in the estimation of the German movement. Therefore, when he published a book expressing his dissent from some of the conclusions of Marx and Engels, and more especially from the so-called "Marxism" of some of their expositors, quite a sensation was caused. The capitalist press, of course, hailed the revisionist movement as a sure and certain sign of dissolution of the Socialist movement, and the triumph of their enemies did not tend to make the German comrades tolerant or kindly toward Bernstein. Most comrades who take pains to keep reasonably well informed concerning the international movement are familiar with the main facts concerning the development of the Bernsteinian controversy: how, in October, 1898, Bernstein wrote from his London exile a letter to the German Social Democratic Congress, assembled at Stuttgart, setting forth his view that certain revisions should be made in the theoretical statement of the party's position, and how, at Hanover a year later three and a half days were devoted to a discussion of the volume before us and ended with a resolution which expressed a rejection of the views set forth. A majority vote is not always decisive, however, and there were soon manifest abundant signs that Bernstein had a large following in the party. With such a division of honest opinion in our ranks it is worse than useless to discourage the freest possible publication and discussion of such views—it is suicidal.

Bernstein's cry is always "Back to the facts!" You cannot answer him by saying that Marx said thus and so. He is like Liebknecht in that he will not acknowledge Marx as a pope, but persists in asking "Is it true? Does it agree wth the facts?" Believing as thoroughly as Marx himself that the objective of capitalist production is the surplus value extracted from the labor of the workers, and admitting the class struggle which results therefrom, he disagrees with Marx as to the exact manner in which the surplus value is derived. This is only important in an academic sense: it has no practical importance at all. But when he claims that Marx was mistaken in his prediction that the small property holder tends to become extinct, and asserts that this class is actually increasing, practical consequences of the highest importance

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are involved. If he is right then much of our propaganda is wrong and a revision of tactics becomes imperative. So, too, with the concentration of capital. Was Marx mistaken? If so, it is important that we do not perversely repeat his mistakes on account of a mistaken sense of loyalty to Marx. Bernstein makes appeal to figures—I had almost written "the figures," but that would be a concession I do not want to make. Unquestionably Bernstein is right in his method, but it remains an open question whether all the figures are taken into account, or whether preconceived notions have influenced his choice of statistical material.

Whatever our opinions may be as to the questions raised by Bernstein, his book is of the highest importance and this English translation should be cordially welcomed by every Socialist who desires to see the movement freed from the dangers of a narrow dogmatism, which Marx detested and feared.

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FROM HONOLULU. I am a shoemaker and earn my living repairing old shoes and I am nobody's wage-slave either, and I also have a little wad in the savings bank and am the janitor of our local. So I suppose just because I have some economic determinism in the bank and because I am an office-holder in the party, some of those fellows are going to denounce me as an intellectual, but I just want to let them know that I am nothing of the kind, and if any of those men thinks he is going to dump me on the rubbish pile, just let him try. I'll bet any of them a new pair of rubber heels that they can't do it. And this reminds me of something that happened to me not long ago. It was this way: I was invited to a regular old-fashioned Dutch wedding dinner, where they pass around the big platters with grub for everybody to help themselves. Now I was sitting next to a big fat perspiring Dutch uncle when along comes a beautiful platter of asparagus that made my mouth water, just looking at it. My Dutch uncle began unloading the stuff and piling it on his plate and I was a watching him, nervous like, and pretty soon there was no more than about half a dozen measly little things left and I kind of pats him on the shoulder and says: "Say, old friend, I likes asparagus too."

He just gave me a look without saying anything, scoops in the rest and hands me the empty platter. Then he kind of deliberate like picks one up on his fork and says: "Yes, do you? But I likes em better yet than you."

Now if those fellows think they are going to hog all the Socialism there is just because they think they like it better than somebody else, just let them try. I like Socialism too and I am going to have my share of it.

I think every local ought to expel all of them proletarians and intellectuals too, so there will be nothing left but just comrades. JOE RIDDLES.

TOM MANN writes from Australia. In the April number of the Review some notes appeared on the miners' dispute at Broken Hill. Nearly all the items were correct; one was not and as it relates to the Labor Party with whom we are not in working alliance or agreement politically, I am sure you will allow me to correct it.

When it was decided to supplement the local police it was not the federal authorities, but the state authorities, that sent about 380 additional police, many of them mounted and carrying swords, rifles and revolvers, a number of whom behaved in dastardly fashion. The State Premier, who is also Attorney General, is a typical bourgeois, a lawyer, Mr. Wade by name.

It was easy to conclude that the Federal authorities had sent the military, owing to the number of press paragraphs as to what would be done if the Labor government was called upon by the State to supply military. However, it did not reach that stage, and the Federal Labor government is now a thing of the past, having been defeated by a coalition of reactionaries and Democrats. (What's the dif?) A brief resume

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of the dispute and the settlement may be acceptable to you.

The miners at Broken Hill had been working under an agreement which fixed the minimum wage at 8 7½ per shift, this agreement was to expire at the end of 1908; and the directors of the biggest mine had intimated that they would insist upon a 12½ reduction.

This caused the various unions to unite and conduct an organizing campaign so as to resist this proposed reduction. I was requested to help and did so. The miners here work six shifts a week of eight hours. I earnestly advocated a 44-hour week so as to secure the Saturday half holiday. This was acceptable to the men and endorsed by them, and each section also formulated claims for extra wages.

Before the end of the year the mine managers met the representatives of the men in conference and it was agreed by the men to drop all claims for reduction of hours and for increased wages and to sign an agreement renewing the old conditions with a little improvement in the matter of overtime.

Further by vote they agreed to submit the case of the Broken Hill Proprietary Company which refused to enter the agreement to the Federal Arbitration Court, and they further authorized their lawyer in court to give the judge assurance that they would abide by the result, i e., would be content with the award.

The dispute also affected 1,700 men at Port Pirie in the adjoining State of South Australia, these men are the smelters and they work seven shifts a week. Myself and others endeavored to get included in the minimum demands for Pirie, six shifts, instead of seven. This was ultimately ruled out.

A number of us had to undergo trial. Myself for conspiracy, unlawful assembly and riot. I was in the dock eight days and the result was acquittal. This was in the 19th week of the dispute. The week before this the award was given and it included the chief demand, virtually the only demand made by the men, viz., no reduction of wages; but many of the active men had been where the trial took place at Albany over 1,000 miles from Broken Hill, and those responsible for the dispute lacked the firmness necessary to close the dispute when the matter was really over.

I was called upon to visit Pirie again and I saw that prolongation of the dispute meant the break up of the organization and an increasing number of scabs getting into the works, so the dispute was declared closed, and a few days after it was also closed at the Hill and matters will soon assume normal conditions. Some victims will be the result, but these will be looked after by the unions.

The men fought a good fight for twenty weeks and their organizations remain intact and they are in a better position than ever for carrying on an energetic campaign and preparing to take their rightful share in the great class war fully conscious of the part they have to play in it.

TWENTY MINUTES' WORK. I am in receipt of yours of June the 17th, and am very thankful for having the opportunity of spreading "the International Socialist Review" among the working class and hope it will do them as much good as it did me. As soon as I got your letter with the two subscription cards I went out and in 20 minutes I got the two subscribers, for which you'll find enclosed a check for $2. I expect also to get of you the $2 worth of books which you have promised in your letter. Yours in the cause,

LOUIS GOLDBERG.

New York.

THE LAND OF DIAZ. John Murray's articles in recent numbers of the Review on Mexico were fine. His pictures were

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true to life, but the worst story remains untold. It is that of the horrible intellectual condition of the Mexican people. There ignorance is so dense it is almost incomprehensible to Americans. They do not know their right hand from their left, nor on which side of the body the heart lies. When a Mexican stabs one of his fellows, he thrusts the knife into his bowels as being the most vulnerable spot. These people do not know that Castillian and Spanish are the same language, nor that Mexico and the U. S. are on the same continent. One man told me he understood the city of Canada, in the State of Sonora, was on an island lying between the two countries. Their superstitions are beyond belief and they believe in devils, witches, living saints that dwell in the woods, and in everything except the simple truth. The church carefully cultivates these superstitions and their efforts to foster them are tolerated by the government. Mexicans believe that marriage contracts in the U. S. are for a given period of time only. They are also taught by the Jesuits that the government of the U. S. prohibits religion. I think the Jesuits are more powerful here than in any other country. They run the official schools almost everywhere and have succeeded in undoing the heroic work of Juarez and the liberals forty years ago. But a great awakening is taking place in Mexico and I expect lively times in a year or two. Literature is being published as never before and political parties are springing up on all sides. Yours for better times. A SOCIALIST.

THE INVENTOR'S SHARE, an attractive brochure by Arthur G. Baker, with an introduction by J. J. Spouse, is one of the most interesting booklets we have received for a long time. Comrade Baker has invented a practical typesetting machine. The Inventor's Share is the story of his long efforts to get his machine upon the market without losing all rights in it, as is generally the misfortune of inventors. After reading this book one is tempted to say "Brains are their own punishment." For the printer who turns out a successful invention—a practical machine fares no better than the average wage-worker. In fact, he generally fares worse. Often he is compelled to spend years of sacrifice in order to perfect his invention only to have it stolen from him, or to be cheated out of his patent rights by the men of business. We are glad Arthur Baker possessed the courage and tenacity to hold on till the comrades of Michigan came to his rescue. This little book will interest all socialists. Price, 10 cents, 19 Grand Circus Building, Detroit, Mich.

LEEDS, ENGLAND. Comrade Bonell writes us sending a big order for books. He says "Our opponents cannot meet our scientific position. Armed as we are, with your literature, we feel confident of victory."

COMRADE LANG, of Muscatine, sends us a splendid report of his book and magazine sales for the past six months. We would like to print his report in full but lack of space forbids. We want to congratulate him, however, and the Muscatine comrades for the way they are handling literature, including the Review. Every local that spreads good socialist literature and periodicals is bound to grow, for those who read are always with us.

THE DES MOINES AMENDMENTS. I would not consume further space on this subject were it not for the fact that the editor has totally misunderstood the provision criticised. I was amazed at his criticising a provision which is a simple method of securing almost absolute fairness, but I now comprehend: it is because he does not understand it.

He says that if there were a hundred

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candidates, the ballot handed to each member would contain ten thousand names.

The truth is that if there were one hundred candidates, the ballot handed to each member would contain one hundred names.

I shall use fifty names as my number to illustrate with, because I think our amendment will cut down the number of candidates to fifty or less. The reason I think so is because out of the two hundred and four candidates on the ballot last winter only thirty-six were nominated by as many as five locals.

If there were fifty candidates to be voted upon and fifty thousand members to do the voting, there would be fifty thousand ballots prin'ed with the fifty names on each. On one thousand of these ballots, the editor's name would stand at the top, if he were a candidate. On another thousand, my name would stand at the top, if I were a candidate. On still another thousand, Simons' name would stand at the top, if he were a candidate. And so on with each and every candidate.

Each member would receive one ballot with fifty names on it. It would not matter whose name stood at the top of his particular ballot. If Comrade Kerr's name stood at the top of that particular ballot, some other member, at that or some other place, would be voting a ballot with my name at the top, and another member would be voting a ballot with Simons' name at the top, and so on with all the candidates. This would destroy the special privilege now enjoyed by those whose names begin with letters at the front of the alphabet. It would insure entire fairness.

I hope I have made myself understood. If I have, the editor will now support the amendment. The vital weakness of the South Dakota amendment is the fact that it omits this provision.

JOHN M. WORK.

Reply by the Editor. Evidently the trouble is with the poverty of the English language, which led the word "portion" to convey to us in the Review office a totally different meaning from what the writer intended. As the matter now stands, we have no fault to find with the Des Moines amendment, except that the failure to number all the names on a ballot in consecutive order invalidates the whole ballot. This is obviated by the Aberdeen amendment, which requires the voter to write numbers opposite merely the seven names of his choice. One advantage of the Des Moines plan, however, is that it will make it easy to defeat for re-election any member who misrepresents the party. If therefore, as now seems likely, the Aberdeen amendment fails to receive th necessary number of seconds, the Review will support the Des Moines amendment.

IF ALL WORKERS WERE RAISED TO THE HIGHEST EFFICIENCY, WHAT WOULD BE THE RESULT? If higher skill results in greater production, as some have thought, it will only bring about a quicker glut of the market and a larger army of the unemployed. The more that improved machinery and higher efficiency of labor increase production the less is the subsistence portion allowed to the workers. A constantly lessening number of competing workers who, nevertheless, are creating more and more by the aid of improved machinerv and also by the use of less and less skill naturally has a tendency to reduce wages.

With the efficiency of all the workers raised to the highest point we still have with us the starving but now highly skilled unemployed army.

As each worker can now take the place of every other the competition waxes more furious. The matter of obtaining the better positions has now ap-

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parently become merely that of first-come-first-served.

But it is not even that. A large body of workers arriving at the same time and competing for the same job beat the wage down to the bare subsistence point.

To raise the efficiency of all the workers is a capitalist method of getting relief from the demands of skilled labor. As men produce more they are exploited still further—to a greater extent. This is one of the inevitable results of capitalist productions as Marx has so clearly taught us. The faster the pace and the higher the efficiency the more the production is accelerated and, consequently, the growth and downfall of capitalism is hastened.

Workingmen would not be benefited by a mere raising of efficiency under capitalism. Wages would fall to the dead level of those who are poorest paid.

Skilled workers are at present able to get a little higher wage than unskilled men because they are skilled and because many workers are not so efficient.

Machines are growing more efficient and complicated. This points to a time when most of human labor will be done by unskilled workers. I believe, however. that before this point has been reached capitalism will have passed away. ANSEL McMURTRY.

SLADDENISMS.—Wherever a number of capitalists have a commercial club, there it is the duty of the wage-workers to have a wage-workers' club.

The real hero carries a bucket and not a rifle.

I have seen babies toddling along the streets selling papers in the rain; I see blind and maimed men selling shoestrings and lead pencils to keep them out of the inferno you call a poor-house. . . I see womanhood at the auction block of lust and manhood peddled for an empty honor.

You talk about laws in the interest of humanity! I can look through the thin veil of your writing and discern the dim outlines of your Real Estate.

SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION.

It would indeed be hard to find a more enthusiastic gathering than the convention of the Socialists of South Carolina held in Charleston on July 4. What it lacked in numbers it fully made up in the desire to "do something." The principal delegations were from Columbia and Charleston, though other places in the state were also represented, and there was also a visiting delegation from Augusta, Georgia. The prime object of this notable gathering was to devise ways and means to spread the socialist propaganda in the state. And let it be understood that it by no means stopped at "devising." The desire to accomplish results was clearly shown, when the chairman of the convention, Comrade A. J. Royal, of Columbia, one of the best and most enthusiastic workers in the state, in a forceful and very appropriate manner urged the necessity of placing a permanent organizer in the field. Letters were read from the different socialist publishing houses as well as the various socialist papers offering to do all in their power to assist in the dissemination of socialist thought, by special discounts, etc. In less than ten minutes over $100.00 were pledged by the comrades present, with more in sight. Besides each comrade in their respective locals, agreed to assess himself a stated amount each month to keep up the permanent work in the state. There was a feeling among all, that since no help could be expected from outside sources, it devolved upon them to put their shoulders to the wheel and do their own organizing. A provisional state committee was elected

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with a local quorum of three at Columbia. The executive committee consisting of Comrades R. B. Britton, J. C. Gibbs, A. J. Royal, T. J. Weston, Isaac Goldman and others to be elected by their respective locals. Comrade Wm. Eberhart, of Charleston, a venerable socialist of the "old school" was elected temporary state secretary, until Comrade H. L. Drake, at present in Florida, would arrive to take charge of the work. The local quorum consisted of Comrades A. J. Royal, J. C. Gibbs and T. J. Weston (all of Columbia). MAX WILK.

Comrade John Spargo writes us from the Vermont mountains that his health is steadily improving and that he hopes to do some more active fighting by next fall. The above photograph was taken of Comrade Spargo while he sat upon a cannon taking the sunshine, and dreaming of Universal Peace.

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History of the Great American Fortunes

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS.

This remarkable work, which has attracted widespread attention in the course of its serial publication in the Worker and Evening Call, will shortly be brought out in three handsome volumes. From the beginning of the serial publication of this work, an incessant stream of inquiries has poured in as to when it would appear in book form.

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The first volume will be issued in September, 1909, and two other volumes will appear as rapidly as they can be published.

The **History of the Great American Fortunes** is a truly monumental work, covering an original field, and dealing with the subject in a way never before attempted. When Mr. Myers' History of Tammany Hall appeared some years ago, it was extensively noticed and reviewed the world over. It is safe to say that his **History of the Great American Fortunes** will call forth a far greater and wider amount of attention. It is the pioneer work in its field, and its value is already so thoroughly recognized that it is being translated into many languages.

The facts as to the origin of America's great fortunes have hitherto been shrouded in the densest obscurity. Yet the subject is one of the greatest interest and importance. Such articles as have been written on the careers of our rich men have nearly all been highly eulogistic and partial, hence historically worthless. There have also been denunciatory articles, violently attacking certain of the American multi-millionaires. These articles have been equally valueless, inasmuch as they deal prejudicially with individuals, and give no understanding of the conditions under which the great fortunes have been acquired. Moreover, practically all of them have been tirades, lacking facts and the knowledge of how to interpret facts.

So unexplored has the subject of the great fortunes been hitherto, that Mr. Myers has had to spend many years in gathering the facts. His research has been stupendous. He has gone through thousands of official documents dealing with three centuries of American life, and the results are seen in his work. It is not merely the first work of its kind, but is the most comprehensive and authentic history of American economic progress that has ever appeared. It gives the most lucid view of conditions from the very settlement of America down to the present time. It is, therefore, far more than a work dealing with the personal careers of the founders of the great fortunes; every phase of the conditions and social contrasts prevailing at different periods is fully illumined. You get the clearest kind of an idea of the forces at work in successive epochs, and of the tremendous movements and struggles, the culmination of which is seen in the American plutocracy of today, on the one hand, and the tens of millions of dispossessed, propertiless people, on the other.

Above all, the **History of Great American Fortunes** gives the facts, and facts as surprising as they are unassailable. Unlike many writers of the day, Mr. Myers does not waste himself on vague rhetoric, or tax the reader's patience by a difficult, academic style. He writes directly, simply, forcibly, always sticking to the facts, and going

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straight to the point. He has taken the enormous mass of facts unearthed by his years of study and research, and has produced a virile work, every line of which is interesting if not fascinating, in the graphic picture it gives of the causes leading up to the colossal fortunes in the hands of a few, and the impoverishment of the many.

It is bound to rank as the greatest work of its kind, and as the standard authority. It is history written in a new way, with the correct knowledge and interpretation of the facts, a scientific work at every step, and at the same time so simply presented that a child can read and fully understand it. Numerous prevalent errors and sophistries will be absolutely overthrown by this work, and it can be predicted that many future works will be written in the light of the facts Mr. Myers brings out.

The author has given the publication of this book to our co-operative association of working people, because he has good reason to believe that almost any capitalist house would soon be induced to suppress the book when its revolutionary importance once came to the attention of the great captains of industry. We have little working capital, but our publishing house is owned by over two thousand socialists who can not be bought off.

We shall publish the book, so far as the author has completed it, in three handsome volumes, printed on fine book paper, with eight engravings in each volume. The first, dealing with **Conditions in Settlement and Colonial Times** and with the **Great Land Fortunes**, will be ready in September. Volumes II and III will deal with the **Great Railroad Fortunes**, and we hope to publish both of these by the end of 1909. The price of the work will be $1.50 a volume, but to those who remit **$3.50** in advance, we will mail each of the three volums promptly upon publication. You can save a dollar on the price of this book, and also help us to hasten the publication of all three volumes, by filling out the attached blank and sending it in with $3.50.

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What We Did in June. We accomplished the one thing we set out to do; we paid for the typesetting and electrotyping on the third volume of Marx's Capital, in time to save the cash discount. How we raised the money will appear from the following table:

Receipts:		Expenditures:	
Cash balance, June 1	$ 250.51	Manufacture of books	$1,375.52
Book sales	1,700.05	Books purchased	55.59
Review subscriptions and sales	787.63	Printing June Review	472.44
Review advertising	17.81	Review department work	15.00
Sales of stock	212.51	Wages of office clerks	323.25
Loans from stockholders	695.00	Charles H. Kerr, on salary	70.00
Donations from stockholders	103.50	Mary E. Marcy, on salary	60.00
		Postage and expressage	433.26
Total	$3,767.01	Interest	26.47
		Rent	70.00
		Miscellaneous expenses	41.66
		Advertising	575.18
		Copyrights	38.90
		Loans repaid	142.97
		Cash balance, June 30	66.77
		Total	$3,767.01

The donations received up to the time of going to press with this issue of the Review are as follows:

Previously acknowledged (page 93)	$439.10
John Reckert, California	2.50
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J. E. Pottenger, California	10.00
Joseph Fischer, California	1.80
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Total	$479.40

We shall make no new appeal for contributions at this time. What we ask now is that every reader of the Review who is not yet on our regular mailing list send in a yearly subscription and an order for books. We shall keep open for a little while longer the combination offer of the Review a year and Morgan's *Ancient Society* for $1.50; this applies either to renewals or to new subscriptions.

We believe this is the best issue of the Review yet published, but we have many important improvements in view, which would be easily possible if each of our present readers would send a dollar for a year's subscription within the next month. The Review and the book publishing house are alike owned by our co-operating stockholders. No one draws dividends; no one draws fancy salaries; every dollar that comes in goes to pay for the work that YOU want to have done. If you have not been paying your share, now is a good time to begin.

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THE INTERNATIONAL
Socialist Review

Vol. X. SEPTEMBER, 1909 No. 3

The Strikes in Pennsylvania

By Louis Duchez.

STRIKERS MEETING ON INDIAN MOUND ABOVE MCKEES ROCKS.

is impossible to treat this subject fully within the space allowed. The writer will simply present a few of the more important facts gleaned from a study of conditions as they exist at McKees Rocks, Butler and New Castle. At McKees Rocks fifty riveters of the "erection department" of the Pressed Steel Car Company's plant came out on strike. The others remained at work. Half

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of those fifty returned the next day—the other half were discharged. The following day one-third of the force in the "passenger car department" walked out and they returned to work twenty-four hours later. About half of those were "fired." On the third day half of the force of the "Pennsylvania porch department" walked out.

The discharged men with the new strikers organized their forces at once and placed pickets at the entrances of the mills, and within four hours had all workers out, with the exception of those employed in the "crane and tool department," and those in the power houses. Most of the men in the crane and tool department were organized in the A. F. of L., Local Union No. 124, International Association of Machinists. They remained at work as long as it was possible for them to do so. When the other departments were tied up they had to come out.

Five thousand men are involved in the McKees Rocks strike; those dependent on them number 20,000. At this writing, there are wounded in riots, 78; dangerously hurt, 6; deputy sheriffs on guard, 200; state constabulary on duty, two troops. There were fifty men wounded on Wednesday, July 15th.

The reasons for the strike are many and one. As a matter of fact the oppression became so great that the workers could stand it no longer. The few riveters simply started the ball rolling. The others were waiting. They had no organization. They were nearly all foreigners, principally Germans, Hungarians and Poles.

The principal source of the strikers' discontent and oppression is what is called the Baldwin contract or "pooling" system. In brief, it is the parceling out of lots of work to a foreman who contracts do it for a certain sum, the money to be divided pro rata among the men under him. This system has been very satisfactory to the company, and the president, Frank N. Hoffstot, says: "We will not change the pooling system, against which, it is said, the men complain. In fact, we intend to increase it, and extend it to all departments."

President Hoffstot says it has proven to be a very satisfactory arrangement. And it has—to the company. As evidence of this we saw several pay envelopes showing that many of the workers slave for practically nothing. One envelope showed that the owner worked nine days, ten hours a day, and got $2.75; another eleven days and received $3.75; another three days and got $1.75; another four days and got $1, and the fifth, who had been idle for two months, worked three days and received nothing. "A very satisfactory arrangement," indeed. The company manages the pooling system through the foreman—and the workers are skinned until their bones shine.

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Most of them are compelled to purchase their jobs. Some of the foreigners have paid as high as twenty and twenty-five dollars for a chance to work, and afterwards they have had collected from their pay by clerks, who go among the men, 10 and 15 per cent every two weeks.

The company owns the houses, "shacks" holding six families, and they are rented for $12 a month. If boarders are kept, extra charges are made. In several instances families that kept one boarder were charged $12 a month extra. In another case one family that boarded three men, with only four rooms in their house, paid rent amounting to $24 every two weeks, and this was collected from the wages of the boarders.

Two years ago, before the pooling system was introduced, the men were making $3, $4 and $5 a day. Today most of them make 50 and 75 cents and $1 a day. The company owns the stores. Everything must be bought there or the employee soon loses his job. By keeping the slaves struggling from hand to mouth they have been held in submission until this revolt came a few weeks ago.

In Butler the conditions are practically the same as in McKees Rocks. The Standard Steel Car Company, another branch of the steel trust, has been forcing the same conditions on the workers there. The Butler men were not given as much publicity—that's all. Six families are jammed together in tiny houses—or pig pens—and they pay $8 out of their wages every two weeks for them. The men in the mill average about $15 a pay, so over half of their earnings goes for rent alone. The men and their families are kept in abject slavery. "Kickers" are fired and evicted from their houses and in many cases they are given no pay whatever after they have worked hard for two weeks—the steel trust says they don't deserve it. One man in Butler, who had the nerve to put by $150, and made a payment on a little shack outside the company's territory, was discharged at once and all those who expressed sympathy with him or were seen at his house were "spotted" by the company "bulls." Above all things the worker who was known to talk unionism was "chopped off."

There were over 3,000 out on strike in Butler. As at McKees Rocks, six riveters came out and the rest followed. It was simultaneous with the walk-out at McKees Rocks. The workers there are nearly all Poles, Greeks, Hungarians and Russians. They were not organized, either.

In New Castle it is different. The strike was against the "open shop" order of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company. About half the men were organized in the Amalgamated Association and the Tin Workers' Protective Association, though only about 30 per

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cent of the members were paid up in dues a week or so before the strike. There are about 3,300 men involved in the New Castle strike. In New Castle with the kick against the "open shop" order they are also resisting a reduction in the wages of the "hot mill" men—those who work about the heaters.

The methods used to stamp out the spirit of revolt and incite riot in McKees Rocks, Butler and New Castle have been the most brutal and bare-faced ever used in the history of labor troubles in the United States, I believe. "Law and order" was pushed aside entirely. Not only that but those who stood for "law and order" did everything and avoided nothing that would press into greater and greater slavery the working class of Pennsylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA COSSACKS PATROLLING STREETS OF MCKEES ROCKS.

In McKees Rocks the slave condition of the workers was given much publicity. The Pittsburg Leader (for political reasons) came out openly and told of the steel car company's methods and the brutality of the company "bulls" and the "Pennsylvania Cossacks." The stories are almost unbelievable—the despotism was greater than that of Russia—but they were true.

In the mills the men were worked until they dropped with over-

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exhaustion. When a man was killed he was left to lie in the "bull pen"—an open space where the dead and injured are hurried—until the close of the day in many cases. His friends were not permitted to quit work to take him home—if they did they would be told to go to the office and get their "time." The average death in the plant of the Pressed Steel Car Company was one man a day. The company had a system of insurance in which so much was collected from the men. When one was killed more were waiting out at the gate ready to take his place. The steel trust lost nothing.

The plant of the Pressed Steel Car Company is known as "the slaughter house," and "the last chance," because of the many accidents, and the fact that those who work there can get work nowhere else. The Pittsburg Leader of July 15th says:

"The lowest wages, the worst working conditions, the most brutal treatment, looking to the deadening of every human impulse and instinct, graft, robbery and even worse, the swapping of human souls, the souls of women, for the lives of their babes, have for years marked the Pressed Steel Car Works as the most outrageous of all the outrageous plants in the United States. The 'slaughter house' is the most expressive name that could be given to the plant, although it has other claims to rank as a strong side show of Inferno. Workingmen are slaughtered every day, not killed, but slaughtered. Their very deaths are unknown to all save the workers who see their bodies hacked and butchered by the relentless machinery and death traps which fill the big works. Their families, of course, know that the bread stops coming. But the public, the coroner, everybody else, is ignorant of the hundreds of deaths by slaughter which form the unwritten records of the Pressed Steel Car Plant. These deaths are never reported. They are unknown by name except to their families and their intimates. To others they are known as 'No. 999' or some other, furnished on a check by the 'slaughter house' company for the convenience of its paymasters. A human life is worth less than a rivet. Rivets cost money."

A woman representative of the Leader writes:

"I spent several hours in the dwelling places—for they cannot be called homes—of these workmen yesterday. They are all alike both without and within. Situated in what is known as the Dump of Schoenville, runs a narrow dirt road. Frequently strewn with tin cans and debris, it is bereft of trees and the glaring sun shines pitilessly down on hundreds of ragged, unkempt and poorly fed children. They seem too young to leave their mothers' sides, but in spite of their youth, their faces, wan, white, and surmounted by the blonde hair of their Slavonic nationality, are peculiarly aged in their expression, and their eyes gleam with premature knowledge, which is the result of a daily struggle, not for life, but for existence. These are the children of 'the company's men.' Their fathers are always spoken of as 'the company's men.' They refer to themselves that way, for the long oppression and constant bullying at the hands of petty bosses have forced them practically to consider themselves as slaves."

I quote again from the same capitalist sheet. This is an editorial:

"Skilled men with their faces begrimed and hands made horny by wielding the weapons used in the industrial battle for an existence come from the shops of

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this great car company and say they have been paid 10 to 12 cents an hour for their labor. They point to Schoenville, derisively called 'Hunkerville' by the bosses, where there are long rows of squalid houses, the homes of an army of foreigners and ask whether these men with their families are living as human beings or animals. They point within the homes of Poverty Row to the bare floors, the empty larders and hungry children and ask why, if 'the laborer is worthy of his hire,' these men who journeyed from foreign shores to what they thought was the land of promise, are compelled to live in such poverty and misery.

"And these are the men who are striking. They have no organized union, but as one man they present their cause.

"Foreigners have been encouraged to seek employment with this company. A big percentage of the men in the car works are foreign born. A glance at their homes and a survey of their lives leads to the conviction that they have been reduced to the state of animals.

DANGEROUS CITIZENS OF "HUNKEY TOWN" DRIVEN OFF THE STREETS BY THE COSSACKS.

"But these foreigners are men, with hearts that throb and arms ready to protect their wives and children. Their babes are just as dear to them as the children that nestle in silken pillows are to wealthy parents. Poverty and adversity have been strong bonds of sympathy and affection between these men and their wives.

"That is the reason these wives fight for 'their men.'

"The foreigners labor under men speaking a strange tongue. The 'pooling' and intricate pay systems of the strangers are beyond the comprehension of the foreign-born toilers.

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"But they do know some things. They know when their families are hungry and naked. They know when the pay envelope is exhausted before the larder is filled with simple food and the children are provided with shoes. They see that there is work to be done. They do not understand why in the doing of that work a man cannot earn a livelihood. Nor do they understand why the 'land of promise' sends armed men to shoot them down when they object to strangers taking their jobs. And so they fight."

I have quoted the editorial and news columns of the "Leader" at length, first, because it is a capitalist paper, and, second, because I could not tell the story any better.

The steel trust "bulls" and "Pennsylvania Cossacks" were rushed in by the hundreds to club the laborers to death. One poor Hungarian while on the run was shot twenty-four times in the back. Comrade J. W. Slayton has the coat and every bullet hole shows up. The victim is lying in the hospital at the point of death. Another one, an Italian, looked through a knot hole in the fence surrounding the company's property and two "bulls" ran out with drawn revolvers. One of them kept him covered while the other beat him so badly that he had to be dragged away by his fellow strikers and carried to the hospital. It would take volumes to relate in all its detail the brutality and boldness and lawlessness of the Pressed Steel Car Company.

It is no wonder that the country was aroused over the matter. No one with human feeling and a cent to give could refrain from offering it to the poor, starving men and children and sick women. who were treated a thousands times worse than the serfs of the Middle Ages or the black chattel slaves of the South.

In Butler the strikers were treated about the same as in McKees Rocks. Before the "Cossacks" came all was quiet, aside from the fact that the company "bulls" did everything to start a riot.

When the "Cossacks" came into town, naturally, the striking men and their families would crowd along the main streets. Hundreds of them got out in the middle of the streets of the little village of Lyndora, the Standard Steel Car Company's town, and the mounted constabulary rushed into them without warning. The squire of the village, a democrat, told me the story. He said they ran into the peaceful mass and began clubbing right and left. Two or three of the strikers refused to be treated in that manner and they picked up oranges and bananas at a nearby stand and threw them at the "troopers." Then the "riot" started. Heads were falling in every direction and shots were fired. Two "Cossacks" ran their horses into a fruit store after a couple of strikers. It was positively known that the constabulary was brought to Butler to start a riot. Everything was prearranged. The company "bulls," or guards, failed to do it alone.

In New Castle the case is similar. All was quiet. The strikers

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were peaceable and well disciplined. The American Tin Plate Company had done everything conceivable in order to incite riot, but failed. Finally, they struck a plan. Seventy "scabs" were sent from Cleveland. They were each given a half pint of whiskey on the train. They nearly all had revolvers. When they got off the cars at the Union depot each was handed a club and told, "If you have to go through blood, go through it." The strike-breakers, most of them intoxicated, marched through the town, and made insulting remarks to the strikers that lined the sidewalks. One striker, it is reported, put his hand on a scab's pocket to ascertain whether he had concealed weapons or not.

THE STEEL TRUST'S STEAMER FOR TRANSPORTING SCABS.

The scab struck at him and hit one of his own number, who is yet in the hospital.

The county sheriff sent at once for the "Cossacks"—stables were prepared for them two weeks previously. But neither he nor the city police nor the mayor prevented the armed men from marching through the town. In fact they did everything in order that a riot might be started. This is no secret. Every citizen in New Castle knows it.

In New Castle company "bulls"—men (?) who are neither citizens or taxpayeres of the county—are sworn in as deputy sheriffs. As one of them told a striker, "I am not here to work. Do you think

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a man with hands like those (and he showed the palms of his hands) ever worked? I'm here to start something." There are strike-breakers, too, held in the tin mills of New Castle against their wills. Ignorant foreigners are brought into the mills from out of town, and once within the gates, they are kept there—unless they become too unruly. The writer saw one man who was sent into New Castle from Cleveland, struck over the head and shoulders a half dozen times by one of the "bulls," because he hesitated to go in after being let off the train near the mill.

In McKees Rocks at the beginning of the strike there was no organization, aside from the few machinists—who refused to come out, at first, with the rest. With the different nationalities there was

SOCIALISTS ADDRESSING STRIKERS—COMRADES MRS. A. J. MENG AND J. W. SLAYTON.

chaos for awhile. Priests were the first to interfere. Finally the socialists of Pittsburg came in, led by Comrade John W. Slayton, organizer for Allegheny county. Some kind of order and discipline was brought about. An executive committee was elected, and it looks, at this writing, as if the men had a good chance to win.

However, the foreigners, who compose nearly all the strikers, are suspicious of their leaders. There is a deep distrust among the McKees Rocks strikers, of the A. F. of L. and all its branches. And this distrust is well founded. In the strikes of the past eight years it was the A. F. of L. men in the mills that caused the defeat of the

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strikers. Certain organized departments remained at work while others—mostly unorganized—came out. And the present executive board is made up, principally, of the A. F. of L. men—those who stayed in until they were compelled to walk out because the other departments were tied up—and A. F. of L. sympathizers.

In Butler none whatever are organized. A Polish priest took charge of the situation at the beginning. Finally, he told the men that the company would give them a raise after they worked awhile—and they went back. Eighty of the leaders were victimized, evicted from their hovels, and the brand of the company has been placed upon them. Officials of the A. F. of L. were appealed to, but they did nothing. Apparently they thought the situation too grave—besides the strikers had no money to give them.

Just about this time William E. Trautman, general organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, who had just landed in western Pennsylvania, Frank Niedzillski, a member of the first and second Russian douma from Poland, and the writer planned for a meeting in Butler. We had a crowd of 800, started an organization of about 650, and it looks as if all will be brought into one compact organization in the near future. The men feel the need of an organization where every member stands as one man.

The most prominent feature of these three strikes is the wonderful spirit of solidarity and the recognition of the need of one compact organization. The men speak of it as a "labor trust" and "one big union." They are not troubled about the "failures" and "splits" of the I. W. W. in the past. They only know that the A. F. of L. has failed to make good; moreover, they know that wherever it interfered it divided the workers. They instinctively feel that it is a capitalistic organization. On the other hand the Industrial Workers of the World represents industrial unionism. Old "Amalgamated" men in New Castle who have been hanging to the old organization for years realize this now and they are doing all in their power to build up industrial unionism in New Castle. Already two unions of the I. W. W. have been formed in New Castle, one among the unorganized of the tin mills, with a membership of 500, and a mixed local of about 65 members. In fact, it was a group of men in the mechanical department of the Shenango tin mill in New Castle, imbued with the principles of industrial unionism, that brought the men out in that department in sympathy with the Amalgamated and Protective Association men. Charles McKeever, an electrical engineer in the Shenango mill, and a half dozen others, for two or three weeks after the Amalagmated men came out, carried on an education in the principles of industrial unionism. These

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men formed the nucleus for the I. W. W. organization. Finally, when McKeever, who is an active Socialist, was handed a check by the master mechanic and told his services were no longer needed, he said: "All right," and ran to the whistle rope and gave it a long pull. This was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon—one hour before quitting time. Every man dropped his tools, picked up his bucket, and they walked out in a body, without shutting off the engines or anything else.

A sample of the tactics of industrial unionism was given and the men learned a concrete lesson. The Free Press, the local Lawrence county Socialist paper, realizing that the workers want shop talk and shop action, was simply driven to stand out and out for industrial unionism and the I .W. W. as the only organization that represents that form of unionism.

Political action is at times an effective weapon in fighting the capitalist class, but we should not get away from the fact that the revolutionary movement of the workers is on the industrial field. Instinctively the wage slave's mind is in the shop—judicial and legislative wranglings do not appeal to him.

Organizations of the I. W. W. are being formed in McKees Rocks, Butler, New Castle, South Sharon, Struthers and other places in and around the Pittsburgh district. W. E. Trautman, general organizer, has more dates than he can fill. The workers are ready for constructive work.

I miss my guess badly if western Pennsylvania is not going to be the storm center of the revolution. The Knights of Labor died last in this part of the country, and the industrial process is more developed here than in any other part of the United States. Now is the time, indeed, to quit wrangling and get down to doing things.

All classes have ever been insistent on their own rights, and regardless of the interests of their fellow man. Thus the captains of industry have ever stoutly maintained their right to monopolize and control; have ever built up their combinations even against positive human law, but they just as loudly deny the right of the working man to monopolize and control the one commodity he has to sell —his labor—which is his flesh and blood, his very life.—Clarence S. Darrow, in The Open Shop.

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Reformer and Revolutionist

By William E. Bohn.

In every organization there are two wings; in every movement two tendencies are bound to appear. We call them radical and conservative, revolutionary and reformist or possibilist and impossibilist. The fact that his division is so general suggests that it is based upon a corresponding division in human nature. We say, "There are two sets of people," and let it go at that.

In the socialist movement—we may as well admit it—our two tendencies are full blown. And at first thought our ready-made explanation of the fact may seem sufficient. Yet the more I consider the matter the more it seems to me that there is at the basis of it something deeper than a mere difference in temperament. The two wings of our movement are marked with tolerable clearness. On the one hand we have the reformers—on the other the revolutionists. What I wish to show, in the first place, is that the difference between these two forces in our movement results from opposing views as to the importance of the political state. To the reformer the political state seems the controlling force in our society; to the revolutionist it seems but the reflex of our economic life.

In order to convince ourselves that this is at bottom the distinction between our two tendencies we shall merely have to recall a few socialist speeches or articles. Is not your reformer always telling us that all we need is a majority of the votes? Does he not calm our minds with the assurance that we can "get socialism" little by little; pass now one law, now another, take over first this industry then that under government control? And your revolutionist—is he not always talking of the class struggle, of strikes and lock-outs? Does he not represent the advent of socialism as the result of a better physical fight, a fight quite beyond control of the state?

This very evident difference in point of view, in manner of picturing the course of our movement, seems worth examination. If we can discover how it comes about we may be able to conclude which side is in the right.

It seems to me to result from the unprecedented division between

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our industrial and political organizations. And it is this division which we must thoroughly appreciate before we can understand the origin of our two opposing opinions.

I spoke of the division between our industrial and political life as unprecedented. A mere glance at history will show that the word was justified. At no previous stage of social development can one find precedent for it. No matter what epoch in the evolution of civilization we examine the political and economic interests are represented by the same organization. In the time of tribal communism, for example, the tribe was the unit both for political and industrial purposes. That is to say, the business of a tribe, many of the private relations of its members, and all of its external relations were under the direction of the same organization. Under feudalism we discover a similar condition of affairs. The lord of the manor controlled practically the whole life of those who had sworn fealty to him; he disposed, in large measure, of their economic power, he could prescribe rules as to their most private relations and they owed him service in time of war. Industrial and political power were both in his hands.

Capitalism, however, even in its early stages, brought a new element into society. In the early days of feudalism production was carried on within the feudal community; there was little buying or selling. But gradually there began to appear traders, mostly Jews. Together with free natives these began to live in towns. For a variety of reasons these towns received privileges from the kings and rapidly increased in wealth. In spite of raids made by robber barons and taxes imposed by monarchs these centers of trade continued to flourish. And now occurred a remarkable thing: there grew up a state within a state. Within each city the trades were elaborately organized as guilds, and among the various cities were often powerful leagues. Still, except in bourgeois countries, like Holland, or in the case of the free cities of Germany, the citizens had nothing that we should call political power. They disposed of great wealth, they had elaborate systems of banking and exchange, they were an organized society; yet their private lives were largely subject to laws passed by others, and they were always exposed to the diplomatic and military machinations of men over whom they had no control.

In England this relation, or lack of relation, between two great forces in society reached its natural result in the seventeenth century. Charles I, and later Charles II and James II, ruled according to tradition, paid no attention to the demands of business. If trade was hampered in this way or that, e. g., by the dominance of the Dutch, it made little difference to him. But the lords of trade now had the

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growing city of London at their back, and his majesty was much in need of cash; they could demand consideration. And when they finally discovered that they were not likely to get it from a Stuart king they imported a monarch to their own taste—first exacting solemn promises as to his behavior.

What took place in the England of the seventeenth century was repeated, with variations, in the France of the eighteenth. Since then it has occurred in varying degrees and in various ways in other civilized lands. But no matter where, the moment it has taken place there has come into being the division of power which is characteristic of our day. Just what is this division? Before this, in the main, power had rested in the hands of one class. Why did not this continue to be true—with merely a change of class? The bourgeois class came into power; why did it not frankly and openly take unto itself the overlordship? Why did not the rich send both kings and commoners to the right about and proclaim: This is our day; from now on it is ours to command? The principle reason is that they needed the support of the common people, a power which the organization of trade had not yet placed definitely in their hands; they were forced to proclaim themselves the champions of all, to shout for "liberty, equality, fraternity."

Their problem, then, was how to satisfy the majority, on whose support they depended, and at the same time remain themselves the actual masters of the situation. It is in the attempt to solve this problem that the form of present day society has been worked out. Parliament and congresses apparently give the control of affairs to the majority; so the majority comforts itself with the notion of democracy and is content, and these parliaments and congresses, at least formally, have real power: they make and enforce rules as to many of our life relations, they control foreign affairs and command the forces of war.

But now notice a peculiar thing. These popular assemblies are the direct descendants of feudal lords and kings, but they are only one of the controlling forces in our society. Along with them, and touching them at many points we have a business, or industrial organization. In a certain sense this is the same as that which asserted its power at the time of the bourgeois revolution, but it has risen to a degree of effectiveness hitherto undreamed of. More and more branches of industry have come under central control—till now, in this country, e. g., we have a small group of men ruling the industry of the most productive nation in the world. This small group decides what enterprises are to be undertaken, how high the wages to be paid, what the conditions of labor, etc., etc.

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We have, then, in our modern society practically two states—a political state and an industrial state. The first is, at least in form, democratic; the second is frankly autocratic. The first has long been considered a matter of public importance; its policies have been generally discussed; its affairs considered everybody's business. The second has from the first been considered the affair of a few; a man's business is his own concern; business is business, and the public has no right to meddle with it.

Now what does a socialist mean when he says that all we need is a majority of the votes? Or that we can "get socialism" by taking over this industry now that under state control? Is it not clear that in his mind the political state is supreme? That according to his notion a matter settled by the political machinery is settled forever? Does he not mean that the political state is society and that therefore no other organization needs to be thought of?

On the other hand, what does your revolutionist mean when he says the industrial revolution cannot be accomplished without a bitter struggle? When he proclaims that this struggle must increase in intensity till one side gains a definite and permanent victory, is he not speaking of a conflict outside the realm of law, i. e., beyond the control of the political state? Is this supreme conflict not entirely an affair of the industrial organization, which, we have seen, shares with the political the control of modern society?

Which of these two is right? The one who lays stress on politics or the one who lays it on industry? Shall we follow the reformer or the revolutionist? If we examine the positions of the two in the light of the analysis just made, we may be able, not only to answer these questions, but to arrive at certain conclusions with regard to socialist tactics.

The implication of the position assumed by the man who is going to change the world by votes is that the political state is supreme, or at least that it holds the preponderance of power. Let us see. In the first place, which organization is it that exercises the greater influence over the life of the individual? In how far is the course of your life determined by the political state? This organization does something to deter you from killing or stealing, things which, in all probability, you do not want to do in any case; it determines, within limits, the amount of your direct or indirect taxes; it makes regulations as to certain of your private relations; it carries your letters and furnishes you with a weather report. But the ordinary, well-behaved citizen can live his life and go to his grave almost unconscious of the existence of this much talked of organization.

We are always hearing, however, about the complexity of modern

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society, about the fact that each of us fits into his place like the cog in the machine. What organization is it that determines our place? Is it not the very economic organization mentioned above? The political state tells you not to kill and carries your mail, but the economic state determines the conditions of your life. It determines, at least for the most of us, where and in what sort of houses we are to be born, whether we are to be educated, what are to be our trades, whether we are to marry, where and how we are to live: indeed it may determine whether we are to live at all.

How far this marvelous organization trenches upon the domain supposed to belong exclusively to the political state is seldom realized. It often concerns itself, for one thing, with private morals. Thousands of railway employes, e. g., are forbidden to indulge in alcoholic liquors on or off duty. The employes of the Great Lakes Navigation Company at one time were forced to sign contracts which, in some respects regulates their lives down to the smallest detail. And these cases are not the most astonishing; often the industrial lords consciously and formally supersede the civil power. Mining companies make a practice of compelling their men to sign agreements abrogating the protection afforded by law.

To a certain extent, of course, the power of this tremendous, never-sleeping, all-controlling organization is wielded in an impersonal, automatic manner; it acts like the force of gravity. But as society has evolved it has become more and more self-conscious and more and more responsive to central control. We have it on the authority of a former prosecuting attorney of the state of Ohio, a man who learned about the trusts by fighting them, that eight men could stop the wheels of industry in the United States. At any rate a very few men have it in their power to say, within limits, how and where millions of their fellow creatures shall live—or, often, whether they shall live at all. Yesterday's paper tells me that one, man, Mr. Harriman, has it in his power to give to the great city of Chicago a good or bad railway service.

But, our political reformer may say, after all does not the political power control ultimately? Cannot the government coerce the trusts? Can it not pass laws and thus bring about any desirable change—if necessary by changing the trusts themselves? Let us keep our eyes steadily on facts. Look, first of all, into the making and enforcing of laws. Who makes the laws? Do you? Do I? Who is fixing up the tariff bill that is soon to pass Congress? Did any Republican or Democratic voter give effective expression to his will when he put his little voting paper into the box? Of course we all know that the common man voted—and "the interests" are doing the rest. William R.

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Hearst's revelations during the last presidential campaign proved to the last doubter that the real source of national power is, not the capitol at Washington, but Wall street. What becomes of suggested labor legislation? Almost always it is branded "vicious" and buried in committee. What happens if a great money king wants this or that? He gets it.

And how about law enforcement? Occasionally a labor law is passed under stress of public opinion—or a measure to regulate "the interests." What comes of it? The courts are sacred, but when law after law of one or the other of these two sorts is declared unconstitutional, or so applied as to fail of its purpose, one has his suspicions. Think of our great, great anti-trust law—which has been enforced **only against labor unions.** Consider the fact that boycotting is criminal, but blacklisting entirely legal.

The reason for this state of affairs is not difficult to discover. A German proverb has it, "Whose bread I eat, his man I am." The judges, almost without exception, are men who have received large fees as corporation lawyers; and almost always, after their service on the bench, they go back to their former masters. Now it is no more than natural that a man should think the welfare of society bound up with the good of the class which he serves and with which he lives. So court decisions are naturally in the interest of the great economic machine.

What, then, has become of the political state, that mighty organization to which many of us look for the regeneration of society? In final analysis it appears but as the tool of a far more powerful force behind it. It is the shadow, the other, the reality. It is the servant; the other, the master.

Then those of us who think all we need is votes expect the tool to wield the user, the shadow to change the reality, the servant to command the master. Just that.

In one respect I may be doing injustice to the purely political socialist. He may agree in the main with what I have said about the relation between the political and industrial organizations—and then go on to maintain that he, too, is bent on the control of the latter. The political state is already democratic and formally, at least, it is supreme. Does it not, he may ask, furnish the readiest means to power? After its capture we can make it—what it is not now—the real center of our society; it can become, as it should be, the controlling force.

My answer is, that until the conflict is won we must deal with facts as they are, use the means now at command. We are fighting within the limits of the present social structure, and we must conquer

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for our use, not the tools that can be made powerful, but those that are powerful now.

All this, however is merely negative. If our analysis of the forces of society is at all correct we should be able to reach some rather definite conclusions as to what is the best line of tactics for those who wish to overthrow existing society.

Out of our present social organism is to develop the higher form for which we strive. Will this higher form grow in the main, out of our industrial or our political organization? It is obvious that if industry is at the heart of our civilization, if it is that in the main that conditions our lives, if, finally, it is that which determines the course of our political government—if all this is true, it is obvious that it is out of our industrial life we are to expect the future society.

Or look at the matter from the point of view of our own volition? It is clear to anyone acquainted with the rudiments of socialist theory that both our political and industrial organizations are merely characteristic of our present stage of development. Both will pass away; we are fighting to save neither. But our examination of the actual condition of affairs showed the one to be dominant over the other. As a matter of practical tactics, which is it the more worth while to conquer? Obviously the dominant, i. e., the industrial, organization.

It is evident that the political state plays a large part in our life. This is proved by nothing more clearly than by the fact that "the interests" keep it carefully under their control. A class which strives for revolution must conquer it. But if the main force in our civilization is industry, the revolution will be brought about by industrial power.

And how is the working class to gain industrial power? The working class has industrial power, but it has not yet learned to use it. Labor power is the greatest item among the world's assets. The class that controls that has the key to the whole situation; it can give command to all the earth—provided it has learned how to use the advantages of its position. It must know how to act as a class in its own interest, to use its industrial power. How is this to be brought about? How and where is the working class to learn to act effectively in its own interest?

How and where does the capitalist class use its industrial power? i. e. Where does it bring its power to bear effectively on the masses of the people? Obviously in factory or mine or on the transportation line. The forces of government are only subsidiary to powers exercised directly in these places. Our question is answered; the working class, too, must learn to use its power in factory and mine and on

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transportation line. Then, whenever there is a strike or lock-out or the drawing up of an agreement, the real struggle for the revolution is on.

More than this, if ever the working class is to take charge of our industrial organization, it is there, in industry itself, that it must learn its business. It cannot prepare for its task by studying history or law or even learning Marx letter by letter. The men in each department of our economic life must know their work from A to Z. And not only that; they must know how to manage large affairs, how to choose men for responsible posts, how to reach together decisions regarding matters of supreme importance. How are they to get the training for all this? In industry itself. Surely it were idle to seek it elsewhere.

The conclusion seems to me self-evident, the chief emphasis of the socialist movement must be put on working class organization. I say this, not because it is necesary to get into the confidence of the workingman, to interest him in our party, but because working class organization is the only means to a revolution. Our present labor movement is pitifully inadequate. What we need is a great, solid organization of workers, class-conscience, industrially organized, fighting capitalism at every step, and so, growing as capitalism grows, steadily evolving into the industrial commonwealth. Of course we must keep up the political fight, but if this great labor army is what we most need our best brain and muscle should go into the work of its upbuilding.

Only a fraction of the intellectuals and the very small farmers and the little bourgeois who are actually wage-workers and dependent on their custom, unite with the proletariat. But these are decidedly uncertain allies; they are all greatly lacking in just that weapon from which the proletariat draws all its strength—organization.—Karl Kautsky's Social Revolution, page 87.

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EARLY in the spring, the snows began to melt on the mountain tops, many miles above the Hollow, and to run down into little streams that lost themselves in the great river. Day by day the waters of the river arose along its banks. The Cave People gave little heed, for they had much to do at this time, to satisfy their hunger. Only the Old Woman bent her eyes on the whirling waters with fear and dread in her heart.

Long before the memory of the other members of the tribe, she recalled a time when the waters had clambered over the river banks and spread many a day's journey into the deep forests. Many of her brothers and her sisters had been swallowed up by the angry waters. The members of her tribe had been scattered and joined new tribes. Since those days, she had always feared the river, when it rose in the spring.

When she warned the Cave People, one and all, they listened to her words, but they knew not what to do. And always the river rose higher and higher and its current grew more swift, tearing away the young saplings that grew low down, and bearing them swiftly away.

But the Cave People had need of great skill these days to satisfy the hunger of the tribe. A new activity seemed born unto them. Eyes grew keen for the tracks of the wild boar and their ears were open for a sound of the foot of the forest enemies.

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Sharp eyes everywhere pierced the woods and glanced from the branches of trees, for man and beast had need to be ever alert and watchful to survive the dreary period of the hard seasons. The black bear appeared, thin and dangerous. But the Cave People eluded and outwitted her. Across yawning cracks in the ground or over great hollows, they threw branches of trees. And upon these branches they threw dead fish and smeared the blood of the wild duck.

Through the woods the smell of fresh blood reached the keen nose of the bear and she made her way thither to satisfy the hunger that gnawed her continually. But the branches gave way under her great bulk and she fell crashing into the pit below, where the Cave People killed her with their long bone weapons.

It was after one of these great bear feasts, when the Cave People had fed the Fire into a roaring blaze to protect them from the animals that grew over-bold at this season of the year, that the Old Woman renewed her warnings. The waters of the great river continued to climb upward and there remained but a little way before they should overflow the banks.

Then the Old Woman gathered the members of the tribe together and told them the story of her childhood days. The new words of the tribe came stumblingly to her lips, therefore she made known her thoughts chiefly in the gesture language.

First she pointed to the land across the river, waving her wrinkled hands northward. That way lay the home of her birth. Many, many years before—she held up both hands to indicate the time was beyond the power of counting—she had lived with her fathers and mothers, on a river bank. Very small she was in those days. Her head came only to the thigh of a man.

Came a time when the waters of the river crept up over the lands, just as they had begun to steal over the wood north of the Hollow. The people of her tribe had climbed into the great trees, but with the coming of every new sun, the waters rose higher and higher. Long the waters continued to climb till they became a great surging flood, creeping through the forest and at last joining the waters of the river that flowed beside the homes of the Cave People. Over all the world there remained no dry land.

And the Old Woman, who was then a child, dwelt for many suns with her fathers and mothers, in the tall trees.

But there came one day a storm, when the waters foamed and whirled and tore up the trunks of the great trees and hurled them into the flood. And the limbs of the tree, on which the Old Woman clung, were beaten and bent in the mighty struggle till at last, she was

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whipped from the branches and thrown into the waters, as nuts are shaken from the trees.

And the Old Woman was borne away in the swift current. She heard many cries, as the waters threw her about, and some of her people leaped into the flood to save her. But she was beaten about like a leaf in the wind and unable to call to them.

Soon she found herself dashed against the trunk of a tree, and she climbed upon it and clung to it for a long time. Often she grew very weary and slipped back into the waters, but always she clung to the branches of the tree, till, at last, she had been washed ashore. And she made her way into the new land till she came, by and by, to the homes of the Cave Dwellers.

Tubers they fed her and the eggs of the wild fowl. And she remained with them and became a member of the tribe.

Never again had the Old Woman beheld the people of her own tribe, save at night when she dreamed on her bed of dry leaves in the deep cave. Sometimes they returned to her then and told her strange things.

Thus the Old Woman told her story and when she was finished a trembling seized her brown body and she gazed long at the swift waters of the river. Of the color of the leaves, touched by the frosts of winter, were her wrinkled hands, with which she pointed toward the river. And the Cave People were seized with fear also, for even as they watched, small rivulets crept over the banks and trickled down into the Hollow.

Heavy rains fell all through the day that followed and the small streams of water that overflowed the banks found their way into all the little hollows, filling them. At night when the Cave Dwellers sought their caves, their hearts were filled with dread.

Quack Quack crouched close to Strong Arm, with her arms about little Laughing Boy. The rumbling and roar of the waters sounded in their ears, as the swollen river tore downward in her course. But, after a time, they fell asleep and forgot their terrors, till the cries of their brothers and sisters aroused them, towards the morning.

Now the cave in which Strong Arm slept, was upon a point above the caves of the other members of the tribe, but when he arose and rolled the great stone from the entrance of the cave, the snarling waters curled about his feet and wet them. And, when he looked into the Hollow, a strange sight met his eyes. For the river had risen in the darkness, covering the face of the world. Every moment the waters surged savagely onward over the land, into the deep woods, as though they meant to devour the whole earth.

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branches of the tall trees in the forest, where they might find safety.

And many members of the tribe cast themselves into the waters that rose steadily every moment, and swam toward the woods. But the waters tossed them and the current pushed them ever backward Often they were struck by great floating logs, that rolled over and over when they sought to climb up on them.

Then, amid the great tumult, was heard the voice of Light Foot

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and the sounds of Big Nose, her husband, also. And when the Cave People looked about, they discovered a flood of huge logs and dead trees that had been jammed before the entrance of the cave wherein dwelt these two, barring the way out.

And every man in the whole tribe forgot his desire for safety to answer the cry for help that Light Foot sent up. For, among the Cave Dwellers, there was a great tenderness among the men and women of the tribe. The word of a woman bore great weight, for it was the joy of every man to please and aid her.

So Strong Arm threw himself into the water, with a cry to his brothers, while Quack Quack remained upon the top of the cave holding Laughing Boy in her arms, lest he be harmed.

Long the members of the tribe struggled with the current, till at last they reached the cave of Light Foot where she struggled with the logs that shut her in. With all their strength these strong men tugged and plucked at the trees. But with every effort, the waters bore back on them, jamming the logs into a wedge again, between the cave and the rocks, till the Old Woman thought they should all be drowned.

At last, however, Strong Arm thrust a great stick between the cave and the jam of trees and Big Nose and Light Foot were able to add their strength in diverting the danger. Soon they were free and making their way, with those who had saved them, toward the woods. It is well to note here too that the cave men thought always of the women, lending them every aid and that there was not one forgotten amid grave peril.

Not till it was too late to effect his rescue, however, did the Cave People remember Old Grey Beard, who had also become imprisoned in his cave. At that time the waters tore about the tops of the rocks and they knew it was too late to help him.

Although many swam for the woods, few arrived there. Strong Arm, Quack Quack and Laughing Boy, who had followed their friends, soon found themselves regretting the rocks above their cave. For all the drift borne down the river by the swift waters, seemed hemmed and wedged about the woods. Over these logs it was impossible to pass. For they rolled and dipped under the feet, dumping the Cave People back into the boiling water, sometimes crushing them between the great logs.

Strong Arm progressed beneath the debris, but he was unable to find an opening to come up, and was compelled to return to Quack Quack and Laughing Boy, who swam about the edge of the great mass of logs, awaiting him. Very dizzy he was and his lungs col-

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lapsed with his breath as he appeared, for the struggle against the current was almost beyond his strength.

Again and again they sought to reach the woods where they might find shelter in the trees, but each time they failed. It was impossible to advance and the strong current rendered it still more difficult to go back.

And every moment the waters rose. Logs whirled swiftly past with many of the forest animals clinging to them. Now and then they saw one of the Hairy Folk tossed and straining to reach the trees. The Silent One, who clung to one of the cane rafts, was flung into the whirling jam, by the current, and crushed like a dry leaf in the hand. As far as the eye could reach the foaming waters tore

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their way through the woods. But between the Cave Dwellers who clung to the skirts of the jam, and the safety of the forest trees, it seemed there floated and rocked and churned all the trees of a great world of woods, plucked out and cast there by the great river, in order to mock them.

But the Cave People clung tenaciously, while the great mass of logs strained and tore each other, or were flung away in the current. At last the great hollow tree, in which Strong Arm had kept the Fire alive, was borne down, for its trunk was old with fire and with rot. As it was tossed onward in the mighty current, Strong Arm, with Laughing Boy and Quack Quack close at his side, made their way toward it with a great effort. As it whirled past them, they flung their arms over the rough bark and clung to it.

Soon they were able to climb into the burned out hollow of the tree, where they lay shivering with fear. The trunk of the tree make a kind of boat the Cave People had never seen, for only the burned out portion at the end lay open and dipped into the waters. In the hollow they lay for a long time, till their strength returned and their fears fell. Then they sat up and looked about.

The rains had ceased and the sun made his way high in the heavens, and they were borne swiftly along in the great log. Often they crashed into the branches of trees that rose just above the water. But always Strong Arm, Quack Quack and Laughing Boy clung tightly. They did not mean to be hurled into the waters again.

But they were checked in their fearful journey, at last, when the hollow log was driven amid the interwoven trunks and branches of a tall banyan. There it lay, tossing in the boughs, as safe as though it had been anchored securely. For the current of the river sucked and drove it always more strongly into the arms of the tree.

Soon a great chattering arose among the branches that dipped now and then into the angry waters, and in a moment they beheld the Foolish One and a man from the tribe of the Hairy Folk, who called to them.

And Laughing Boy forgot his terrors as he seized a bough and made his way into the tree, for safety, while Quack Quack and Strong Arm followed him.

Then arose such a jabbering as was never before heard in the old banyan, while Strong Arm and the Foolish One made known their adventures. Also they talked to the man from the tribe of the Hairy Folk in the gesture language.

Where the limbs of the tree ran far out over the whirling waters, Laughing Boy found the long deep nests of the oo-ee-a. Often the

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branches bent beneath his feet and threatened to give way under him, but his lightness enabled him to secure these treasures. And together, the Foolish One, Strong Arm, Quack Quack, Laughing Boy and the man from the tribe of the Hairy Folk made a supper upon the eggs of the oo-ee-a. Then they sought out forked branches, where they curled themselves up and fell asleep.

The waters roared and thundered beneath. Dead trees and old logs beat against their new refuge in the great banyan, but they wound their arms and legs about the limbs of the tree and found rest.

Thus they dwelt in the old banyan, with a wild fowl now and then, a fish, or a few gulls' eggs to satisfy their hunger, while the river sank lower and lower into its old channel. Every day the waters receded and slipped back into the river bed, till Strong Arm declared the time was come when they might venture forth toward the land of their fathers.

The latest investigations respecting the early condition of the human race are tending to the conclusion that mankind commenced their career at the bottom of the scale and worked their way up from savagery to civilization through the slow accumulations of experimental knowledge.

As it is undeniable that portions of the human family have existed in a state of savagery, other portions in a state of barbarism, and still other portions in a state of civilization, it seems equally so that these distinct conditions are connected with each other in a natural as well as necessary sequence of progress. Morgan's Ancient Society, page 3.

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The Way to Win

AN OPEN LETTER TO TRADES UNIONISTS ON METHODS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

By Tom Mann

The great crisis is drawing nigh when the
rt must be made by the workers to take en-
bility for the management of all industry
ce; the existing system of society must
give place to some other system that will
provide for the requirements of all. The
nature of the newer order will depend in considerable measure on the
standard of intelligence possessed by the workers, and their courage

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to apply sound principles that will ensure social and economic equality.

The object I have in writing this letter is not to enlarge upon principles or ideals, but to direct attention to the machinery that is necessary to enable us to achieve our object.

THE PRELIMINARY ESSENTIAL CONDITION IS WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY.

Without this solidarity, *i. e.*, without the power and the disposition to act in concert as the working-class against the dominating plutocratic class, there is no hope.

At present we have not got this solidarity, either industrially or politically.

The weakness of our industrial organization lies less in the fact that only one-fourth of the workers are organized, than in the much more serious fact that those who are organized are not prepared to make common cause with each other.

Hitherto we have been content with trades unions—meaning unions of skilled workers, supplemented by unions of unskilled workers. But each of these unions has for the most part initiated and as far as possible carried out a policy for itself alone; more recently broadened out somewhat by joining trade and labor federations to secure something in the nature of general help in time of trouble or warfare.

Still, the basis of unionism of to-day is distinctly sectional and narrow, instead of cosmopolitan and broad-based.

In Australia, more particularly, resort to Arbitration Courts and Wages Boards for the settlement of industrial disputes has resulted in settlements being arrived at and agreements entered into by the various unions, binding them not to become actively engaged in any dispute during the period covered by the agreement.

Such agreements in themselves absolutely destroy the possibility of class solidarity.

Agreements entered into between unions and employers directly—*i. e.*, without the intervention of Arbitration Courts or Wages Boards—are equally detrimental to, and in dead opposition to working-class solidarity. They, therefore, must be classed as amongst the chief obstructive agencies to general working-class progress.

Thus it is clear that to continue entering into binding agreements with employers is to render the unionist movement impotent for achieving our economic freedom.

Therefore, no more agreements must be entered into for lengthy periods. Of course, temporary adjustments must be made, but they must be for the hour only, leaving the workers free for concerted action with their fellows.

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The form of capitalist industry has changed during the past 50 years. It has passed through the stages of individual ownership of shop or factory, the employer taking part in the business and competing with all other employers in the same business, then to limited liability and joint stock companies, which removed the individual employer—whose place is taken by a manager—and reduced competition between the capitalist firms. From this it has now gone to trusts and combines, inter-State, and even international in their operation.

A corresponding progress must take place with the workers' organization. Sectionalism must disappear, and the industrial organizations must be equal to State, national and international action; not in theory only, but in actual fact.

Another influence tending strongly towards discord and not towards solidarity is the stipulating in some unions that a man who joins an industrial organization by that act pledges himself to vote in a certain way politically.

I have, in days gone by, argued strongly that the industrial organizations should be the special places where economic knowledge should be imparted and adequate scope for discussion afforded. I hold so still, but I am thoroughly satisfied that is is a source of serious discord to couple the political with the industrial in the sense of demanding that a man must vote as the industrial organization declares.

It is not difficult to understand why this should be so. It is because in the unions or industrial organizations we are (or should be) prepared to enroll every person who works, irrespective or his or her intelligence, or opinions held upon political or other subjects.

Take the case of an organizer, who finds himself in a center of industry where there is practically no organization. He soon discovers that the usual orthodox bodies are there, theological and political. He finds out the composition of the local governing bodies and the type of politician who received the votes at last election. From this he concludes that there are resident there the usual percentage of reactionaries, Liberals, Laborites and Socialists, and each of these parties finds its adherents chiefly in the ranks of the workers.

That ought not to interfere with industrial organization, in which they should be enrolled entirely irrespective of political faith; and, becoming members of the industrial body, it is here these workers should get their education in industrial and social economics, and this would prove the true guide to political action.

To insist upon them voting solidly politically before they have re-

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ceived instruction in matters economic, is to add to the difficulties of organization.

Notwithstanding what has been done and is now being done by the Australian Workers' Union, it is abundantly clear that we shall have to separate the industrial from the political, and so afford scope for growing activities with the least amount of friction.

I am not wishful to deprecate political action, but it is necessary to say that during recent years, in Australia, undue importance has been attached to political action; and although the actual membership in industrial organizations may be as large, or even larger than in former years, there is not held by the typical unionist a proper understanding of the fundamental and vital importance of economic or industrial organization. Indeed, to listen to the speeches of the typical Labor politician, it is clear that he is surfeited with the idea that that which is of paramount importance is the return to the legislative bodies of an additional number of Labor men, and that all else is secondary and relatively trifling.

In absolute fact, the very opposite is the case. Experience in all countries shows most conclusively that industrial organization, intelligently conducted, is of much more moment than political action, for entirely irrespective as to which school of politicians is in power, capable and courageous industrial activity forces from the politicians proportionate concessions.

It is an entirely mistaken notion to suppose tha tthe return of Labor men or Socialists to Parliament can bring about deep-seated economic changes, unless the people themselves intelligently desire these changes, and those who do so desire to know the value of economic organization. During the past few years the representative men of France, Germany, Italy and other countries have urged upon the workers of the world to give increased attention to industrial organization, and they are acting accordingly.

Indeed, it is obvious that a growing proportion of the intelligent pioneers of economic changes are expressing more and more dissatisfaction with Parliament and all its works, and look forward to the time when Parliaments, as we know them, will be superseded by the people managing their own affairs by means of the Initiative and the Referendum.

However, I am not an anti-Parliamentarian. I am chiefly concerned that we should attend to the first job in the right order, and thus make it the easier to do whatever else may be necessary.

It is encouraging to see the practical turn of affairs in Port Pirie,

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S. A. There the Combined Unions' Committee have already sent out a circular letter to the unions of South Australia, in which they say:

"During the present struggle with the Broken Hill Proprietary Company, we have had ample opportunity of ascertaining in what manner industrial organization might be made more effective in resisting the tyrannical encroachments of modern capitalism, and securing to the worker a larger share of the product of his labor. My committee have come to a definite and unanimous conclusion that craft unionism has outlived its usefulness, and that 20th century industrial development demands on the part of the workers a more perfect system of organization. With this end in view, we urge, as a preliminary step, the holding of a Trades' Union Congress in Adelaide during the month of July next. We sincerely hope that this proposition will meet with the earnest and energetic support of your members, and that immediate action will be taken."

This is a significant sign of the times, and an encouraging one, too, to those who lament the sectionalism of the present unionism movement.

Such a conference could well discuss and carry such resolutions as follow:

"That the present system of sectional trades unionism is incapable of combating effectively the capitalist system under which the civilized world is now suffering, and such modifications and alterations should be made in the existing unions as will admit of a genuine Federation of all organizations, with power to act unitedly for industrial purposes."

"That this conference urgently advises all trade societies, unions and associations to speedily make such changes in their rules as may be necessary to separate the funds subscribed for purposes usually provided by Friendly Societies from the funds subscribed for economic or industrial purposes, and proceed to at once form district Federations of all unions as distinct from trade or craft Federations."

"That a Provisional Committee, or Council, be formed in each State (or, if need be, in each industrial district), to direct organizing activities, until the movement attains such dimensions as will warrant the holding of an Interstate Congress, at which Congress all details as to objects and methods can be definitely decided upon. The members composing such provisional councils or committees to be drawn from members of unions agreeing to the previous proposals."

"That no dispute be entered upon and no encouragement given

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to any section to formulate grievances (unless compelled by the action of employers), until the movement shall have attained a high standard of organization, approved by the proposed Interstate Congress."

"That in order to guard against dissension, it be declared from the outset that this movement is neither anti-political nor pro-political, but industrial and economic, and that members may belong to what political organization they please providing they do not oppose the expressed objects and ideals yet to be agreed upon at the Inter-State Congress, and at present set forth in the previous proposals."

If the unions of the Barrier agree to take such action as suggested in the foregoing proposals, I believe there could be, in a short time, a far more powerful organization than anything of the kind known to modern times.

Beyond any question, the industrialists of Australia are prepared to carefully consider any well thought-out proposals submitted to them by the comrades of Broken Hill and Port Pirie.

The time is particularly opportune also, because for some two years past much discussion has been indulged in as to the merits of industrial unionism, and the minds of many are prepared to co-operate in such effort as here set forth.

Many of the unions in New South Wales and Victoria have already given much attention to the subject, and are well disposed thereto.

To remain in the present forcibly feeble condition characteristic of present-day unionism would be to stamp ourselves as incapables; and would admit of an indefinite prolongation of capitalist tyranny.

On all sides we see hysterical efforts being made by the plutocratic governments of the different countries to prepare for war on an unprecedented scale, as a relief from glutted markets. Such is the condition of the peoples in Europe and America that deaths by starvation and deaths from diseases arising out of ill-nourished and unsanitary conditions are so appallingly large that the modern system stands condemned in the eyes of all intelligent citizens.

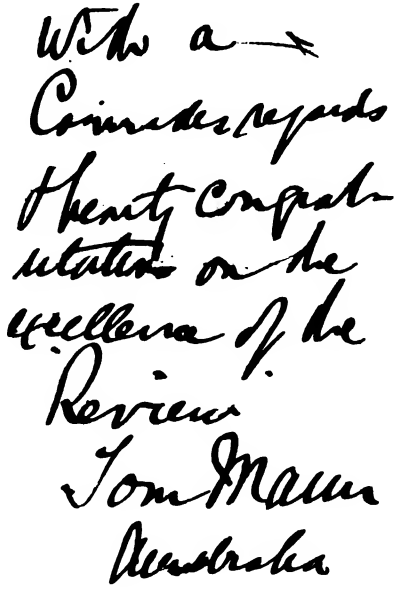
Through the ages men have died by millions before the naturally allotted span of life, because they have not been able to produce life's requirements in the necessary abundance; but never before did the anomaly we now witness obtain, viz., that people die of hunger because they have produced so much as to glut the markets and fill the warehouses, and are then deprived of the opportunity of work, therefore of incomes. Hence, poverty, destitution and misery.

These conditions cannot last. In spite of colossal ignorance, there is

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already too much intelligence and genuine courage to acquiesce in such class dominancy and exploitation as brings such results in its train.

Therefore, comrades, get to work like men of intelligence and courage, count it a privilege to be permitted to share in the great work of social and economic emancipation; for, indeed, there is no higher, no worthier, no holier work than can engage the energies of man.



The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus labor is pumped out of the direct producers, determines relation of rulers and ruled, as it grows immediately out of production itself and reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this is founded the entire formation of the economic community which grows up out of the conditions of production itself, and this also determines its specific political scope.—Capital, Vol. III, page 919.

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THE REFORMER

BY

JAMES ONEAL



THE streets were ablaze with varied colored light. Electric arches, Japanese lanterns, brilliant display windows, temporary towers and minarets, all sparkled and glowed with bulbs and candles. Tents were pitched in side streets with streaming banners announcing the exhibition of wonderful freaks, these ranging from a feeble-minded boy, who served as the "Wild Man of Borneo," to a disgusting negro, who bit off the heads of coiling snakes and ate them with relish. "Barkers" beat brass tambourines which, combined with Oriental music and the hoarse yells of the aforesaid barkers, made the night hideous with nerve-racking noise. The main walks were littered with display booths of merchants, part of their stocks being transferred to the temporary structures to attract the patronage of the multitude. In the street masses of boisterous men, women and children moved in confusion, back and forth, in and out, among the booths and shows, singing, hooting, laughing, cursing. Occasionally a group formed, while two belligerents settled their differences by the time-honored method of one beating the other to a pulp. The vanquished usually disappeared with hair and face smeared with the red evidence of defeat, while the victor, with face purple with rage and panting like a dog, is led away by admiring friends who envy his prowess. Shambling creatures reduced to idiocy by the vile stuff imbibed in wine rooms and alleys, amble with lascivious strides among the crowds, casting suggestive glances and

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extending invitations to gilded youths who might indulge in the wretched commerce these women advertised. Old and young gave them wide berth, except the rotting layers of the other sex who, with hats askew, eyes glazed with liquor and reeling with unsteady steps, accosted the street women with ribald jests and vulgar insinuations. From windows and poles bunting and colored ribbons streamed in ripples to the breeze, while "Old Glory" hung in huge folds high above as though to bless the orgy in the street. Comic musicians, dressed in grotesque costumes, wandered through the dense throngs, their "music" adding to the confused din and almost stunning the senses. Merchants greeted customers with affable smiles and pleasantries, their clerks panting, irritable and tired, rushed to wait on impatient patrons. From the thousands of residents and visitors tiny streams of coin flowed into the tills of the business men and they were jubilant. The streets belonged to them. Only a few days before the Mayor with impressive ceremony had in the public square handed to the business men a huge key in token of their possession of the streets. The street carnival was a big success, for the earnings of myriads were flowing into the coffers of the tradesmen and bankers of the city.

Into this clamor and revelry the Rev. Thomas West entered from the boulevard in which he lived, and where reposed the fashionable church of which he was pastor. He had come to this "Pittsburg of the West" a year before, and established a reputation by his earnestness, eloquence and learning. His early life of hardship on the farm and struggle to obtain an education had left an impress on him that found expression in his sermons. His frequent reference to social problems, the over-lordship of the great millionaires, the struggles of the poor, dishonesty in public office, and other "burning questions," won for him the title of "reformer." He had never identified himself with any party or any "ism," contending that these were too narrow for men of broad vision and lofty purposes. With the Rev. West character was of more worth in these days of decadent business and political ideals than anything else. Character, Christian character, was the burden of his sermons. This would make strong, self-reliant, fearless men who would battle with wrong wherever found and pursue its perpetrators even though the path led into the very temples of finance, industry and commerce. In fact it was this idea of the good citizen that led him forth from his study into the street. So absorbed was he in his thoughts that in spite of the increasing roar of the street he was not aware that he had entered the main thoroughfare until a shower of confetti covered him.

He looked up with a start and shook the paper from his clothes. He was at last in the midst of the carnival which was causing so much

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controversy. He was shocked as he recalled the rumors regarding it and the previous one. The business men, bankers, merchants, manufacturers and shopkeepers had some years before formed an association to give a street carnival annually. Ostensibly to advertise the city, but in reality the cause lay deeper. The extension of the business of the large mail order houses into Indiana towns and the general depression of trade had reduced the incomes of these merchants and traders. Appeals to "patronize home industry," appeals that were directed to ill-paid laborers, failed to check the foreign invasion. "Civic pride" seemed to lose its charms for the factory operative who could have shoes and clothing delivered cheaper to his door from Chicago than from the local trader. To stimulate the virtue of buying in the dearer market and to bring in rural patronage at the expense of village stores, the street carnivals were decided on. But the carnival of the previous year had presented some features which, if true, were a disgrace to any community. Some of the attractions were of such a characater so rumor had it, as to reflect on the business interests of the city. No investigation of these rumors was made, but it seemed to be common knowledge that conditions were bad enough. This impression had semi-official confirmation in the admission of the executive committee of the carnival that "some attractions had unfortunately been granted privileges without proper investigation," but that "care would be exercised to avoid all objectionable features in the future." This promise had quieted criticism as it came from a source that stamped it with integrity and good faith. The Ministerial Association, composed of the ministers of the city, accepted the promise, too, as indeed was natural, since business men provided the influential members of the churches and were active in the spiritual welfare of the masses.

But what disturbed the Rev. West was the renewal of these rumors regarding the present carnival. He would satisfy his conscience by personally investigating for himself. This was his duty and in accord with the civic ideals he professed. Besides, he could not forget the shameful epithet thrown at the church by an itinerant street orator in using the carnival as a text for a Socialist tirade. Paraphrasing an epigram of a popular novelist the speaker had said: "There's no law of God or man runs higher than business interests." The newspapers had commented on it as "an example of the vicious utterances of ignorant demagogues." He flushed hotly as he recalled the infamous charge of the street speaker. The church cowed by wealth! The church barter Christ for the profits of a public carousal! For a moment he felt something of the itch to retaliate that must have seized the mediæval monk when the blasphemer launched his curse at God's holy church. It was true, he reflected, that the churches

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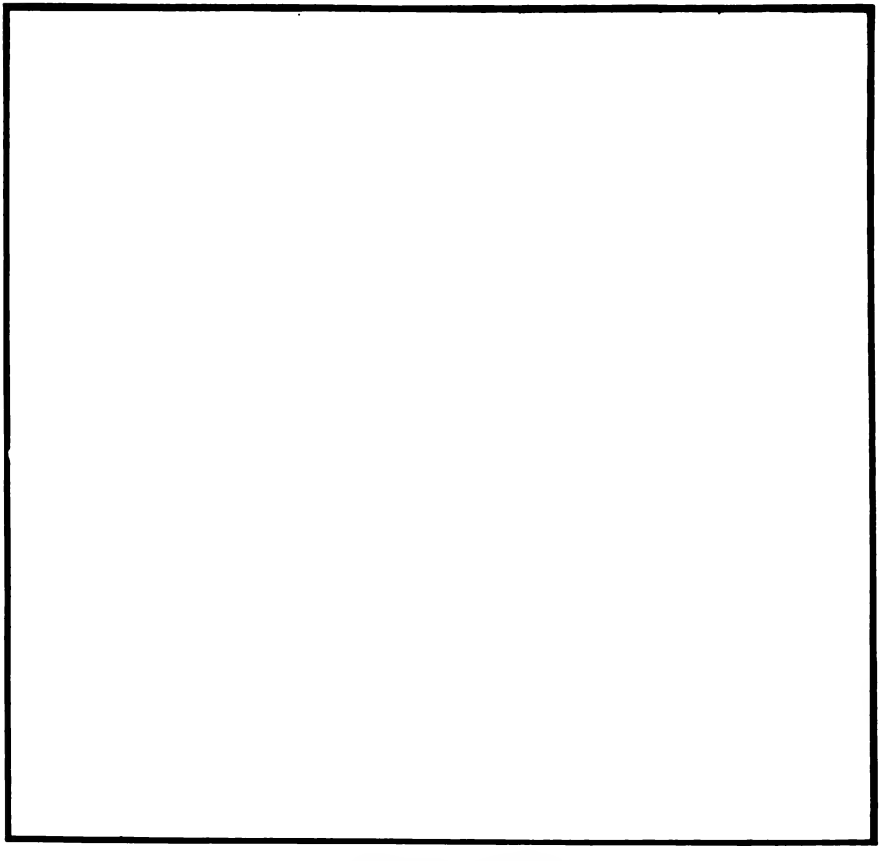
had taken no action but a report was expected from its investigation committee tomorrow. The facts would then be known and given to the world. Meantime he would investigate for himself.

His thoughts were again interrupted as he was caught in the crowd. Onward he was swept by the revelers, the dignity of his calling failing to preserve him from the jests of many who recognized his garb. A sea of human forms stretched out before him, while the rattle of brass cymbals, the noise of roaming bands, the hoarse cry of the "barkers" and the shouts, yells and laughter from thousands of throats bewildered him. At last he came out at the public square in the center of which stood a splendid stone building. Almost at its portals, within which justice was dispensed by judicial representatives of the state, a great concourse of people had gathered in front of a brilliantly lighted platform. He pushed his way through the crowd till he stood at the entrance of the exhibition. A coarse-featured man whose face was pitted with small scars that made him repulsive, in a husky voice proceeded to advertise his "attraction." The latter had already appeared and stood under the full glare of the gasoline lamps. A swarthy girl of painted face and supple figure stood looking insolently down at the assembled throng. The spangles that decked the short red dress glittered and sparkled like a crystal pool. The "barker" proceeded to enumerate her accomplishments, introducing her as "Mme. Fatima," the Oriental dancing girl, late of the sultan's harem. She was an exclusive attraction secured at great expense and would give a free exhibition of the grace and skill acquired in her native land. At a signal a group of Oriental musicians struck up a screeching medley of noise to which "Fatima" responded with a series of muscular contortions and suggestive movements of the body, fixing her eyes now on one, now on another of her audience, a voluptuous smile accompanying each glance. With distended form, heaving bosom and hands on hips, she swayed in senuous abandon, appealing to the lewd appetites and arousing the lust of degraded hundreds. These eagerly watched her every movement, totally oblivious of everything else. A leering drunkard shouted a coarse epithet and turned to the crowd with blinking eyes. With an idiotic laugh he endeavored to wipe away the froth that oozed from his mouth, but missing that cavity he frantically clutched a bystander to preserve his balance. Another vulgar sally was the signal for a volley of vile jests and hoots from the crowd which finally ended in loud guffaws. The music became fast and furious, the girl becoming bolder in her challenges. Young girls with embarrassed escorts flushed crimson at the shameless spectacle and wildly escaped from the crowd. Rev. West stood white and speechless as the music ended with a crash and

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"Fatima" disappeared within the enclosure. The hot blood mounted to his temples but even as he stood there the "barker" resumed his role. With hand placed to the side of his mouth and in a confidential undertone he told the "boys" of the "real thing" to be seen inside. The music again started and soon a stream of men was paying admission. The Rev. West passed inside, sick at heart but determined to pursue his investigation to the end. In a few minutes he again appeared in the street, his lips drawn and white, a sickly pallor having replaced his ruddy, youthful features.



A PILLAR OF SOCIETY.

"My God!" he mused, "this is terrible." A few steps farther on brought him to a cluster of these exhibitions. The horror of it all stunned him so that he was scarcely able to think rationally. Hastily making his way into the shadows of a side street he returned to his study. This was the crisis of his life; he knew that. What would

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be the action of the Ministerial Association tomorrow? There could be but one answer to that. The infamous carousal must meet the firm condemnation of the church. He again recalled the terrible accusation of the uncouth street orator. His hands clenched. It was such reckless disregard of the public weal which the management of this carnival displayed that gave weight to the hasty judgment of these extremists. Without such things these rebels would have a scant hearing and the progress of reform would not have to bear the stigma of an apparent relationship with their wild harangues.

The next morning the Rev. West called a meeting of the directors of the church which consisted of a coal operator, a lawyer, a banker and two business men. The result of that conference no man ever knew outside of those who attended it, but the minister wore a grave and troubled look when he came from the meeting. He went direct to the meeting of the Ministerial Association. The morning papers stated that the executive commitee of the carnival had requested a conference with the Association which would be granted. The rumors regarding questionable attractions had become common and was the talk of all the citizens. Interest in the action of the ministers was stirred to a white heat. But the citizens were disappointed by the report of the conference which appeared in the evening papers. One account read as follows:

"The joint conference announced this morning between the Ministerial Association and the Executive Committee of the carnival met this afternoon. It is said that the conference lasted two hours and that the discussions were spirited from the beginning. Just what was said on either side is not known, but the Rev. Thomas West, chairman of the Ministerial Association, stated to the representatives of the press that at the request of the business men definite action will be postponed till after the carnival. This decision was reached because of the fear that action at this time might affect the success of the carnival which has proven an excellent advertisement of the growth and resources of the city. At the conclusion of the carnival another meeting will be held and the report of the ministers' investigation committee will be acted on."

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The streets again resumed their normal appearance except for the piles of rubbish that remained. The Ministerial Association had been in session all morning and an afternoon session was now in progress. The rumors coming from behind the closed doors conveyed the information that the discussions were dramatic and the oratory heated at times. The expectant public was keyed up to the highest pitch and groups of citizens in offices, stores and streets dissected rumors that

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came from every quarter and every source. At last the evening papers containing the official statement given out by the Ministerial Association appeared. The presses ran over time to supply the eager populace who could not wait for carriers to deliver to its doors. The text of the document was as follows:

"The Ministerial Association, after a thorough investigation into the management of the recent carnival held in our streets, proclaims its loyalty to the legitimate business interests of the city. While we deplore the lamentable fact that some exhibitions brought here last week were in many respects shocking to the morality and Christian life of our city, we point to this as proof of the urgent need for all good citizens to work to the end that the vicious influence of saloon keepers shall be eliminated from our business life and so avoid the evil results of their unholy traffic."

The name of the Rev. Thomas West headed the list of the signers of this statement. The matter became a closed incident, a disagreeable thing of the past, for the influential church directors and the good pastors resumed their arduous labors of saving God's erring sons and daughters from the lusts of the world.

A few nights later the Rev. Doctor, seated in an automobile, was attracted by a large crowd in one of the lighted streets. A brawny fellow with lines of toil seared in his face, in shirt sleeves and wilted collar, stood upon a platform raised in the street. As the cheers which had interrupted him subsided, he resumed his speech, saying: "I thank you, friends, for this demonstration of approval. You workingmen constitute the only class that is capable of saving city, state and nation from the curse of class rule. I said on another occasion and I repeat it here: 'There's no law of God or man rules higher than——' "

His utterance was drowned by the rattle of the automobile as it carried the minister down the street where he was soon lost to view in the shadow of the maples that lined the boulevard.

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FIRST COAL BARON (AT THE ROULETTE TABLE): THERE'S ANOTHER TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS GONE TO HELL!

SECOND COAL BARON: NEVER MIND, THE MINERS WILL GO DOWN TO HELL AND BRING IT BACK FOR YOU.

Drawings reproduced from "Koprivi," Prague, Bohemia.

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You Are My Brother

By Nicholas Klein.

If you are weary in the struggle for existence,
If you are uncertain of the morrow,
If you are naked and hungry,
Despised and disinherited
YOU ARE MY BROTHER.

If you are an outcast among the many,
If you are lovesore and loveless,
If you are sick and ailing,
Driven or disemployed
YOU ARE MY BROTHER.

If you are the most ignorant in society,
If you are hunted like the beast,
If you are foul and dirty,
Chained and deformed,
YOU ARE MY BROTHER.

Regardless of your condition in this life,
Your strength or your weakness,
Your faults or failures,
Many though they be,
I AM YOUR BROTHER.

Let the world kick and cuff you,
Let them spit if they will,
On you, and on me,
Though often and ever,
I AM YOUR BROTHER.

You are merely a neglected flower,
Planted in the cellar of earth,
Without rain, sunshine and beauty,
Come now and look at me,
I AM YOUR BROTHER.

Had you been planted in the front yard,
With love, joy and security,
Real labor and Equality,
I would still say,
YOU ARE MY BROTHER.

Look not at me searchingly,
I see who you are,
From near or afar,
Come to my breast, dear,
YOU ARE MY BROTHER.

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Work's Coming-of-Age

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM IN EUROPE.

BY ODON POR

The development of the Syndicalist movement here in Europe, or rather, in the three Latin countries of Europe, is so rapid and striking, that it seems to me very important that American soclialists should understand it. As a matter of fact, faith in parliamentary governments is fast departing among all classes of people, but from none more rapidly than the working class. On the other hand, the syndicalist revolutionary unions are compelling things from respective governments, and are achieving results for the working class beyond anything that socialist members of parliament have ever ventured to demand. A turn of the hand might place the French government—and in two or three years the Italian government—in the hands of the revolutionary unions of the syndicalists. Whatever the result of all of this, it is the most momentous phase of the present European economic and political situation. It is because I think it urgent that the American movement should at least know about this, that I have requested Odon Por to write a series of articles about it, which I am enclosing to you. He has been making a special study of the movement, and is writing a book about it for publication in his own country of Hungary. Faithfully yours,

GEORGE D. HERRON,
Florence, Italy.



AT the beginning of the capitalist era of production, when modern wage-slavery was just introduced, the attitude of the capitalist and the non-workers towards the workers was akin to the attitude of the feudal lords towards their serfs. They despised the workers and considered their occupation dishonorable to a gentleman. In some countries, especially in Russia, the workers were kept shut up in the factories and they had no liberty to go freely from one place to another. The man who went to a factory was a man without honor. A respectable person would never have anything to do with a factory worker. And the first women who went to the factories were regarded as the scum of humanity.

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The workers themselves felt that they were in a low position, and their attitude toward the employer, the foremen and the non-workers was essentially one of reverence and fear. It was natural to them to have no wealth, no leisure, to be without knowledge, and without culture and to receive brutal treatment.

The first industrial workers were thrown into a cage. They were barred. They were petulant and intractable and their gentle longings were stamped out. The common worker of the past was utterly helpless. He could not break through the bars of the social cage. In his captivity he developed unsocial instincts; only these were called into action.

Many species of animals have lost their social habits since they are hunted by man. Man's sociability is dwarfed and driven back since man has begun to hunt man. But wherever man has relaxed from the hunt of his fellowman the better self of man is reappearing.

When man is captured in the hunt his very sense of limitation makes him desire to burst the frame-work of his prison. He wants to break and destroy and kill. He desires vengeance. A dull, obscure, perverse prompting takes hold of him: the prompting to hit and to hurt.

However, as a rule, he does neither. His rage is sterile. He is so weakened in body, his spirits are so dull that at the mere approach of the hunter, of his master, he falls into a humble attitude. His active resistance is less than nothing. There is nothing in him or around him that would help him to strengthen himself and to overcome his enemies. There is no fortitude nor manhood in him. His revolt is spasmodic and not an undismayed continuous resistance. He is underfed and overworked, his muscles are loose and his mind is deadened. He has no social intercourse; he has no interests whatever beside the mere reproduction of his life. He does not realize at all his part in the life of society; he does not know the power of his work; he does not know how to act, and, trembling lest he lose his employment, he does anything he is ordered to do.

At the beginning of the capitalist mode of production both capitalists and workingmen were brutal and undisciplined. We know of the terrible struggles that took place in England, France, America, everywhere new machines were introduced. The workers in the spasmodic desire to destroy machinery, set factories and warehouses ablaze.* The manufacturers and the foremen were compelled to struggle day in and day out against the incompetency of the workers to run the machines and against their inability to attend to the com-

* Communist Manifesto.

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plicated process of production. While the workers sought to restore by force the status of the workman of the Middle Age and the traditional methods of production, the capitalists had to impose upon them by sheer force the new machine process.

"At this stage," we read in the Communist Manifesto, "the laborers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, broken up by their mutual competition."

"But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers even more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trade unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there, the contest breaks out into open riots."

"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battle lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union has been strengthened by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes."

* * * * * * * * *

Since the publication of the Communist Manifesto more than sixty years have passed. The organized working class has expanded its union over millions of workers, and it has gone through various experiences which have occasioned new political and economic attitudes, and have given a new personality to the workingmen.

The working class, in the so-called civilized parts of the world, has conquered, despite the resistance of the State and the employers, through its political and economic organizations and struggles, the power to organize and strike; it has raised the wages, shortened

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the work-day, improved the sanitary conditions in the factories, made work safer and more endurable, has secured indemnities in the case of accidents, illness, old age and unemployment. The relations of servitude between employer and workers have been transformed into relations of a considerable independence and liberty. In the factories where labor organizations do not exist servility, favoritism and corruption reigns, the workers are left at the mercy of the overseer in all questions anent work and wages.

Through their organizations the workingmen have become self-conscious and dignified, and their position before the capitalist is very different now from what it was at the time of the Communist Manifesto. It is a rare case today, where organizations are strong, that an employer can discharge a worker for the simple reason of his being a union man. The right of organization is even recognized for employees of the State, though the State tries to interfere with these organizations. The liberty of the working class is in its formation. The blind subordination of the old times has vanished. The workingman today does not appeal to the generosity of the employer but imposes his demands through his organizations.

The value of the life of the workers has been elevated in all respects. The complexus of material advantages which the workers have realized has called out in them a desire for moral advance, which in its turn influences the intensity and the forms of the fight for still other economic improvements.

The workers have realized the creative nature of their activities and their own causative strength. Their interest in their own work has grown. They have ceased to be mere tools in the factory and have become intelligent and competent factors. Therefore their wishes and capacities have to be taken into consideration by the employer. Whereas they were first treated with contempt, they are now feared and appreciated. Their new consciousness and sense of honor demand respect from their employer, creating a new attitude of the employer toward them. They do not bow to anybody. They have become stronger men, who look straight into the eyes of their enemies.

The workers know that the quantity of liberty they enjoy is proportioned to the material and moral force they can dispose of in defending their rights and demands. Trained in the struggle they have also realized that they have nothing to fear from a still more accentuated struggle, that, on the contrary, the more they try to collectively assert their wishes, the stronger will become the moral personality of the individual worker. In every walk of life they want to be free and want to affirm their free individuality. The ideal of freedom

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has become matured in the working class and is bent upon translating itself into action.

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We are at a crisis in the life of the working class. The new class consciousness of the workers and their new personality is eager to manifest itself and wants to enlarge the activity of the socialist parties. It is true that the socialist movement has brought together the incoherent, ignorant and unorganized masses into a coherent organization wherein every member is in a way at a high stage of culture, for he is imbued with an ideal and is conscious of his social mission; however this consciousness when trained in the economic movement fills the more advanced workers with a desire for greater activity than the present political frame of the socialist movement affords. The traditional methods of the socialist parties are in conflict with the new methods proposed by these workers so impatient to act, in whose minds political socialism has accomplished its mission, stretching the liberty of organization as far as it could, and realizing as many economic reforms as the capitalist would peaceably consent to, under a legal pressure of a socialist party.

The activities of the socialist movements of Italy and France are stagnating in spite of the numeric growth of their membership. Because of their present tactics, determined by the composition of the different elements of the population they embrace, they cannot secure any more vital political and economic advantages for the workers. Within their present form of organization they cannot offer a field of activity for the desire of constructive personal work so imperious in the make-up of the Latin revolutionary workers. The time is not far off when the socialist parties of the other countries will have to face a similar situation.

The tragedy of this situation roots in the fact that the workers have to turn away from the socialist movement, and, in many cases, must even fight it, in spite of the fact that his very movement made them personally capable of desiring and accomplishing greater things; it has awakened their slumbering senses and faculties and has given them a new life upon the impulses of which they now must seek new activities.

That the different socialist parties have become peaceful, respectable and reformistic parliamentary parties is largely due to the bourgeois elements in their ranks which though foreign to the true psychology and real demands of the working class, have assumed leadership in the socialist movements. These men shifted the burning issues of the class struggle onto the scenes of the Parliament. A lassitude and languishing in the direct class struggle and a decline of its revo-

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lutionary principles followed, for it is in the nature of parliamentary activity to extort certain stated measures, to meditate and make compromises.

The famous three million vote of the German Social-Democratic party, in 1903, contained about 750,000 bourgeois votes. And from recent statistics we know positively that the socialist parties of Italy and France and other countries recruit a great part of their voters from the various strata of the bourgeoisie. The fact that the different socialist parties gather many hundred thousand votes from the half-proletarian, intellectual and well-to-do class has destroyed the fiction, hitherto firmly held, that the socialist parties are class parties.

The efforts of some socialist parties to proclaim themselves revolutionary parties in their radical class struggle programs and by a class struggle phraseology does not change the intrinsic tendency of their composition. The socialist parties would become useful levers of social development if they were openly confessing this latter fact and were openly considering their parliamentary work as a mere support of the efforts of the bourgeois democracy for securing—especially in those countries where democratic legislation is still vitally needed—constitutional, juridical and cultural reforms, political and civic rights, the separation of the State from the Church, universal obligatory schooling and so on, facilitating thus even the organization of the workers into a class and helping along the class struggle itself. And if the socialist parties were to give up the fiction of being the paramount means for realizing the socialist society—then they would find their due place and work as determined by their composition.

"Whereas such a party that pretends to be the real class organization of the proletariat, the supreme and decisive organ of the working class, demanding for itself the part of leading the working class over into Socialism—is only usurping the part which belongs to the economic organization and struggle. Such a party brings only trouble and disorder into the ranks of the working class and serves the cause of the enemy. The unique mission of the working class is to sweep away the rule of the victorious bourgeoisie together with all its superstructure. Thus the role of a parliamentary labor party ends where the direct political action of the working class begins."

"The true class struggle is waged on the grounds of the economic struggle. There the respresentatives of the material forces of production, the economic classes, the active factors of the antagonizing productive forces, stand face to face."

The economic classes are not heterogeneous groupings like the political parties "but they are brought forth by the imperative force of natural selection as original and homogeneous formations, as the repre-

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sentatives of the two types of the relations of production. . . . In the state and the parliaments the question turns around division and dividing; in the economic struggle the representatives of the different forces of production face each other. Which forces are the springs of social development? To this question Marxism, which is the philosophy of economic production, has but one answer."*

However it is not the task of the present essay either to show the ways which the different socialist parties must take in order to refresh the interest of the masses and to exercise a greater positive activity nor to point out what organic factors keep the socialist parties from progressing and turning in a revolutionary direction.† The socialist ideal is living, and its life does not depend upon political parties.

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What is to my mind of supreme importance is the moving spirit of the producers, their efficiency and active energy as evoked by the socialist and the economic movement. This spirit has found a way of expressing itself which can be seen without much theoretical beckoning.

The consciousness of the revolutionary worker is expanding and is becoming the determining factor of social revolution. Especially in Italy and France has the directive influence in the movement of the workingmen passed out from the hands of the socialist politicians, parliamentarians and journalists and is now being concentrated into the hands of the revolutionary unions. This is not saying that the ultimate ideals of Socialism are given up. On the contrary, the socialist spirit has intensified itself to such a degree in the individual consciousness of the worker that he, anxious to realize it, has chosen a direct way to Socialism. He is confident of his preparedness both in respect to morality and industrial efficiency to take over the capitalist industries and therefore he wants to avoid all mediative political action.

The political form of the socialist movement was attractive enough to the workers when it chiefly occupied itself with gathering the inert masses and infusing them with an ideal. In this earlier and revolutionary socialism the masses were trained to think and to act collectively. And as soon as the consciousness of efficiency, trained by

*Evin Szabo: Introduction to "The Criticism of the Gotha Program" by Marx. In Hungarian. Budapest, 1909.

†See for statistical data and general information on this subject: Robert Michels: "Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie in ihrer sozialen Zusammensetzung." Archiv fur Sozialwissenschaften, Bd. XXIII. 1906. And by the same author: "Proletariato e Borghesia nel Movimento Socialista Italiano." Torina, 1908. See further, Odon Por: "Class Struggles in the Italian Socialist Movement." International Socialist Review, December, 1906. And Ervin Szabo: "Politique et Syndicats." Movement Socialiste, February, 1909.

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socialist thought and action, outgrew the present possible limits of political socialism—then the workers were forced to seek another way of expressing and imposing their desires and capacities.

Most of the socialist leaders will not understand this change and will oppose the work of the revolutionary unions or will try to bring back the revolutionary workers to the socialist party without changing its content and old tactics. As far as I can see this effort is made in vain under present conditions. However, the possibility is not excluded that, at times of a great national or international political or industrial crisis, the socialist parties, provided they shed their bourgeois elements and attitudes, will join hands with the revolutionary workers for the ultimate issue. At present, however, at the occasion of great strikes of national importance, like the strike in the Province of Parma in Italy in 1908, the Italian Socialist Party has, if not directly betrayed the revolutionary unions, certainly hindered their victorious advance by untimely and tactless interference. And the Socialist Party of France has taken a quite neutral attitude during the recent postal strikes. The French socialist members of Parliament delivered many speeches but without any practical effect whatsoever in favor of the strikers. The French Socialist party was utterly helpless and incapable to effectively aid the strikers.

Driven to activity by their collective confidence in the ready efficiency and steadfastness of their class the revolutionary workers will not wait for Socialism to be realized by some parliamentary majority. They do not want to wait for a political decree abolishing capitalism. They try to undermine both the present state and capitalist industrial institutions in order to get a control over them industrially, in other words, by undermining the economic power of both the state and the capitalists they are directly laying the foundations of the economic structure of the future society, and are conquering indirectly the political power.

The workers know that in all social legislation a critical moment must come sooner or later. They very well know that at the moment when the capitalist class feels its interests vitally endangered, then it will shut up the doors of the parliaments and will proceed to violent resistance. Socialist legislation is valuable but it must stop as soon as it transgresses vital interests. The capitalist is aware of this, he knows that if he does not resist and assert himself with violence when his vital interests are involved—then he is doomed. And the revolutionary workers see this point very clearly.

Parliamentarianism is useful in a way but the revolutionary workers do not see in it a means of economic revolution. Parliamentarian-

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ism, as we said before, is good so far as it secures the common advantages of democracy.*

Considering the fact that the Italian and French workers neglect consciously all political reform activity, that their revolutionary demands are coming to the foreground and that they are emphasizing the final issue, parliaments lose their importance even as means of realizing reforms in the factories or of other improvements in the life of the working class. The direct conflict with the capitalist class, sought by the revolutionary workers, not only enhances the hope for final victory but it also calls into existence the same economic reforms which the socialist parties try to get through political compromise.

On the other hand the revolutionary workingmen do not feel any desire to put to test the different economic theories of industrial revolution. They do not want to wait for a time of a tremendous unemployment and then to act, nor for a still greater concentration of wealth and industries,, nor for the moment until the State has monopolized all public utilities and all industries, neither do they believe in the economic inevitability of a free socialist society without their continuous and unbending efforts to usher it in.

Industrial evolution may very well separate the classes but it does not follow at all that it creates a rigid struggle between them. Through repeated and systematic compromise we may arrive at the "social peace" so cherished by bourgeois politicians.

The most recent experience, especially in Germany, the United States, Great Britain and the Antipodes, have conclusively demonstrated "that the movement of the workingmen is not necessarily revolutionary, or in other words, that it is not destined imperatively by its very nature to upset the capitalist order of things. We must impregnate artificially the movement of the workers with this necessity, that it should propose to itself a revolutionary aim."**

Revolutionary unionism has worked out and is imposing a determined method by which to reach the revolutionary aim. "This method consists in the separation of the life of the institutions of the workers from the life of the capitalist society, in representing the labor movement as a civil war conducted against the capitalist society, in antagonizing all methods which tend to reabsorb the labor world into the bourgeois world making the first participate in the life of the latter."*

"The necessity of Socialism," says Arturo Labriola, "is not derived any more from the development of a mechanical process which brutally suppresses the greatest possible number of capitalists to the advantage of a minority of plutocrats. . . . But this necessity

**Arturo Labriola: "Marx nella scienza economica e come teorica del marxismo." Lugano, 1908.

*A. Labriola: "Lotta di Classe." Anno I. No. 1. Milano, 1907.

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comes from the very volition of the associated workers who, persuaded of the utter uselessness to further conserve the social differences between the capitalists and the workers, give birth to a new body of social relations, which must produce the disappearance of capitalism."

The proletariat has realized that it is not wise to count upon an automatic development of capitalism to a final clash and that it is not safe to rely upon an alleged degeneracy of the capitalist energies, for the capitalist classes seem to have entered a new period of expansion and combativeness that could absorb and paralyze all other tendencies. And if the capitalist classes, inebriate with their modern industrial success and feeling in themselves a stirring of a life capable of new conquests, will give up—as it can easily be foreseen—all prudence and every foresight, then a new phase of bellicose conflicts may begin between the various countries. And it is impossible to forecast the extreme influence of this upon the conduct of the working class. Today even such countries as are traditionally cautious and not inclined to martial adventures are full of war-cry and military preparation."*

The revolutionary working class knows this and realizes that it cannot be watchful enough and must impose its collective wish for peace and must bring collective resistance against any further imperialistic expansion of capitalism, against any kind of war.

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At times of critical issue man's character is revealed in all its aspects. At the time of a crisis when the question turns about life or death, about progress or retrogression, about loss or gain, then man's moral personality shows itself at its best or worse. The same is true in social life. At times of great calamities that put a whole class of men, a whole nation or all humanity, before a vital problem that has to be solved immediately in order to assure the social or industrial functions of society or of a class, we learn more about the future possibilities of the human race than at any other time. It is at such moments as if everything in us, all our notions, all our personal immediate interests, all our attitudes and ideals would fuse into one issue, forcing us imperatively to act in one particular way.

The great spontaneous strikes throw a bright light upon the soul of the workers and put in relief their character more distinctly than any other phase of their continuous struggle for the emancipation of humankind. In these strikes are summed up all their impulses, all their material power, all their capacities and ideals. All big strikes create a new collective psychology in the soul of the working-

*A. Labriola: "Contro G. Plekanoff," Pescara, 1909.

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men. In all big strikes the force of the proletariat becomes tempered and expresses its whole vitality. Nothing else gives us a more suggestive notion of the future and the ways that lead to it than the phenomena brought to light in the modern big industrial and agricultural strikes.

So intrinsically dynamic is the notion of power and liberty in the modern working class that even the peasants of Italy, who for more than two thousand years had no part whatever in the political and social life of their country, have awakened to a most revolutionary activity. The dramatic conflict in 1908 between the organized peasants of the Province of Parma and the associated land-owners marks a new epoch in the history of the international labor movement.

This conflict was a violent clash between two classes conscious of their class distinction. It was a limpid and marvelously logical struggle. "The peasants have proclaimed that the earth, the great factory of the harvest and the bread, may not only be connected with the industrial factory in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers but may even become the field of the most classic and revolutionary struggles hitherto fought."*

This strike was fought with a desire to conquer. The immediate interest involved, the demand for better wages and shorter work-day, was entirely driven to the background. The fight for the expropriation of the capitalist system, the revolutionary scope of Socialism, came out during the struggle in all its splendour.

The proprietors realized the danger latent in this revolutionary upheaval of the peasants and armed themselves with guns against them. They imported scabs and protected them with their own armed hirelings whom they recruited from the bourgeois youth and from other worthless and loafing elements of the population. They locked out the peasants. They kept paid organizers and published newspapers during the strike. But all these efforts were entirely useless. They could neither break up the marvelous cohesion and solidarity of the strikers nor save the crops from rotting in the fields. Not even the numerous soldiers whom the State put at the disposal of the landowners, in their faculty both as workers and soldiers, could force the peasants to return to the fields.

The industrial workers supported the strike of the peasants and declared a general strike in order to manifest their solidarity with them. For more than twenty-four hours all work stopped in Parma. In Parma the soldiers and the police were laying siege to the district of the workers for four days, assaulting and occupying the head-

*A. O. Olliver: "Anima Nuova. Pagine Libere, June, 1908.

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quarters of the organizations, putting in jail the leaders and shooting at peaceful citizens. But the strike could not be broken. The workers repelled each time with marvelous decision and self-discipline the attacks of the soldiers and the police.

The state was forced to send soldiers to Parma in defense of the landowners, scabs and hirelings. By its own intrinsic nature the State must side with the class of the landowners and must use all resources in its power, like army, police, law and violence, against the influx of the proletarian forces. It acts in its own defense when it grants impunity to the provoking violence of the ruling classes.

The organization of the peasants in this strike and the solidarity of the whole Italian working population shows the great social maturity of the Italian working class. In order to relieve the strikers of the care of their children more than 3,000 children, from 3 to 12 years of age, were sent away from the Province of Parma to the organizations in other districts and cities. These received them with great enthusiasm and festivities, with music and banners and great processions and placed them with the families of the workers, who generously offered to divide with them their daily bread. The enthusiasm and sense of solidarity is so diffused among the workers that the offer to feed and board the children of the striking parents far exceeded in all cities the number of the children sent there. Every family which boarded a child from Parma was conscious of obeying a sacred duty toward the revolutionary ideal. More than 6,000 adults left the Province in order to relieve the organization financially and to send their material aid to the comrades from exile. More than sixty communistic households were organized in the Province. The strikers gathered here to take their "communistic soup" and here they discussed the action to be taken. Here they mutually inspired each other and drew force from their mutual solidarity. "What marvelous solidarity," said a peasant in such a gathering, "we feel it coming toward us uninterruptedly like a large wave of sympathy." Hundreds of thousands of francs were sent in support of the strike from all parts of Italy, from everywhere came aid, numberless families were asking for children, the organizations of the neighboring provinces were ready for a sympathetic general strike.

The striking women held the spirit of the men afire. They threw themselves before the horses of the charging cavalry and force it to turn back. They disowned their own sons if they became scabs. Thanks to their heroism the army was put before the alternative of choosing between a civil war, flooding the province with blood, or withdrawing. The army finally withdrew. The strikers were victori-

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ous. Their demands were granted. And finally all their comrades in jail were released.

The heroic and touching solidarity of the workers, their dignity and pride stopped the encroachments of the ruling class and the State, it prevented the massacre of the whole working population as bravely suggested by a General who announced his desire to bombard Parma and sweep it off the earth.

The proletarians of Parma have, by their organic solidarity, demonstrated their preparedness for a social change and for a social revolution. On the other side the complete failure of the landowners and political authorities to reorganize the work on the farms without the peasants and with the aid of the slum proletariat and the work of their own sons, has made it clear that the peasants are the only class upon whom the organization of agriculture really depends. Further, this epic struggle has demonstrated that the workers of one locality cannot be replaced and betrayed by the workers of another locality. For the whole working population is organized into one solid and conscious body desiring a social change and knowing how to attain it through diffused and conscious solidarity.

The working class has demonstrated that it is the only active force working toward a concrete social aim, that it by its efficiency, by its abnegation, by its own violent action and collective decision, may, on the one hand, destroy crops and paralyze the industries and may, on the other, create a high personality clearly suggesting the future man, and may build a novel organization of society. "The will accumulated in the soul of the proletariat is a reconstructive force."*

From the violent, desperate and direct defense and resistance of the landowners the working class has learned better than from any previous struggle that it must attend to its own affairs. The worker has realized that only an active strike brings out in him ideas intrinsic with volition and strength never felt during electoral movements. Electoral propaganda never brought the women on the side of the revolution. Only a daily practice of resistance and fight awakened the inert masses, realizes the ideal and makes it expand. Only a direct fight renders the proletariat strong enough to repel the combined direct attacks of the proprietors and the soldiers.

*A. O. Olivetti: "Senso di Vita." Pagine Libere, 1908.

(*Concluded next month.*)

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The Revolt in Spain

[The storm center of the recent revolt of Spain's working people was Barcelona, and the directing head of the fighting forces in that city was its federation of trades unions. The writer of this article was but a short time ago secretary of Barcelona's central labor body and is probably the best informed man in America today as to the impelling cause behind the bloody struggle. For reasons that will be plain to all who know anything of Spain's working class history, the writer's name cannot pass beyond the editorial rooms of this magazine—The Editor.]

LET no one misunderstand, the Spanish working people have risen in revolt and are fighting, dying in protest against the war-lust of the government. The people's greatest enemy is the army, that sharp and blood-stained weapon of the capitalists that time and again has sought the heart of Barcelona. But to understand the things that are now happening in Spain I must tell in sequence some bits of history:

Old Spain was a country of warriors living upon its victories over neighboring countries, and all in the name of religion. But the brutality of its ancient rulers was met by an awakening of the people in the eighteenth century and the Catholic Church began to lose its grip. A century later a strong communistic movement against the Inquisition and Fernando VII was headed by the popular leader Zorrijos, who was shot down with some hundreds of his followers while attempting to overturn the monarchy and establish a communistic republic. This was an epoch when Spain's liberal leaders were numerous and the more the government shot down the more great men arose to take the places of those killed until finally Comandt Riego, with a few hundred followers, proclaimed in Cadiz the Constitution. After long and desperate fights for liberty the people of Spain were, for the time being, victorious, leaving the writers and educators free to teach the people.

But with Isabella II despotism again descended upon the land and remained up to the end of the rule of Amadeo Savoia. After his short career, came for the first time in Spain the Republic — of 1873. Un-

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fortunately the Spanish people were not prepared to defend the rights gained and in three years' time the Republic was delivered by Castelar into the hands of Alfonso XII.

Then came the time of the International, and 70,000 Spanish workingmen joined the its groups, fighting on the eecnomic field for better wages in the cities of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Sevilla. Such rapid progress did the economic movement make that the rulers became alarmed and unmerciful persecutions commenced. But new adepts took the places of those imprisoned and murdered and many periodicals were published in the people's cause, such as "Emancipation" and "Acracia" in Madrid, "Productor" and "Tierra Y Libertad" in Barcelona and "La Controversia" in Valencia. Translations of Marx, Bakounine and Forrier were issued in popular editions along with the writings of many others.

After the end of the International the movement turned to communistic groups; especially strong were they in Cartagena, Valencia, Alcoy and other cities of Southern Spain.

The trades unions commenced their fight for an eight-hour day in 1880, and bloody uprisings took place on the first of May in Barcelona, Vilencia and Bilbao.

In 1882 the capitalists plotted with the government to stop the strikes in Jerez (Andalucia) and Barcelona (Catalonia). In Jerez twenty workmen were hanged and in Barcelona the police threw a bomb into a religious procession for the purpose of accusing the people's leaders of murder.

On this day were arrested 400 men, and the officer of the Guardia Civil, Portas, dragged twenty more, among whom were the best educated speakers and writers of the people, to the fortress of Montjujich. There the modern inquisition commenced and these men were tortured with hot irons, and in other ways unspeakable, until many of them at last broke down and false confessions were wrung from them to the effect that they were guilty as accused. Wholesale killings by the government followed and hundreds were sent to the penitentiary as well, causing Professor Tarrida del Marmol to make his well remembered trip to Paris and there denounce to the world the hidden horrors that were taking place in the fortress of Montjuich.

From all this propanganda came the general strike in Barcelona in 1902. For two days and a half the Commune of the People was complete master of the city. The troops were imprisoned in their barracks and the people went freely to the markets and stores and bread and meat were given to those in need. The capitalists were for the time being powerless, and if they would fill their bellies with rich

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food must go to France to get a meal because in Barcelona the wealth was in the hands of those who produced it.

Government re-enforcements were hurried to Barcelona and death again strode through the streets, ending the Commune of 1902.

One enemy the Spanish workingmen see always—the army. Against the army, with its conscriptions, its bloody violence against every just demand of the workers, and its inhuman desire for foreign conquests, Spain now protests.

We of Barcelona remember when groups of our young workingmen distributed manifestos against the Spanish-American war and were hurried to prison for their acts of humanity. We know, too, that many thousand young Catalonians deserted to France rather than serve in a capitalist war, refusing to fight the Cubans and Filipinos.

Knowing these things is it not clear what has caused the present revolt in Spain?

Although the present anti-war movement is more of an economic than a political movement yet no one can doubt that a republic will soon sweep the Spanish monarchy from its rotten foundations.

Modern institutions plant their roots in the period of barbarism, into which their germs were transmitted frrom the previous period of savagery. They have had a lineal descent through the ages, with the streams of the blood, as well as a logical development.—Lewis H. Morgan, in Ancient Society, page 4.

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem

THE NEGRO'S PROGRESS DURING HALF A CENTURY.

I. M. ROBBINS



E deeply sympathize with the average reader's abhorrence of statistical tables, but in the following chapters repeated excursions into the mysteries of statistics will be inevitable. We have stated a great many theories with as little prejudice as we could, and now we have come to the point where some testing of the conflicting theories by actual facts is absolutely essential. For in the broadest sense, the negro problem may be defined as the problem of the role the negro race is destined to play in the future of this country. And in order to judge as to what the negroes will be able to give in the future we must learn, at least in a general way, what they have succeeded in accomplishing in the past, at least during the half a century which has elapsed since they have been granted their personal freedom.

And it is needless to say that in this study, preconceived notions and a priori reasoning are of very little help, and cold statistical facts all-important. The political dictum that "All men were created equal" would be as useless as the quasi-scientific assertion that anthropologically the negro is nearer to the anthropoidal apes than the white man. Fortunately the negro problem has always attracted so much attention that it naturally proved a grateful field for many serious students and called forth a great many special investigations and monographs. In fact it is no exaggeration to say that we know a great deal more about the southern negro than of his immediate neighbor. But of all the sources of informations, the most important remain the works of the United States Census Office, and the very interesting publications of the Annual Atlanta Conference held in connection with the Atlanta University, of which thirteen annual reports have appeared by this time. It may be useful to mention right in the beginning of this study, that unfortunately the data of the

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U. S. Census referring to the year 1900, are considerably out of date by this time and the conditions have changed perceptibly since then. Students of the negro problem will therefore await with a great deal of impatience the publication of the results of the thirteenth census soon to be undertaken. However it is only reasonable to expect that the tendencies which have manifested themselves during the preceding decade or two will have become more strongly developed during the first decade of the twentieth century; and after all it is tendencies and not bare facts which we are mainly concerned with.

Population. The growth of the negro population is the essential thing to be considered. It is one of the usual arguments against the lower races, that they cannot survive in competition with them. From that point of view a simple mechanical automatic solution to the negro problem must work itself out by the gradual extinction of the negro race. We have already shown in an earlier chapter how the number of negroes rapidly grew under slavery. This, however, is not argument against the theory of extinction, since the negro then was not living in competition with the white race. But the fifty years since emancipation surely should have furnished an excellent opportunity for the testing of this theory. Conditions favored it altogether. The emancipation left the millions of negro slaves in a horrible economic condition. The slaves of yesterday were transformed into free wage workers without property in a ruined land. In the mad desire to experience some real freedom a great many negroes drifted into the cities where the opportunities for finding employment were at their worst. They did act like so many helpless children who would be absolutely unable to take care of themselves. Nevertheless they did not die out. Relying upon the faulty figures of the eleventh census of 1890, which has a very bad reputation among the economic fraternity, even the famous sociologist, Benjamin Kidd, concluded that the negro in the United States was destined to extinction, and he thought to have found in these figures a complete corroboration of the superiority of the white race. The well known statistician Frederic Hoffman tried to prove the same with a great many complicated tables. But the results of the twelfth census completely destroyed this illusion. The increase of the negro population at the successive censuses is shown in the following table:

Year.	Negroes.	Per Cent of Total Population.
1860	4,441,830	14.1
1870	4,880,009	12.7
1880	6,580,793	13.1
1890	7,488,676	11.9
1900	8,833,994	11.6

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By this time the negro population has surely reached ten million people. It is true that the ratio to the entire population has slightly declined within recent years. But this can very easily be explained by the rapid increase of immigration from Europe. If immigrants be excepted, then it will be found that the negro population is increasing more rapidly than the native white population, notwithstanding the frightful negro mortality and especially that of the negro children. Because of a faulty enumeration in 1890 the rate of increase of the negroes from 1880 to 1890 seemed to be only 13.8 per cent, but for the following ten years the increase was 18 per cent.

Of course this mere increase in numbers really shows nothing except the power to procreate, but one is forced to quote these figures because so much has been said about the inevitable disappearance of the negro race, and especially about his frightful rate of mortality. It was shown on the basis of the twelfth census that the death rate of whites in this country was annually 17.3 per thousand and that the negroes 30.2 per thousand, and this difference was frequently emphasied even by such level-headed men as Professor Willcox as an argument against the negroes. If the modern status of medical and sanitary science is taken account of, this point of view is perfectly preposterous. Modern anthropology has admitted that the comparative death rate is a sociological and not an anthropological characteristic. Death depends upon conditions of life, upon the sanitary conditions surrounding us, upon our level of education as affecting our mode of life, upon our occupations, etc. In all these characteristics the negro differs from his white neighbors, could one expect to find the same death rate among a nation of laborers and a nation of teachers, business and commercial men? In this connection an interesting illustration of the many conditions influencing the death rate has been given in a scientific publication a few years ago. It was shown that among the Russian peasants the death rate varies in an inverse ratio to the amount of land they hold, so that those who had the largest farms, over 135 acres, had a death rate of 19.2 per thousand and those who had the smallest farms, less than 13.5 acres, showed a death rate of 34.7, and the intermediate groups had intermediate rates. A pretty illustration indeed of the literally killing effects of poverty. We shall see presently what the degree of poverty among the American negroes is.

Having established the fact that the negro population of this country shows a healthy rate of increase and is not only in no danger of extinction, but seems to be fully able to hold its own, at least as compared with the native American element, we may take up the interesting question of distribution of the negro race.

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It is a matter of familiar knowledge that the vast majority of the negroes live in the south. But we know a great deal more than that. It appears from the census figures that the negro population in 1900 was distributed as follows:

South Central Division	4,193,952	47.5%
South Atlantic Division	3,729,017	42.2%
North Central Division	495,751	5.6%
North Atlantic Division	385,020	4.4%
Western Division	30,254	0.3%
Total	8,833,994	100.0%

Thus the north has by the end of the last century absorbed over one-tenth (10.3%) of the negro population. This was not accomplished in a day. It shows that a steady movement of southern negroes northward is constantly taking place.

The negro population of the northern and western states increased as follows:

In 1860 344,719 or 7.8% of total negro population.
In 1870 459,198 or 9.4% of total negro population.
In 1880 626,890 or 9.5% of total negro population.
In 1890 728,099 or 9.7% of total negro population.
In 1900 911,025 or 10.3% of total negro population.

The increase from 7.8 per cent to 10.3 per cent within forty years may not strike the reader as very remarkable. But these percentages are somewhat misleading without a more careful analysis. Looked upon in another way they show, that the negro population in the northern and western states has increased by 265 per cent or more than two and a half times within this forty years while the total negro population has has a little less than doubled. In any case, detailed figures aside, we see conclusively that while the vast majority of the negroes is still in the south and will be in the south for many generations to come, perhaps forever, as far as that word has any human meaning at all, nevertheless there is a constant and continuous stream of negroes northward; and that stream is probably much greater than the figures seem to show, for the following two reasons: First, there is also a stream of negroes returning, and, secondly, the fecundity of negroes as of all other races and nationalities must be lower in the northern cities than in the southern plantations. As this movement northward has recently not abated but rather grown in strength, there is not very much more than one million of negroes beyond the boundaries of the south, to which they have been supposed to belong climatically.

This persistent movement northward is significant for two reasons: To begin with it is the most eloquent demonstration that the negro is enterprising enough to look for a change of economic and

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social surroundings and opportunities, notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties of such migration in view of his extreme poverty, and thus is no different from other races in kind; and secondly that the negro problem, whatever we may mean by that phrase, is becoming less a local problem and more a national one. From the proletarian and especially from the socialist point of view this second consideration is specially important, for it simply means that in the economic as well as the political field the labor movement can less and less afford to neglect the negro, and is being forced by the inexorable force of circumstances to form some logical plan of dealing with this problem. We may rail as much as we like against the public franchise monopolist or any other capitalist for importing negro scabs, we may even throw bricks at the negro scab, and possibly smash a few hard negro skulls, but it is worse than childish, it is criminal to deceive oneself that it would be possible by such primitive means to dam the inevitable movement of labor from one part of the country to the other, when they are not and cannot in the very nature of things be divided by any legal barriers, and when such definite differences in the economic and social status of labor in these two parts of the country persist. As we shall have opportunity to emphasize more than once in the concluding chapters of our study, the law of self-preservation will force us towards an active effort at the solution of the negro problem.

Simultaneously with this movement northward, and constituting part of it, there is an even stronger, more pronounced movement of the negro toward the cities. Originally, it will be remembered, the negro was almost exclusively an agricultural worker, and whether an agricultural or industrial worker, he lived in a rural community. For one thing, there were very few cities of any size in the antebellum south. In 1880 there lived in the cities with a population over 4,000 849,721 negroes, or 12.9 per cent of the entire negro population; in 1890 1,482,651 negroes, or 17.6 per cent, and in 1900 1,810,407 negroes, or 20.5 per cent. Thus over one-fifth of all the negroes lived in cities ten years ago, and judging by the rapid increase in their relative number, this proportion must have increased to nearly one-fourth by this time. Thus the economic problem presented by the negro is still mainly an agricultural problem, but not exclusively so, and is becoming less and less so. Another reason, why we should know a little more about him.

Because of the rapid influx of European immigrants into American cities, the proportion of negroes to the total urban population is not increasing; it still constituted in 1900 as in 1880 a little over 6 per

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cent, but in the South they constitute over 30 per cent of the entire city population, and proportionately their number is growing very rapidly.

One can frequently hear a southerner express the opinion that the only motive for a negro to move to the city is to enable him to exploit his wife or his wife's employers by living off the leavings of their table. There are, however, many more less frivolous reasons why the negro prefers to drift away from the country into the city, and on the whole they are not so very different from the reasons which drive the white American farmer into town. It is the economic opportunity which the city offers, the opportunity for social life, and in the case of the negro an additional factor of comparatively safety from the arbitrary rule of the local planter.

A better understanding of these movements will be derived from the study of occupational statistics, perhaps the most fascinating part of statistics, when properly presented.

According to the census of 1900 there were in the United States altogether nearly 58 million persons of all races over 10 years of age, and of these 29 millions or almost exactly one-half were gainfully employed, in the language of the census. That means that the remaining one-half were mainly wives working at home or children in schools, etc. When, however, the separate races are taken, it is found that out of 51,250,000 white persons over 10 years of age, 24,912,000 were gainfully employed or 48.6 per cent, while of the 6,415,581 negroes over ten, 3,992,337 were employed or 62.2 per cent. This fact may be interpreted in a great many different ways, but it surely is sufficient evidence that the negroes are not parasites on the economic structure of this country.

Now, what are the negroes employed at? It is largely because of their economic status at present that the negro problem is of such momentous import to the socialist and labor movement. Here again, a brief comparison with the population at large is necessary in order to emphasize the distinctions. The total working population of this country is distributed as follows:

Agricultural pursuits	10,381,765	35.7%
Professional service	1,258,538	4.3%
Domestic and personal service	5,580,657	19.2%
Trade and transportation	4,766,964	16.4%
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	7,085,309	24.4%
Total	29,073,233	100.0%

That gives a bird's-eye view of the occupations of the American

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people, though not a very satisfactory one. The distinctions here are industrial and technical rather than economic, and it is only by inference and painstaking analysis that we arrive at the conclusion that the vast majority of the latter class are employees, while in the agricultural class most of them are independent or at least quasi-independent producers. The failure to analyze the economic status of the persons gainfully employed is one of the weakest points of the American censuses, but that is the best material available.

Be it as it may, the distribution of the negroes gainfully employed shows several distinctive features.

Agricultural pursuits	2,143,154	53.7%
Professional service	47,219	1.2%
Domestic and personal service	1,317,859	33.0%
Trade and transportation	208,989	5.2%
Mechanical and manufacturing pursuits	275,116	6.3%
Total	3,992,337	100.0%

A proletarian race! The figures above quoted leave no room for any difference of opinion. Considerably over one-half of the negroes employed are in agriculture, and as we shall presently see only a very few of them own the land they till. A good third belong to the group of personal and domestic service, so that only much less than one-sixth—less than one-seventh even, is employed in professional service, trade and transportation or even mechanical pursuits. Of the male negroes earning a living, 58.3 per cent were employed in agriculture, and 23.8 per cent in domestic and personal service, and of the female negroes 44.2 per cent in agriculture and as much as 51.8 per cent in domestic and personal service. A race of laborers and servants, that is what the negroes are, and that is what they are destined to be in the opinion of the southern white man.

It is to test this latter point of view, that the statistics, dry as they are, are here quoted. At a glance it must be observed that even about one-half a million of negroes engaged in trade, transportation and manufactures are not a factor which ought to be left out of consideration. But more light may be obtained by mentioning specific occupations rather than very large and largely artificial groups, and also by comparing the data for a series of censuses so as to discover any natural tendencies which may assert themselves. The following table may be a little too long, but we feel quite constrained to make use of it. In it are mentioned all the occupations which are employed, or rather were employed in 1900, over 2,50 negroes:

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	1900.	Per Ct.	1890.	Per Ct.
Agricultural laborers	1,344,125	35.7	1,106,728	36.0
Farmers, planters and overseers	757,822	19.0	590,666	19.2
Laborers not specified	545,935	13.7	349,002	11.3
Servants and waiters	465,734	11.7	401,215	13.1
Launderers and laundresses	220,104	5.5	153,684	5.0
Draymen, hackmen and teamsters	67,585	1.7	43,963	1.4
Steam railroad employees	55,327	1.4	47,548	1.6
Miners and quarrymen	36,561	0.9	19,007	0.6
Saw and planing mill employees	33,266	0.8	17,276	0.6
Porters and helpers in stores	28,977	0.7	11,694	0.4
All other occupations	436,901	11.3	332,381	10.8
Total	3,992,337	100.0	3,073,764	100.0

Thus the occupations of the negroes are found not to be so uniform as one might have thought from the preceding statements. In addition to the occupations enumerated claiming about 90 per cent of all employed negroes, one may mention the following employing from ten thousand to twenty-five thousand persons: Turpentine farmers and laborers, barbers and hairdressers, nurses and midwives, clergymen, tobacco and cigar factory operatives, hostlers, masons, dressmakers, iron and steel workers, seamstresses, janitors and sextons, housekeepers and stewards, fishermen and oystermen, engineers and firemen. From five to ten thouand persons were employed as lumbermen and wood choppers, boatmen and sailors, clerks and copyists, merchants and dealers, messengers, painters and glaziers, brick and tile makers. Numerous other occupations claimed from one to five thousand each.

It is impossible to go here into a detailed comparative study of the occupational distribution of the employed negroes, to disclose the less important tendencies in the economic shifting of the negro labor because the question of the economic status of the negro one alone might be made subject of several volumes. Besides this has already been done by such a statistical authority as Professor Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University in the various census publications dealing with the negro, and in various articles in economic periodicals. These studies are made available to the average reader by the republication as a supplement in A. H. Stone's work "Studies in the American Race Problem." But while the facts as stated by Professor Willcox are undoubtedly correct, the difficulty with the professor is that he hastens to claim a race significance to results of economic environment. He has done it in interpreting the death rate of the American negro, and he repeats this mistake in explaining the changes in the occupations of the negro men and women:

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"In the industrial competition thus begun the negro seems during the last decade to have slightly lost ground in most of those higher occupations in which the services are rendered largely to whites. He has gained in the two so-called learned professions of teachers and clergymen. He has gained in the two skilled occupations of miners or quarrymen and iron or steel worker. He has gained in the occupations, somewhat ill defined so far as the degree of skill required is indicated, of sawing mill or planing mill employee, and nurse or midwife. He has gained in the class of servants and waiters. On the other side of the balance sheet he has lost ground in the South as a whole in the following skilled occupations: Carpenter, barber, tobacco and cigar factory operative, fisherman, engineer or fireman (not locomotive), and probably blacksmith. He has lost ground also in the following industries in which the degree of skill implied seems somewhat uncertain: Laundry work, hackman or teamster, steam railroad employee, housekeeper or steward. The balance seems not favorable. It suggests that in the competition with white labor to which the negro is being subjected he has not quite held his own."

How carefully guarded and carefully weighted are these statements, how perfectly professorially the tone! Things are not, they only seem to be. And, yet, and yet how perfectly evident the animus.

It is no coincidence that Professor Willcox's papers are reproduced in Mr. Stone's book. If Mr. Stone approvingly reproduces the professor's statements, it is because it was Mr. Stone's opinions and views that have shaped the opinions and views of Professor Willcox on the negro problem.

The veiled insinuation that the comparative skill of the white and negro laborer are the determining factors in determining these indicated changes. As a matter of fact, it is perfectly obvious, as soon as the thought is suggested, that the losses of negroes in various occupations are often explained by the development of a specific opposition, from a newly developed labor union, or by the direct consumer as such. If for reasons of racial prejudices, or even legitimate racial feeling, as some would insist, the white southerner prefers an Italian barber to a negro one, this may be a misfortune for the negro but surely it need not necessarily be his fault, unless it be his fault to have been born a negro.

In view of this opposition, which is too well known to need any evidence, the fact that slowly but surely the negro is nevertheless forcing his way into industrial work, is of tremendous significance. Most of the occupations practiced in the South employ some negro labor. There can be no claim of the physical incapacity of the negro, for physically the negro is much stronger than the southern white man. The claim is often made, however, and supported by a good deal of evidence, that the negro is too frivolous, careless, shiftless, to be depended upon, to be trusted with important and regular work, and that he is too stupid to handle expensive and complicated machinery.

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The evidence on this point is far from uniform. To sift it all would be impossible and scarcely necessary. But as evidence of biological inferiority it is not conclusive, and sociologically it leads to diametrically opposite conclusions from those which the southern gentlemen seem to derive from it.

It is not conclusive biologically, because it is not uniform. A biological characteristic must appear universally and uniformly. If a goatee is a characteristic of a goat, it is because each and every normal billy goat has a goatee, and not 25 or 45 per cent of them. The negro has proven himself fit to do any mechanical work which the white man is doing. The thousands of the graduates of the Tuskogee and other industrial schools have demonstrated it. And if there is on the average less efficiency in the negro mass, it evidently must be explained by the conditions of its existence in the past and present. In the professions, arts, sciences and trades and business, the negroes, at least some negroes, have proven their ability to do the required work. And even if in competition with the various white races they should prove less efficient, it could be easily explained (waving aside the possibility of the failure being due to prejudice) by the conditions of their life during the last two hundred years, and also by the conditions of their individual education. As Mr. Booker Washington wisely remarks in one of his books, it is not at all fair to compare the negro farmer with the educated American farmer of the middle west. Even the superiority of the imported farmer of Italy over the negro, of which Stone makes so much capital, is very far from conclusive, in view of the differences in the conditions of their growth and education. The essential fact remains that in the competition with the dominant white race which has all the advantages of legal, social and economic position on its side, the negro has been able to hold his own, and in many branches of work to encroach upon the white man. In any case the fluctuations are too fine, to subtle, they must be looked for with too fine a comb of statistical analysis to be given any value in an organic estimate of race value. Such race distinctions must be self-evident, obvious, or they are not race distinctions at all.

These race distinctions are usually emphasized most obstinately in the case of the negro famer. And yet, it is especially in his case that the historical and social conditions must be taken into consideration. The previously quoted tables showed that over one-half of the negroes gainfully employed belong to the agricultural class, and therefor the condition of the negro farmer must be carefully studied. The interested are referred to the classical work of Professor Du Bois on

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"The Negro Farmer," published by the U. S. Census Office, and only the essentials are here given.

Present conditions, as Du Bois correctly points out, can only be understood by bringing in mind the historical development from slavery. The normal farm of the ante-bellum days was the large plantation worked by slave labor under the direction of the supervisor for the account of the white plantation and slave owner. After the war a weak effort was made to perpetuate this system with the substitution of the hired labor for slave labor. But this soon broke down, partly because of the refusal of the freedmen to work under such conditions, and partly because of the inability of the slave owners of several generations to assume the new and difficult roles of capitalistic entrepreneurs at a moment's notice. As a result a tenant system arose. It was almost exclusively a share tenant system in the beginning as the tenant had no money to become a money rental tenant. Gradually money tenantry has been gaining way, and as the highest form, farm ownership by the negroes. The process was slow, but the evolution unmistakable, as is shown by the following figures:

Number of farms operated by owners....	187,797	25.2%
By Managers.....	1,744	0.2%
By Tenants—Cash.....	273,560	36.6%
Share.....	283,614	38.0%
All.....	557,174	74.6%
Total	746,715	100.0%

Thus, one-third of the negro farmers are cash tenants, and one-fourth or nearly 200,000 farmers are owners of their farms. Considering that forty or fifty years ago, they were almost all slaves without any property rights at all, it can scarcely be claimed that they have done so very badly, especially as they had to meet the competition of the white man all the time.

It is but natural that the vast majority of the farms owned or rented by the negroes are very small, smaller than the corresponding holdings of the white man. In the aggregate the amounts loom up considerably, and it is these aggregates that are often quoted in the discussions of the negro problem. But it conveys very little to say that the negro farms cover an area of over thirty-eight million acres, or nearly 60,000 square miles, that the total value of the property of these farms, owned as well as rented, amounts to half a billion, and the gross value of the products of these farms in 1900 to a quarter of a billion dollars.

More important are the following data indicating the general size of the negro farms:

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Negro Farms.	Number.	Per Cent.
Under 3 acres	4,448	0.6
3 and under 10 acres	50,831	6.8
10 and under 20 acres	119,710	16.0
20 and under 50 acres	343,173	45.9
50 and under 100 acres	134,228	18.0
100 and under 175 acres	66,582	8.9
175 and under 260 acres	16,535	2.2
260 and under 500 acres	8,715	1.2
500 and under 1000 acres	2,007	0.3
1000 acres and over	486	0.1
	746,715	100.0

Thus the negro farmer is found to be in a very precarious condition as regards the amount of land held; 88.3 per cent of the farmers, or practically seven-eighths of them held less than 10 acres apiece, 69.3 per cent or practically seven-tenths of them operated less than 50 acres per family. This shows that as farmers the negroes must suffer from lack of land and the accompanying consequences of such insufficiency of land.

No less significant for the characterization of the economic status of the negro farmer the following data of the gross (not net) earnings of these farms are:

Negro farms reporting a gross income of:

Dollars.	Number.	Per Cent.
None	10,379	1.4
$1 to $50	50,794	6.8
$50 to $100	73,075	9.8
$100 to $250	247,477	33.1
$250 to $500	254,490	34.1
$500 to $1000	95,505	12.8
$1000 to $2500	14,220	1.9
$2500 and over	835	0.1
Total	746,715	100.0

This table is significant enough for the general economic condition of the negro farmer. It must not be forgotten that these figures of gross products, and that the net after deducting the cost of feeding the cattle and especially afer payment of rent (usually one-half of the product) will be correspondingly smaller. Even taking into consideration the lower standard of prices and living in a southern rural community, the extreme poverty of the negro is clearly established. Eighty-five per cent. of the negro farmers have a gross product of less than $500; more than one-half of them have a gross product of less than $250.

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These budgets do not leave much room for the saving of a surplus and accumulation of property. And had the negroes accumulated none, that would hardly be a valid argument of their economic unworthiness. But in the entire discussion of the economic status of the negro, this power of accumulation has always been assumed to represent the most important test. We shall reach this question presently (in the following chapter of our study), but limiting ourselves here to the statistical representation of the matter we must show that as a matter of fact the negroes have accumulated quite a considerable amount of property. It was shown in one of the preceding tables that 187,797 farms were owned by negro farmers and these farms included nearly 16,000,000 acres valued at approximately $180,000,000 and producing about $60,000,000 of agricultural products.

The above, we appreciate, is a very meager account of the wealth of information contained in the census concerning the economic status of the American negro. But the trying nature of statistics must not be forgotten. We have quoted enough, however, to give to the absolutely uninitiated some conception of the conditions under which the negro lives, and in our following installment we shall discuss the general bearing of these figures upon the negro problem.

(To be continued.)

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The New Prosperity—Prosperity seems to be here again—for the capitalist. All the well-known barometers—bank clearings, postal receipts, railroad earnings, steel sales, imports, internal revenue—these tell the same story. Thousands upon thousands of workingmen who a few months ago were unemployed are now offered jobs at the same wages (measured in dollars and cents) that they received before the panic. And to cap the optimistic climax, strikes for increased wages are being won.

And still the laborers are not happy! The successful strikers are getting wages that will purchase a little less of the comforts of life than could be bought with the wages of 1906. And most working people are getting their former money wage in money that has depreciated in purchasing power. The standard of living in the United States is declining. Discontent is growing. Capitalist papers are shrewdly trying to shift this discontent to the question of the tariff, which enables the over-protected trusts to charge "monopoly prices." Even some socialists occasionally fall into the trap. But the wage-workers in the great industries, ignorant alike of classical and Marxian economics, take instinctively the right position. They conclude that since their wages will no longer enable them to live as before, they want more wages. They know they are being exploited by their own employers and by no one else. They already see that a strike for lower prices would be useless, while a strike for higher wages might get them something. They will soon come to see that a union of all wage-workers will enable them to own the land they live on and the tools they use, to put the capitalists out of business, and to enjoy all the good things they produce.

Revolutionary Unionism—From France and Italy, from Australia, from the Rocky Mountains, and from the keenest observers and clearest thinkers in our own Socialist Party comes a tremendous wave of enthusiasm for this new method of warfare against or-

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ganized capital. The old craft unionism was essentially conservative. Groups of workers with special technical skill organized to limit the competition of laborers for jobs in their own particular craft. In the days of the small employer, such unions won many small successes. But the growth of the modern trust, which under one central control exploits laborers of many crafts and no craft, has made this form of organization a helpless and ineffective survival.

Out of the new industrial conditions arises the new union. It is no aristocracy of labor, it is democratic through and through. It is not conservative, for its members possess nothing worth conserving. It does not seek to restrict its membership but to enlarge it. Its immediate aim is to organize all the workers in the employ of any one corporation, so that they may treat with the employer on something like equal terms. Its ultimate aim is to organize all wage-workers up to the point where they may defy the capitalists, take possession of the industries, and operate them for themselves.

These aims and tactics are so obviously in line with the principals of international socialism that it is at first sight surprising that the propagandists of the Socialist Party and of industrial unionism should often be working at cross purposes. A partial explanation may be found in the fact that many Socialist Party members must keep up their membership in craft unions in order to earn a living, and by that fact are prejudiced against the new unionism. On the other hand, this prejudice reflects itself in a bitter prejudice against the party on the part of some of the "I. W. W." agitators, and has led them to denounce all political action as essentially middle-class.

Happily, this misunderstanding seems to be nearly at an end. The clearest-headed socialists, notably Eugene V. Debs, are coming out squarely for revolutionary unionism, and representative revolutionary unionists, like Lagardelle of France and Tom Mann of Australia, point out the immense value of a political party as an auxiliary to the unions. A revolutionary union without the backing of a revolutionary party will be tied up by injunctions. Its officers will be kidnaped. Its members, if they defy the courts, will be corralled in bullpens or mowed down by gatling guns.

A revolutionary party, on the other hand, if it pins its hopes mainly to the passing of laws, tends always to degenerate into a reform party. Its "leaders" become hungry for office and eager for votes, even if the votes must be secured by concessions to the middle class. In the pursuit of such votes it wastes its propaganda

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on "immediate demands," which either are of no importance to the working class, or else could be enforced ten times as readily by the menace of revolution as by harping on the reforms.

There are two great things that a revolutionary party of the working class can do. One is to spread the propaganda of revolution, to awaken the slumbering toilers to the fact that they are slaves, and that united action will make them free. The other is, as fast as it gains an atom of political power, to use that power in such a way as to obstruct the workings of the capitalist state as a weapon against the working class.

Here is the true way to get the "something right now" which reformers have vainly promised. The capitalist parties in the United States thus far have competed for votes on the plea that each was the real "friend of labor." Confronted by a compact, active revolutionary minority, the capitalist politicians may hesitate to go on record for the new measures which will soon be required to crush the new unionism. And with the possible loss of some branches of the government at stake, the big capitalists will, if they show their accustomed shrewdness, be willing to make substantial concessions in the way of shorter hours and higher wages, in the hope of stopping the tide of revolution. And, best of all, **it will not stop!**

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To a Socialist the past month has been one of more than ordinary interest. In Persia there has been revolution, in Sweden a general strike and in Spain an uprising against a capitalist war. France and Germany have contributed cabinet crises both of which appear as incidents in the great struggle of the classes. In England there has been talk of a great strike and the revolt of the Hindus has stirred the whole country as never before. Europe as a whole has been roused in opposition to the round of visits made by the Czar. It is safe to say that never was there more widespread revolutionary activity. In the limited space of this department it will be possible to discuss only a few of the events of the month..

SPAIN. War and the Working Class. When the September **Review** reaches the hands of its readers the recent uprising in Spain will be better understood by outsiders than at the time of writing. At present (August 17) I am still chiefly dependent on cablegrams published in American dailies. But these are sufficient to show that a remarkable thing has happened; and taken in connection with Spanish papers, which appeared just before the event, they make a tolerably complete story.

Spain is rather backward so far as working class organization is concerned. The church is powerful and the people are poor. More than this, bitter experience has taught the proletariat the distrust of revolutions. But in this disorganized, backward country has occurred one of the most magnificent exhibitions of class-consciousness.

Spanish capitalists are "developing" a part of Morocco. As a part of this "development" they found it necessary to build a railway from the sea-board to a mine some fifteen miles inland. The Moorish tribesmen, having a foolish notion that the land belonged to them, attacked the workingmen engaged in the construction of the railway. Capital demanded it, and a war was declared. In most "advanced" countries there are few who ask the real cause of a war or care what the poor will get out of it. But in backward Spain this once it was different. The Spanish Socialist movement is small, but it is active. Pablo Iglesias, its leader, is editor of **El Socialista,** and week by week he has been exposing and denouncing the capitalist plans. When matters came to a climax it was evident that his work, and that of other revolutionists, had been effective.

During the last days of July war was declared. Then on August 1 and 2 came news of uprisings in the chief centers of the country. Whole companies of soldiers refused to march; wives and children of soldiers mobbed officers and public officials; at Barcelona Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans united forces, barricaded the streets, and for a time controlled the city. The remarkable thing is, not that there was an uprising, but that everyone knew just what it was about. Everywhere the war was denounced as a capitalist affair; the complete division of interest between capitalists and workers was never more clearly understood or more vigorously proclaimed.

Of course the immediate results amount to little. The working class is almost powerless without organization; at any rate it cannot establish a government or even control a situation; even at Barcelona it could maintain itself but for a few days. The government has put down the revolt. The war goes on with deaths by the thousand. But another object lesson has been given to the working class and no doubt our Spanish comrades will make the most of it. Meantime there is cause for rejoicing in the new signs of life and vigor exhibited south of the Pyrenees.

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PERSIA. Revolution Accomplished. For the present the revolution is complete; the troops of the Russian tyrant have been driven from Teheran, the nefarious, anti-parliamentary Shah, Mohamed Ali, has been deposed and a constitutional regime has been instituted. This good news was sent through Europe and America on July 18th, and subsequent dispatches have added little of importance. The long fight made by the revolutionists seems to indicate that they have both numbers and organization. So it is possible, even probable, that Persia has at last come into the modern world to stay. We must keep ourselves reminded, however, that this is merely a belated bourgeois revolution.

To me the most interesting feature of the recent events in Persia has been the mission of Pahim Zade and Dr. Mirza Abdulla to Europe. The Persian revolutionists, having read much of liberty in the newspapers of Western Europe, sent these two in quest of sympathy and aid. Never was the hypocritical nature of bourgeois devotion to freedom better exhibited than in this lack of success. For they sought far and long, but experience in the ways of the world is their only reward. After weeks of waiting in England they have issued a sadly reproachful letter which includes the following sentences: "Is it then that the love of humanity and progress with which England is credited throughout the world is an empty boast, and that the pursuit of selfish gain is regarded as the only rational and legitimate aim of Great Britain's foreign policy? * * * Is our prayer that we may be allowed to possess in peace, without fear of foreign spoliation, the soil of our fatherland, an unreasonable one?

Thus speaks the bourgeois class of Persia to the bourgeois class of England, but the English bourgeois has his own fish to fry.

FRANCE. The Fall of Clemenceau. On July 20th the world was startled by news of the dramatic fall of M. Clemenceau, for more than two years premier of France. This was followed by accounts of a new ministry containing three "Socialists," and capitalist papers published solemn editorials about the advent to power of these "Socialists."

Americans who hear of this "Socialist" cabinet should keep in mind two or three points that are essential to an understanding of the French situation. In the first place M. Clemenceau resigned his office in consequence of a typical French "drama," a mere scene, which resulted largely from a personal quarrel with M. Delcassé, a previous minister. The new ministry contains many members of the old one and stands pledged to continue its policies. M. Briand, the new premier, was once a Socialist, but now he is a mere power-seeking radical. So from one point of view nothing important has happened.

On the other hand, as an incident in the struggle of classes this event has a certain importance. On July 22nd Comrade Allard wrote in L'Humanité: "We have never expected any ministry to serve the interests of the Socialist Party. In capitalist society the government can be nothing but an agent of social reaction and resistance to the emancipation of the workers.

But we must acknowledge that no ministry has shown itself more brutal and violent toward the working class than that of M. Clemenceau, as instruments of government he knew but the police, the prison and the military charge. * * *

"But to be just it is necessary to recognize also the fact that without intending to do so M. Clemenceau has rendered us a service. His brutality and violence have forced the Socialists to group themselves more definitely as a class party, to assume a position of opposition and offense. At the same time he has been so openly and energetically reactionary that he has brought into the open the essential conservatism of the Radical Party."

As to the position of M. Briand and the other ex-Socialists in the cabinet, Comrade Jaurés has an enlightening word to say in the issue of L'Humanité for July 25: "There is something paradoxical about the sight of a Radical government presided over by a man who belonged, but a few years ago, to the Socialist Party and who declares periodically that he still retains all his Socialist ideas. This surely indicates the existence within the Radical Party of a secret disorganization, a lack of self-confidence or a lack of men that may apear to the country as a lack of ideas."

Revolutionists and Reformists in the C. G. T. It will be recalled that at the last annual convention of the **Confederation General de Travail** the two wings

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of the French labor movement, the Reformists and Revolutionists, attempted to bring about a compromise. To this end they elected M. Niel, a Reformist, as General Secretary. M. Niel did not favor the recent general strike, in fact, was quite open in his criticism of it. He maintains, however, that he was opposed and hindered in the discharge of his duty. At any rate he resigned. On July 12 Comrade Le Fevre, a Revolutionist, was elected in his place. Since the wing of the movement represented by the new secretary is in the majority the prospects for concerted action are brighter now than they have been thus far this year. The leaders of the C. G. T. have taken the lesson of general strike much to heart. Everywhere the cry now is for larger and better organization. If the Confederation succeeds in enlisting large numbers there will be interesting news sent over from France.

GERMANY. The Government's Dilemma. In last month's Review I told how Chancellor Von Buelow's "tax reform" bill had failed to pass the Reichstag. The feudal landowners, who control the bloc, refused to accept the income tax scheme which was to yield 100,000,000 marks of the 500,000,000 required to carry on the imperial military and naval plans. The chancellor was embarrassed, the Emperor indignant. An additional 50,000,000 marks they finally managed to wring from the poor by taxing beer, tobacco, etc., and then they adjourned the Reichstag. Immediately afterward, on July 14th, it was announced that Herr Von Buelow had resigned his office. His successor was Herr Von Bethman-Holweg. The change is insignificant; the new chancellor represents the same policies as the old and he will have to rule by leave of the same combination of landowners and churchmen. Personally he represents the modern bourgeois element somewhat more directly than his predecessor.

The Social Democrats are thundering against the new tax law. Herr Von Buelow said publicly some time ago that to risk an election now would give added power to the Socialists and they will probably not lose through delay. Their campaign has already begun, and whenever the election occurs they will be ready.

ENGLAND. The Revolt of India. On July 1st Madar Lal Dhingra, an educated Hindu, shot and killed Sir W. H. Curzon Wyllie on the steps of the Royal Institute, in London. All England was stirred to a fever of excitement. It was learned that the young Hindu was a fervent patriot and that the nobleman who fell his victim had advised him to give up his foolish revolutionary notions. Sir Curzon Wyllie had been connected with the Indian service and so, in the mind of the young Oriental enthusiast, he became the embodiment of foreign oppression. Hence the deed.

Of course even English Socialists, who have bitterly opposed the British policy in India, did not approve of the method of campaign employed. But they made use of the incident to emphasize their contentions and could not withhold from the young Hindu a tribute of praise for his fine conduct after the deed. He was immediately tried, and the words he spoke in his own defense, beside throwing a flood of light on the Indian revolution, have the fine dignity and eloquence that go with the consciousness of a great cause. Addressing his judge he spoke in part as follows:

"I do not want to say anything in defence of myself, but simply to prove the justice of my deed. As for myself, no English law Court has got any authority to arrest and detain me in prison, or pass sentence of death on me. That is the reason I did not have any counsel to defend me.

"And I maintain that if it is patriotic in an Englishman to fight against the Germans if they were to occupy this country, it is much more justifiable and patriotic in my case to fight against the English. I hold the English people responsible for the murder of 80 millions of Indian people in the last 50 years, and they are also responsible for taking away £100,000,000 every year from India to this country. I also hold them responsible for the hanging and deportation of my patriotic countrymen, who did just the same as the English people here are advising their countrymen to do. And the Englishman who goes out to India and get, say, £100 a month, that simply means that he passes a sentence of death on a thousand of my poor countrymen, because these thousand people could easily live on this £100 which the Englishman spends mostly on his frivolities and pleasures.

"Whatever else I have to say is in the paper before the Court. I make this statement, not because I wish to plead

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for mercy or anything of that kind. I wish that English people should sentence me to death, for in that case the vengeance of my countrymen will be all the more keen. I put forward this statement to show the justice of my cause to the outside world, and especially to our sympathizers in America and Germany."

Of course he was promptly condemned to death. He expected to be. The English press fulminated against him in its best self-righteous style. Still the deed has accomplished its purpose; the English have been forced to hear of the oppression of India. Madar Lal Dhingra will not have died in vain.

The English Poor. We hear much of "practical" Socialism in Europe. The English government, for example, long ago recognized that it owes a duty to the poor. For more than thirty years it has been spending huge sums on the care of its industrial wreckage. No end of administrative energy has been put into the working of its elaborate poor laws. Now it appears that the whole thing has been but an expensive failure. In 1905 a Poor Law Commission was set at work to examine into the government provision for poor relief. After five years of labor its findings have been formulated in a voluminous report. The upshot of the whole matter is that while the government has been spending millions the number of the poor has steadily increased—not to mention their misery and moral degradation.

Of particular interest to Socialists is the minority report. This was submitted by four members of the commission, among whom were our comrades, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. The former of these has recently given in **The Clarion** an outline of their proposals. Hitherto it has been the declared policy of English poor law administration to keep the condition of those relieved somewhat worse than that of the lowest grade of independent labor." The object of this is said to be to reduce the number of those applying for relief. Incidentally, of course, this policy does not interfere with the labor market, does not force up the wages of "the lowest grade of independent labor" by drawing off the reserve army of suffering unemployed. The result of this method of dealing with poverty is now officially described as "a morass of destitution into which there sinks annually tens of thousands of our fellow citizens—of men thrown out of work and unable to get back into regular employment, of persons smitten with phthisis or chronic rheumatism, of widows and girls growing up without proper nurture or technical training, of wastrels refusing to work, of men and women of weak will succumbing to drink."

The minority of the commission proposes to set on foot "a systematic crusade against destitution in all its ramifications." To this end it has outlined a new poor law, or rather a measure to take the place of a poor law. The chief feature of this new measure is that it does away with poor law officials. It makes the care of dependents part of the regular business of government. Unemployed, for example, are to be looked after by a new department of the national government, the duty of which is to secure work for as many as possible and support decently all who are out of work. Needy children are to be left to local school authorities, the sick to local health authorities. That is to say, in principle this piece of proposed legislation recognizes it as the duty of the government to provide in a systematic way for all those not taken care of by our industrial organization.

One might think that the lords of industry themselves would recognize the economic value of this proposal. But of course they will not. A group of Socialists and Philanthropists is organizing a great society to work for the measure. Let us hope that their efforts will have some educative value. Nothing beyond that is to be expected. Real relief of the poor is not on the capitalist program.

AUSTRALIA. Socialist Party Convention. The Second national convention of the Socialist Federation of Australia met at Broken Hill June 12-16. Reports of this convention indicate that the Australian Movement has made considerable advances during the past year. Two things which occurred give particular pleasure to an American observer: A resolution to embody "immediate" demands in the platform was decisively lost and a very sensible resolution was adopted on the subject of industrial unionism. Last year, it will be remembered, the convention of the S. F. A. adopted a resolution in favor of the I. W. W. This year it was moved and carried that the S. F. A. endorsement of I. W. W. preamble be withdrawn and

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Federation only declare for the broad principle of industrial unionism.

Tom Mann was chosen general organizer and a resolution was passed inviting Eugene V. Debs to make a tour of Australia. In addition a large number of measures were taken to insure active and united propaganda during the coming year.

The Imprisoned Revolutionists. As a result of the recent labor war at Broken Hill, Comrades May, Stokes and Holland still remain in jail, two of them sentenced to two years, the other to one year of confinement. A general committee has been formed to work for their liberation. Labor organizations throughout the country are passing resolutions with regard to the matter, literature is being distributed and public officials are being bombarded with petitions. A separate committee is looking after the families of the imprisoned men. The recent S. F. A. convention re-elected Comrade Holland as National Secretary, with a substitute to act for him till he is set at liberty.

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WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

While the cables from Honolulu announce that the strike of the Japanese laborers on the plantations has been abandoned, it is significant that no mention is made of the terms of settlement. Whenever the Associated Press is silent on that phase of industrial adjustments it can be usually taken for granted that the workers have secured some advantages that the capitalists prefer that the public know nothing about. In fact it has often occurred that strikes have been abandoned, with an understanding that the workers return to their employment under old conditions, and then later were conceded every demand made. Whatever the immediate results may be, it is a certainty that the Japanese laborers have lost nothing. They came on strike, as has been mentioned in **The Review**, without having held meetings, attempted to arrive at settlements, or having an organization along union lines. It was a sort of spontaneous, voluntary movement, but class-conscious and sympathetic, and, although the governing powers and the capitalist class of the islands were solidly opposed to the workers, the strikers succeeded in developing an organization that was rather an innovation and might well be emulated by some of our unions in the States that have had years of experience in organization work.

A prominent citizen of Honolulu, who was in entire sympathy with the Jap laborers, but who for obvious reasons does not want his name published, has sent me an interesting account of the tactics that were pursued by the workers. It appears that the mob of workers who suddenly and spontaneously walked out on strike several months ago have been drilled into a well-disciplined organization possessing the cohesion and solidarity of a military body. The whole army, several thousand strong, were divided into squads of twenty, each captained by one of the most intelligent of the lot, who was responsible for his associates to the Higher Wage Association. The roll was called in each group twice a day, and if a man was absent he had to be accounted for. When a member wanted to absent himself from his fellow workers he received a pass with a time limit reading: "Permit to go out of town. The above named man is granted traveling permission, good for this day only." The pass bore the name of the individual receiving it and was signed by the Wage Association. If the man went into the country (the strike district) he was met by pickets, who inspected the pass as sentries do on the lines of an enemy.

In the matter of supporting the strikers a system was followed that appears to have operated like clock-work. The commissariat purchased supplies through bidders, the food was wholesome, meals regularly served and the housing was carefully looked after. The strikers were said to have had plenty of finances and every penny was accounted for, and, as the funds were carefully husbanded and no waste was permitted, the money problem was not as aggravated as the plantation owners hoped it would be.

It should also be stated that a system of courts martial was in operation by which offenders against the rules of the Association were arrested, tried and punished. It is not claimed that the punishment was severe, the moral effect being sufficient to cause prisoners to mend their ways, as the strikers took a natural pride in displaying their solidarity and loyalty to their movement.

As mentioned above, the capitalists and politicians were a unit in opposing the strikers. Many American and European workingmen in the Hawaiian Islands were also inclined to antagonize the Japs at the outset, perhaps largely on racial grounds. But gradually the Caucasians began to show more respect and sympathy for the Orientals and racial prejudice is disappearing. Of course, the Japs, having developed a splendid organization, will, now that they have returned to work, keep it intact in all probability and be ready for another contest if necessary. But as the capitalists lost millions of dollars it is not likely that they will hunger for more trouble.

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Samuel Gompers' European trip hasn't set the world on fire. While he is studying industrial and political conditions in the older countries our cousins are studying him rather curiously. Socially, Sam is a hale fellow well met, and, while the Englishmen have received him with due hospitality and drank 'alf-an'-'alf to 'is 'ealth, and the Frenchmen uncorked some wine, and the Germans said "gesundheit," as they raised their steins, at the same time they watched their American visitor out of the corner of their eyes. In Great Britain Gompers was heckled at some of the meetings he addressed, in France some of the radicals charged him with being a "labor plutocrat," and in Germany they have been asking him some pointed questions about what the American workingmen are doing with their free ballots, how many strikes they have won and lost, and so forth.

Our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, while repeatedly requested to state his views regarding the labor movements in the various European countries, has quite diplomatically abstained from committing himself to any great extent. Once or twice Gompers unguardedly dropped remarks that started the foreigners to talking. He complimented John Burns, it is reported, and was sharply criticised for so doing, although when Burns was over here some fifteen years ago he rapped Sam pretty hard for his conservatism. In Paris it appears that only about two hundred persons heard Gompers speak, and when he lightly criticised some of their policies they poked fun at him and grew sarcastic.

Gompers is writing a series of articles for an American newspaper syndicate, which appear in some of the dailies and labor publications. But they merely refer to the living conditions of the workers, state of trade, etc., which might be duplicated in our own industrial centers, and are significantly luminous in what they do not relate about the political progress of our European fellow-workers. In all probability Gompers will discuss the bigger questions relating to the struggles between the workers and the ruling classes in his concluding articles, which will serve as a basis for his recommendations to the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L. next November.

The action of the Western Federation of Miners, in voting to call a national conference of all organizations engaged in mining for the purpose of forming some sort of an offensive and defensive alliance, is bound to be commended by every progressive worker in the labor movement. The Western Federation, as the officers' reports submitted to the recent convention demonstrated, is now, at the close of one of the most severe struggles to which any American labor body ever has been subjected, stronger financially and numerically, than at any time in its history. The United Mine Workers are also in fine shape, and if these two organizations come together along with scattering bodies that may be eligible, and form an alliance, they will be a great industrial power.

As is well known, both the W. F. of M and the U. M. W. are strongly Socialistic. Class lines have been drawn upon them so often by the capitalists that they would be stupid indeed if they failed to grasp the principles involved and take steps along the path of true progress. During the past few years I have had opportunities of visiting a good many mining localities in the Middle West and have been agreeably surprised to find a rapidly increasing sentiment for Socialism, where eight or ten years ago the movement was unknown. In two or three years more the United Mine Workers will be more thoroughly permeated with Socialism than almost any other organization, not excepting the Western Federation. I know officers identified with old political parties who admit that this prediction is no dream.

In this connection it should be stated that the United Mine Workers' Journal, following the course of many other labor publications, has thrown open its columns to a free discussion of all economic and political questions. Editor Scaife announces that he will not be muzzled or attempt to suppress free speech of others. His predecessor, one Sexton, gloried in the fact that he possessed the power of injunction and used it unsparingly, with the result that under his "editorial" administration the Journal was about as progressive as the Congressional Record. Not only does Editor Scaife invite free and open discussion of all matters in which labor is interested, but he fearlessly attacks some sacred institutions and individuals when he deems it necessary. Thus in a recent column editorial the Journal

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roundly denounced Samuel Gompers in writing his series of a dozen articles and syndicating them for $12 to the labor press.. The Journal declares that union members who receive as little as a half day's work per week have, through payment of dues, defrayed all of Gompers' expenses on his European tour, and that it was an outrage to charge the labor press for the information that he was paid to collect, and which additional expense the miners' international executive board refused to stand for as a matter of principle. This is lese majesty in earnest.

At their Buffalo convention, just held, the journeymen tailors adopted the resolutions declaring for Socialism, with slight amendments, which were passed in the United Mine Workers' convention. One of the surprises of the convention was that Secretary John B. Lennon, who is also treasurer of the A. F. of L., supported the resolutions. The Tailors' organization is becoming strongly Socialistic. The peculiar thing about it is that an independent organization in San Francisco, which claims to stand for Socialism, has been bombarding Lennon as a reactionist and shouting "down with him," and Lennon, on his part, has invited them to join the international and help overthrow him. The 'Frisco tailors seem to be as etaoinn as Lennon is conservative.

It looks as though the new employers' liability law, about which Roosevelt, Taft and other politicians made so much fuss, is doomed to follow its predecessor. It was said that the old law was faultily constructed and that the new act would be sure to run the gauntlet of the courts. The corporation fat men pretended they were greatly pleased when th bill went through the upper, and in both houses of Congress they lustily shouted, "Aye!" upon roll call. Then they winked and grinned at each other and went home and told their constituents all about their friendship and love for the dear workingman—and, of course, were re-elected.

Now comes the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors and declares the national employers' liability law is unconstitutional. Two brakemen employed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway, sued that corporation for damages for injuries sustained while in its employ. The United States government was represented in the case to defend the constitutionality of the law, but the corporation won. Now the precedent will doubtless be quoted by other courts as sound reasoning and the law will be a dead letter.

There is no hope for an adjustment of the jurisdictional controversy between the glass bottle blowers and flint glass workers. The latter have withdrawn their local unions from all central bodies chartered by the A. F. of L. They had made an offer to combine with the bottle blowers, but met with refusal, and it is quite likely that the war between the two factions will go on, to the great satisfaction of the capitalists.

As we go to press, word comes of the successful outcome of the hatters' strike. The main contentions of the men were for the Union label and the closed shop. They win on both points. The label will be used in hats as before, the union will be recognized and all strike-breakers fired. It seems to have been a clean-cut victory after seven months of hard fighting.

The Physical Basis of

Mind and Morals

A new edition of this valuable book by **M. H. FITCH**, entirely rewritten and greatly enlarged, has just been published. It contains 414 large pages, including a full alphabetical index. The subjects treated in this work are:

I. A Short Outline of the Principle of Evolution.
II. Charles R. Darwin, the Exponent of Evolution.
III. An Interpretation of Herbert Spencer's Philosophy.
IV. The Rhythm of Motion.
V. Human Knowledge and Its Limitations.
VI. The Phenomenal Ego.
VII. The Materialistic Basis of All Things.
VIII. Natural Morality.
IX. Limitations and Impediments.
X. Summary.

Mr. Fitch wrote the first edition of this book without previous knowledge of our socialist literature, and as the result of a thorough study of the generally recognized writers on physical science, he arrived at practically the position held by Marxian socialists. In revising the book he has referred to the works of Engels, Dietzgen, Labriola and other socialist writers, and in its new form his own work will help many Socialists to a better understanding of the scientific foundations of socialism.

Cloth, $1.00 postpaid.

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153 East Kinzie Street, Chicago.

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NEWS & VIEWS

The Oklahoma Encampment

COMRADE DEBS, SOCIALIST ENCAMPMENT, SNYDER, OKLA.

SOCIALIST ENCAMPMENTS. Three meetings a day, five days a week for four weeks, makes a total of sixty red hot propaganda meetings a month, with an attendance of from 500 to 10,000 at each lecture. This is what they are doing at the Oklahoma Socialist Encampment.

Successful encampments have already been held at Waurika, Snyder, Elk City, Aline and Woodward and the country for miles around has been showered with literature. The big canvass tent with a seating capacity of 1,000, is always pitched in a shady, well-watered grove, and from every pole top a red flag floats toward freedom.

Scores of covered wagons file into camp during Monday and far into the night, so that by the time the speaking begins on Tuesday, we find ourselves in the midst of a big, happy and seriously-minded family, happy because they have given the capitalist system the slip for a few days and serious because they realize that they are becoming landless farmers.

Comrade Eugene V. Debs gives his usual sledge-hammer speeches at every encampment, and the folks come 100 miles to hear him. Comrade Oscar Ameringer's lectures on the "Land Question" and "The Race Problem" are particularly effective owing to his knowl-

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THE AMERINGER ORCHESTRA—OFF DUTY.

edge of the conditions which confront the Oklahoma farmer and to his continuous humor. Comrade Caroline Lowe appeals to the heart of her audience and drives home each point with unswerving earnestness. State Senator Winfield R. Gaylord's lectures are of especial value to Socialists. Music is furnished by the Ameringer Orchestra and is a big factor toward the success of the meetings. Comrade D. O. Watkins is ably engineering these encampments in the capacity of General Manager, and with the experience gained this year, he will no doubt be able to put up a whirl-wind campaign at next year's encampments.

A fine line of Socialist literature is on sale at all meetings and is in charge of Comrade R. E. Dooley, ably assisted by L. H. Harvey.

THE WESTERN CLARION. We are always glad to read our copy of the Western Clarion, as we invariably find something in that clear-cut paper that is worth preservation. For example, read the following and then paste it in your hat: "All reforms show the same old story, lock the door after the horse is gone. You are robbed right where you work and nowhere else. You and your one-fifth can juggle till the crack o' doom and you won't be ahead any. Get out after the four-fifths."

ONE COMRADE IN ALASKA sends thirteen dollars for thirteen yearly subscription to **The Review,** and says: "I was surprised to find how many names I got. The world is moving."

SIX YEAR OLD Paul Oakford, the youngest Socialist speaker in the United States, sent us a bundle order for copies of **The Review** this month and says he intends to keep it up.

TWO OF THE ALASKA comrades bet each other a share of stock in our publishing house. Naturally one of them lost his bet; but the same mail that brought us ten dollars from him, for a share of stock for the winner, brought also ten dollars from the man who won, for a share of stock for his friend who had lost. The Review desires to suggest that the other comrades follow the lead of our Alaska friends. We would like to see them all wagering shares of stock in our publishing house. We take great pleasure in recommending this form of betting.

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FINANCIAL AID IS NEEDED right now by the striking steel mill workers in McKees Rock, Pa. **The Review** is very glad to announce that it will receive contributions for this hungry army of workers who are battling with the steel trust for a living wage. Now is the time to lend a hand. We must stand together, aid each other and **STICK** to the **FINISH** if we ever hope to accomplish anything. We hope our readers will all chip in something and get it to us at the earliest possible date.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. We are glad to give credit to the Pittsburg Leader for the illustration we use this month on The Review cover. This paper told some important tales in connection with the McKees Rock strike.

NOT ROBBED IN CONSUMPTION. A striking illustration of the truth that the worker is robbed in the pay envelope and not in the prices he pays for the things he uses comes to hand in the fact that the Amalgamated Copper Company, in other words the Standard Oil, is threatening to put in a Miners' Supply Store in Butte, Mont., unless the local merchants come to terms and make cheaper prices to the miners. Is this because Amalgamated has the remotest interest in protecting the miners from extortion? Not in th slightest degree. They know that the worker's cost of living reflects itself in wages and they are either figuring on reducing the miners' wages or heading off a demand for an increase. The middle men may rob other members of the middle class but they can't rob the wage-earner. The employers do that themselves.

A. M. STIRTON.

FROM NEW ZEALAND. Comrade Greene sends a book order and writes us a letter in which he says: "There are hundreds of unemployed here and hundreds of workingmen leaving New Zealand. This country and every other country is doomed under Capitalization."

WASHINGTON, D. C. Last week Local District of Columbia held an open air meeting on the lawn of August Bebel, at 11 B street N. W. Here, under the very shadow of the dome of the Capitol, the political, industrial and social evils of the day were shown up and the constructive remedy of Socialism, pointed out. Comrade Pollock presided at the meeting. There were 150 people present. Music was rendered and refreshments served. Comrade Ferguson, pastor of the People's Church, gave a delightful talk on the personal side of August Bebel and other European Socialists whom he has met. Comrade Jackson and Comrade Cohen talked most entertainingly in their happiest vein, and Comrade Ellen Wetherell discussed the question of woman's suffrage and pointed out why Socialism means the full emancipation of woman.

HAWAIIAN TREE WALKERS. A friend from Honolulu writes his appreciation of the Stores of the Cave people by Mary E. Marcy, now running in **The Review,** and encloses a photograph which we re-produce here, showing how the natives walk up the tall trees in Hawaii.

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THE CALIFORNIA MOVEMENT. If California is to maintain its reputation for having developed the most thoroughly revolutionary organization of any state in the Union, taken as a whole, the next few months are destined to be very active ones for those who have the best interest of the Movement at heart. Already the reform step-at-a-time forces are at work. The deadly freedom-by-purchase "Reds" are taking advantage of the Southern California schism in order to get ultra-opportunist doctrines before the comrades of vote-catching mania. The chief egotist of the outlawed faction even went so far as to attempt the establishment of a Lecture Bureau of his own, in direct violation of the letter and spirit of the State Constitution. The Wisconsin forces were reprimanded by the S. E. C. for aiding and abetting the schemes of the down and out one. Apologies duly followed, but the Berger orators are still busy trying to break into the California field. Tainted as is the Wisconsin Movement with bourgeois reform tactics, a sort of water and oil combination of pure and simple politics with pure and simple craft unionism, it bodes ill for the California Movement to have its fields sowed with the tares of the applied Bergerism.

Already the withering blight of pure and simple A. F. of L. politics has been grafted on the San Diego branch of the Socialist Party. Pure and simple graft and pure and simple rottenness will inevitably follow. Here is certainly a fine chance for "something now" for the grafters and con-fusionists! But even in San Diego there is still left quite a nucleus of straight, uncompromising Reds, determined to cleanse the local movement of capitalist, craft union affiliations, and it will not be long before the "something now" (for the politicians) elements will be driven back into

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the ranks of "simple" if not "pure" union labor politics. The recent addition to the WORLD'S subscription list of forty or more new names from San Diego shows that quite a number of comrades there are in sympathy with our avowed endorsement of the principle of industrial unionism as a necessary complement of the political organization.

The long-drawn-out fight in San Francisco between the non-compromising revolutionary faction and the A. F. of L. "something now" (for the grafters) bunch has ended in victory for the former. The frantic attempt of the McCarthy parasites and Civic Federation gum-shoe men to inveigle the San Francisco Socialist organization into their net has failed ignominiously, leaving the Socialist Party much stronger through the opportunity presented for propaganda. The day of fusion of Socialists and craft unionists on a capitalistic-controlled Union Labor Ticket is forever passed in San Francisco and Oakland.

Taken all in all, the Socialist Movement in California seems to be steadily growing in power and clearer perception of its proper aims and tactics. The principle of industrial unionism is pretty generally recognized here as the only form of labor organization capable of fostering class consciousness, and of affording an adequate basis for the establishment of real working-class solidarity; but that such a powerful organization of wage earners as is necessary for successful battle with the owning class can be effected before the development of a strong, class-conscious political party of the workers, few believe possible.

Some idea of the growth and numerical strength of the Socialist vote in California may be derived from the figures below:

In 1900 the votes for Debs numbered but 7,572; in 1904 the same Socialist candidate polled 29,534 votes, only 21,642 of which were true Socialist votes. The 7,892 extra votes were cast for Debs by disgruntled Bryanites, as is evidenced by the fact that the Socialist Congressional vote was 21,642. This accounts for the apparent falling off of three per cent in the Socialist vote of California in the 1908 election, the 7,892 Democrats returning to their own party with Bryan heading the ticket. So, while Debs polled but 28,659 votes in 1908, as compared with 29,533 in 1904, the actual Socialist vote increased by 7,108, since the bona fide Socialist vote in 1904 was about 21,551. That Socialism does show a good, healthy increase for the four years past is proved by the fact that whereas the Socialist candidate for Congress in 1904 polled but 21,642 votes, in 1908 they received 25,037. This increase is shown, despite the fact that so many members of the working class were unable to qualify as voters at the November election, owing to their migration in search of Republican prosperity.

The increase in real class-conscious Socialism is accurately measured in the vote for associate justice of the Supreme Court. In 1902 the highest vote cast for associate justice of the Supreme Court on the Socialist ticket was 8,193. In 1906 the same candidate, Emil Liess, polled 17,515 votes for this important office. In the recent contest Austin Lewis received 25,266 votes for the unexpired term. A few more "defeats" like this, and we'll raise a tribune of the proletariat to the Supreme Bench.—Maynard Shipley (Editor The World.)

HOW TO GET SOCIALIST BOOKS AT COST.

Over two thousand socialists have subscribed ten dollars each for the purpose of circulating the standard literature of socialism. They made a start in 1899. They have made a success. They own the plates and copyrights of most of the socialist books that are worth reading. They have never drawn a dollar in dividends, but they have supplied, are supplying and will supply each other with literature at cost prices, as follows:

Pocket Library of Socialism (32-page booklets retailing at 5c); 5,000 copies by freight, $30.00; 1,000 by express, $7.00; in hundred lots by express, 80c per hundred; by mail $1.00 per hundred; smaller lots by mail, 2c each.

Ten cent books by mail, 6c each; by express, 5c each; 100 **of one title** by mail, $5.00; by express, $4.00.

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The International Socialist Review is published at $1.00 a year; single copies, 10c; 10 copies, 60c; 40 copies, $2.00; no discounts to stockholders from these prices.

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NEW PROPAGANDA BOOKS

FRED D. WARREN,
Managing Editor Appeal to Reason.

SUPPRESSED INFORMATION. One of the most popular propaganda books published by the Appeal to Reason, whose book business we bought last winter, was "Suppressed Information," by Fred D. Warren, whose bold and stirring speech before the Federal Court at Fort Scott was quoted on page 165 of the August Review. Hundreds of thousands of copies of this speech have been circulated in newspaper form, but there is an insistent demand for copies fit to preserve, and meanwhile the last edition of "Suppressed Information" has been exhausted. We are accordingly bringing out a new edition, in which enough of the old matter has been omitted to make room for the full text of Warren's speech without increasing the price, which will be as before, 10 cents a copy, 70 cents for ten copies; $5.00 for 100 copies. Our stockholders' discount will apply only to the retail price.

METHODS OF ACQUIRING POSSESSION OF OUR NATIONAL INDUSTRIES. This book, by N. A. Richardson, written in easy, popular style, has already proved most effective in making clear-headed revolutionists out of sentimental reformers. Our new edition is on cream-tinted book paper, pocket size, just right to slip into a letter. Price, 5 cents; 60 copies of this, or 60 booklets of the same size, all different titles, in a strong paper box, will be mailed to one address for $1.00.

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM. By Eugene V. Debs. New edition just ready, same attractive style, same low price. A little later we shall publish, uniform with this, Debs' three speeches, entitled, "Craft Unionism," "Class Unionism" and "Industrial Unionism." We already have his "You Railroad Men" in the same shape at the same price.

SOCIALISM AND PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY. By William Thurston Brown. So much idiocy has been talked and written regarding the relations of these two movements, that this booklet, clear, scientific, tolerant and sympathetic as it is, will prove a welcome addition to our propaganda. This also is in the new "Pocket Library" style, at 5 cents a copy or 60 for $1.00.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM. This standard pamphlet by N. A. Richardson is now once more offered at 5

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cents; $3.00 a hundred, including expressage. From the hundred price we can make no discount to any one. The book contains 64 pages, and ought to sell for 10 cents, but the author allows us to print it free of royalty on the express condition that the price be kept down. Richardson is one of the few writers who have thus far succeeded in combining a clear conception of Marx's principles with a simple readable style. His books will make revolutionists, not reformers.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR JULY.

Receipts.

Cash balance, July 1	$ 66.77
Book sales	1,468.86
Review subscriptions and sales	618.09
Review advertising	61.90
Sales of stock	245.20
Loans from stockholders	102.80
Loan from Henry Murray	500.00
Loan from G. D. Steere Co.	459.53
Total	$3,523.15

Expenditures.

Manufacture of books	$ 720.60
Books purchased	46.53
Printing July Review	593.56
Review articles, drawings, etc.	107.26
Wages of office clerks (5 weeks)	400.40
Charles H. Kerr, on salary	110.00
Mary E. Marcy, salary	75.00
Postage and expressage	385.60
Interest	12.00
Rent	70.00
Insurance	94.38
Miscellaneous expenses	77.47
Advertising	578.21
Authors' royalties	39.60
Loans repaid	162.03
Cash balance, July 31	50.51
Total	$3,523.15

July was a hard month for us. It is usually the worst time of the year for subscriptions and book sales, and this year was no exception The insurance bill for a whole year had to be paid out of July receipts, and other unusual expenses added to the difficulties to be met. We were thus obliged to give a short time note to be discounted at a bank, instead of taking the full discount on bills.

We are glad to say, however, that the situation has improved immensely since the first of August. We go to press too early to give complete figures for the month, but the July figures for both **The Review** and book sales are already exceeded, with another week of receipts to come. New loans from stockholders have also enabled us to discount all August bills, and if the receipts simply continue at the present rate, we shall soon be able to take up the bank loan of $1,000 that we have been carrying since the first of the year. Increased receipts will go to enlarge our work even more rapidly.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES. Orders for this great work by Gustavus Myers, must be sent in this month to get the special price of $3.50 for the three volumes. See full particulars in last month's **Review**, or write for circular.

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS. This new book, by N. A. Richardson, has been a little delayed in printing, but will be in the hands of those who have sent advance orders by the time this month's **Review** is out. It sells for $1.00 in cloth, 25 cents in paper, and we think it the best elementary text-book of Socialism thus far written by an American.

THE ANCIENT LOWLY. This book in two large volumes, by C. Osborne Ward, is a history of the ancient working people from the dawn of Christianity to the time when Christianity, till then the religion of the slaves, was made the state religion by the Emperor Constantine. We became the publishers of this book a little over two years ago, and we have in press a new edition, more attractive in appearance than any heretofore printed. Price $4.00, including prepayment of expressage. Or we will send the set of books free to any one sending us $4.00 for **The Review** one year to four new names or four years to one new name. See also advertisement on last page cover of this month's **Review**.

NEW STREET ADDRESS. Hereafter all letters addressed to **The Review** or Charles H. Kerr & Company should be addressed to 118 West Kinzie street. We have not moved, but the city has adopted a new system of street numbering.

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We want every reader of the **International Socialist Review** to have a good history and to read it. We offer you today an opportunity by which you may become the owner of a truly great and trustworthy historical work and help the Socialist cause at the same time.

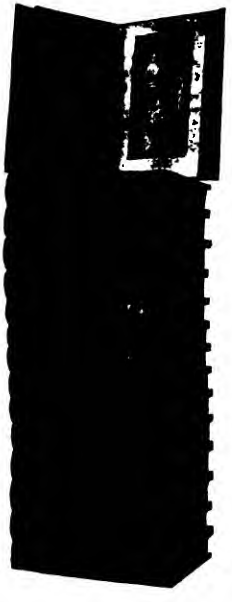
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Victor L. Berger says:

"Every Socialist should know something besides his Karl Marx. The mere knowledge of a few Socialist phrases is not sufficient to make a 'scientific' Socialist.

"In order to know WHY Socialism is coming, a Socialist should have some idea of the theory of evolution, and some knowledge of history. In order to know WHY it is coming, he must know something of economic development.

"We, as Socialists, are vitally interested in the development of civilization. History for us is not a collection of 'shallow village tales,' the story of the coronations, weddings and burials of kings. For us the true lesson of history is the story of the progress of mankind by gradual steps, from brutal savagery to enlightenment, culture and humanity.

"The manner in which one system has grown out of another, feudalism out of slavery, and capitalism out of feudalism, is most suggestive of the manner by which the Socialist Republic will gradually develop out of the present system."

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THE INTERNATIONAL
Socialist

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Victory at McKees Rocks.

By Louis Duchez.

THE BREAD LINE THAT BEAT THE STEEL TRUST

this article the writer is not going to give much space to a recitation of the crimes of the capitalist class at McKees Rocks and the other strike points in Pennsylvania. It is unnecessary. The capitalist press has done that more effectively—regardless of the motives that may have prompted them—than he is able to do. The class struggle is a historic fact and the diametrically opposed interests have long ago been proven. Such practices as were exposed during the last few weeks are only the logical result of the

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capitalist system of society at this stage of working class activity.

Readers of the Review want something more than a mere account of the cruelties of the Pressed Steel Car Company. They want to know something about the spirit and growth of solidarity and industrial organization among the striking wage slaves in Pennsylvania.

For the strike at McKees Rocks has been won. In spite of the tremendous odds against the men they have conquered in this battle against the Steel Trust. Not long ago we read in the papers that not one striker would be taken back at the mills. But they have been taken back. The pooling system has been abolished. They have gained a 5 per cent. increase in wages with an additional 10 per cent. within 60 days. Half-holiday Saturdays and no Sunday work. Grafting bosses have been "fired" along with all scabs. The shop rules have been revolutionized and the changed conditions afford employment for 1,000 more men. Most important of all, the workers have already built up during the struggle a revolutionary union of over 4,000 members, who thoroughly understand there will be no written agreement with the company and that a recognition of the union is not to be desired. Nor is this necessary. Craft lines have been obliterated and craft union organizers have been "passed up" with suspicion.

It is true that public sentiment was with the men, but it is also true that they have beaten the company in tactics at every point. And in writing up the account of the struggle, it is to this phase of the situation that the writer wishes to confine himself.

The strike began with, apparently, no organization among the men. Chaos seemed to prevail. Sixteen different nationalities were represented. Among them were: Americans, Germans, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Slavonians, Croatians, Polanders, Turks, Lithuanians, Russians, Greeks, Italians, Armenians, Roumanians, Bulgarians and Swiss. And the militant industrial unionists, who had training in the struggles in Europe—notably in Germany, Hungary and in the Russian revolution—played a very important part. Socialist leaders followed and established, with the aid of the industrial unionists, a remarkable discipline. Political propaganda, however, was useless among these men, because the fight was an industrial fight, and four-fifths of the strikers were not enfranchised anyway. Their shop minds could not get away from the mill—they wanted shop action.

A committee was elected known as the Big Six, only two of whom were revolutionists. The others were "pure and simplers." These men ran the commissary store house, warned the men against violence and helped conduct the big meetings on Indian Mound. But so far as a knowledge of revolutionary tactics in a struggle of that

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DEPUTY SHERIFF EXLEY BUSY BREAKING UP STRIKERS' HOMES. HE IS SHOWN PLACING A BABY BUGGY ON TOP OF LOAD. HE WAS KILLED BY STRIKERS THE DAY FOLLOWING

kind was concerned, they knew nothing, although their intentions were of the best.

At the beginning of the strike, because of the many different nationalities, with nobody to bring them into a mutual understanding, there was much confusion. But a few men, who had been industrial unionists in Europe, got together, elected a committee among their own number and quietly, and without credit, planned the system and tactics of battle, put into operation methods of warfare, new in the history of labor wars in the United States.

Too much credit cannot be given these men, who went about forming an I. W. W. organization among the strikers. And the strikers found they had those among their own ranks who thoroughly understood the class struggle and up-to-date tactics in industrial unionism. But they were unable to make themselves understood.

This phase of the difficulty was overcome by securing interpreters and speakers and throwing the power and experience of the I. W. W. into the struggle. It is well to note in this connection, also, that four members of the Big Six committee represented only 1,000 of the strikers, while the two revolutionists on the committee represented nearly 5,000 men.

When it was learned that the controlling element of the Big Six was, consciously or unconsciously, reactionary and seemed to be

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at sea in dealing with the situation, an Unknown Committee acted in all cases of emergency. It was this committee that established the picket system, the signal system and the watch system which was so effective in keeping scabs out a few weeks ago. Among the foreigners this committee was known as the "Kerntruppen," a term much in vogue in the military system of Germany. It means a choice group of fearless and trained men who may be trusted on any occasion.

This committee issued orders to the Cossacks in black and white, it is reported, after the killing of Horvath, one of their number, on August 12th, stating that for every striker killed or injured, a trooper would go. And they meant what they said, as is proved by the death of Deputy Sheriff Harry Exley and two troopers who went down in a riot on August 22nd with several strike breakers and some of the strikers, also.

It is also reported that the strikers could have killed every trooper if they had so desired, but they only resisted the violence meted out to them. The papers say the strikers and troopers are now on good terms and it is probable that no more rioting will occur. This Unknown Committee and the troopers know why. There has been an "understanding" between them that is more "sacred" than a contract between capital and labor by a long way.

On August 29th, a report was circulated that the bodies of three imported strike breakers, who died as a result of rotten food and

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brutal treatment, were cremated in one of the furnaces. Nobody doubts that they were cremated. Perhaps several poor workmen were gotten rid of in the same manner. When it is known that the dry bones of three foreigners were found under scrap heaps where they had lain for months in this same plant, it is easy to believe almost anything that may be told of that hell which is well-named "The Slaughter House."

While still unproved, it is believed that the three bodies, cremated August 29th, were those of men who had been thrown alive into a hot furnace.

The Unknown Committee know how sixty strikers volunteered to hire out as strike breakers and go into the plant in order to get the scabs out. This was done. These sixty men were in the plant

THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PROSECUTE THE PRESSED STEEL CAR COMPANY FOR PEONAGE

on the night the three foreigners were cremated. This much is known. But in the scrimmage, quick action was necessary and several went in who did not leave their names and were unknown outside their own friends.

At this writing the government is carrying on an investigation

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of this case, but there is no doubt in the minds of those who have been in close touch with events from the beginning, that the three cremated foreigners were three of the sixty volunteers.

Lack of space forbids a full description of the class war carried on in this little corner of the country. The tactics employed by the strikers at McKees Rocks, it is true, would soil the lady-like sensibilities of John Mitchell and Sammy Gompers, who love to sing the song of "identity of interest." But the men acted on a full recognition of the cold hard facts and right in line with the words of A. M. Stirton, when he said:

"Whatever line of conduct advances the interests of the working class is right, and whatever line of conduct does not advance the interests of the working class is wrong."

But the tactics employed by the men at McKees Rocks were not of their own choosing. Those of the master class have been more bold and cruel than the workers have yet, collectively, been fearless enough to employ. The workers did what their knowledge of strike warfare and class warfare compelled them to do.

It was not the workers who started the riot on the night of August 22nd, when a large number of people were killed and wounded. The Pressed Steel Car Company started that riot. The methods employed by the comany were so brutal and barbaric that even the capitalist papers of Pittsburg exposed them. It is commonly known that Deputy Sheriff Harry Exler, the Cossacks, and a bunch of wharf-rats and hoodlums from Pittsburg and New York, started the trouble. They wanted to make an opportunity to mow down the wage slaves of "Hunkeytown." Every method conceivable was employed to open up this opportunity. It is unnecessary to repeat them. But the workers refused to stand by and permit themselves to be starved, clubbed and shot to death!

The capitalist press stated that President Hoffstot wanted to see a charge of dynamite placed under the Pressed Steel Car Works, his object being to throw the blame upon the strikers and get rid of the old, wornout plant and erect a newer and improved one.

A few days ago, Frank Morrison, of the A. F. of L. made the statement (and his is the organization that refused to have anything to do with the strikers) that the McKees Rocks strikers were an ignorant lot of foreigners. This is wholly false. Since the I. W. W. organized them, we learn that a large number of the men have been revolutionists in Europe. Many of the Hungarians took part in the great railway strike of Hungary. Three men were in the "Bloody Sunday" carnage in St. Petersburg. Participants in the Switzerland railroad strikes were there and several Italians who took part in the

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great resistance strike of Italy. Also there were many Germans with cards from the "Metallarbeiter Verband" (Metal Workers' Industrial Union) of Germany, Austria, Denmark and Sweden. Besides there were many members of the socialist parties of Europe, and others who are members of the socialist party of America.

During the fight these men were to be found in "the hollow" in some private house laying the plans of battle. We do not belittle the daily mass meetings on Indian Mound. They were very effective in keeping the workers together and informed in regard to the situation, even though they were sometimes addressed by men and women who had practically no knowledge of the labor movement and the real requirements of the McKees Rocks situation.

But the strikers wanted something besides advice to refrain from violence and to abide their time. They wanted to know ways best fitted to meet the shrewd and heartless schemes of the company, and these things could not be shouted from the hill-tops. But the Unknown Committee in the valley laid the plans. So we can see that these strikers are not the mob of men the A. F. of L. would have us believe.

At the beginning of the strike, it is true, they had no organization. But this was because they had had no plan of organization and nobody to do that work, a great work with the men divided by sixteen different tongues.

But the I. W. W. brought these men together. Militant men who were able to speak the different languages carried the message and the men were eager to accept it.

On August 15th, the I. W. W. advertised a mass meeting to be held on Indian Mound. Large posters printed in five different languages were displayed. Eight thousand men attended the meeting —nearly all strikers, and many railroad men and trade unionists and laborers from Pittsburg.

William E. Trautman first addressed the meeting in English and German, after which the men were parcelled off in lots. Nine different nationalities were spoken to—besides these two—and to each man his own tongue.

To Ignatz Klavier, a Polander and member of the Socialist Party who speaks five languages fluently, much credit is due for enlightening the McKees Rocks strikers on the principles of industrial unionism. It was Klavier who, during the second week of the strike, brought out clearly the distinction between the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. He was ably assisted by Henyey, a Hungarian, and Max Forker, a German.

A wonderful spirit of solidarity was shown by the trainmen of

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the Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne and Chicago and on the Pittsburg and Lake Erie roads—the only railroads running into McKees Rocks, when the trainmen refused to haul scabs to the plant. This is the first time in the history of labor troubles in the United States that this has been done. This was another example of the tactics of industrial unionism directly due to I. W. W. propaganda and education. Not only did the railroad men lend their aid to the strikers but the crews on the two company steamers, "The Queen" and "The Pheil," refused to haul the scabs. This also is due to the work of the Unknown Committee and the great wonderful spirit of solidarity that is spontaneously stirring the wage slaves of the world. Even the school children of "Hunkeytown" refused to attend school until the strike was settled.

In this connection, it is interesting to learn that ten of the sixty strikers who hired as strike breakers, went into the plant and later escorted the 250 scabs out, on August 27, presented cards showing they were members of socialist parties. It also developed that all ten had military training.

In Butler.

The situation in Butler is much the same as it was last month. A Polish priest there urged the men to go back to work, and they did. This is not, however, the cause of the abrupt ending of the strike. This was due to the misunderstandings among the men of different nationalities and because there was nobody on the ground who understood industrial unionism, and who could bring them to a mutual understanding. Now the men are back at work, while the sixty most active rebels have been victimized. But they are rapidly being organized and will doubtless come out again within a few months.

The conditions at Butler are as intolerable as they were at McKees Rocks. One big difference is that in Butler there are no large capitalist political papers with axes to grind. It has developed since the men returned to work, that when the Cossacks charged the town, three of the strikers were stripped, tied to posts and beaten into insensibility. Affidavits are being secured to prove this. The lives of the workers in the shops and in their shanties are just as miserable too as were those of the slaves of "The Slaughter House."

At New Castle.

In New Castle the situation is almost unchanged. Practically no old men have gone back to work. On August 23rd, when the strikers marched down to their pickets' tents near the mill to have this photograph taken, they were charged by the Cossacks and clubbed

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right and left. Several of the men were badly hurt although the 300 strikers were as peaceful as a funeral procession. Not one man in the crowd carried a gun. But the trouble at McKees Rocks demanded troopers, so the Cossacks have left New Castle.

The exposure of the county sheriff on the part of the Free Press (the official paper of the Lawrence County socialists) did more than anything else to chase the Cossacks out of town. But the strike is not over yet in NewCastle. The men are becoming restless and dissatisfied with the actions of the Amalgamated leaders. They say there is not enough life in the fight there, and they want the independent union mills called out.

Railroad men in and around New Castle are kicking against hauling scabs into the city, but the officials of their organizations refuse to allow them to do anything. However, at a meeting of the local Amalgamated Association September 4th, a request was sent to President McArdle of the Amalgamated men to use his power to urge the head of the railroad men to listen to the appeal of the local railroad men in New Castle.

At South Sharon, Struthers and Martins Ferry the strikers

NEW CASTLE STRIKERS CLUBBED BY COSSACKS

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in the tin industry are still holding out and the spirit of solidarity is growing stronger. Only the shell of the old organization stands in the way. The Wheeling Majority, a trades assembly paper, has come out for Industrial Unionism with a ringing editorial "For One Union." Its news columns are full of good stuff.

In South Sharon a joint delegation from the Amalgamated and Protective Association has declared for industrial unionism. A manifesto has been issued from that place calling for a district convention for the purpose of going over into the I. W. W.

The most remarkable thing about these Pennsylvania strikes is

RELIEF STATION AT NEW CASTLE

the spirit of solidarity among the men. The workers are not concerned about the name of the organization. They are after the real thing and they know the A. F. of L. hasn't got it to give. The writer predicts that within a few months, several big mills and mines in this part of the country will be out on strike and in open revolt against the master class. The winning of the McKees Rocks strike will be the spark. If our socialist press only had the insight and courage of conviction to point out where the revolutionary and constructive movement of the workers is when this uprising takes place!

In several places among the steel men and the coal miners of Western Pennsylvania locals of the I. W. W. have been organized

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and the membership is rapidly increasing. In New Castle an I. W. W. relief station has been established and is conducted by girls who worked in the tin mills, under the supervision of Charles McKeever, who is district organizer of the I. W. W. and secretary of the Local Lawrence County Socialist Party. Several concrete lessons are to be learned from the McKees Rocks strike: First, there is the fact that it is not necessary to organize a large percentage of the workers into a revolutionary industrial union in order to handle the Social Revolution. The writer believes that 10 per cent. of the workers organized in that form of an organization will be able to handle the situation. For instance, if the mining industry, especially the coal miners, and part of the transportation were industrially organized along revolutionary lines imagine what could be done! Why the supply of raw materials could be cut off and industry paralyzed at once.

During these Pennsylvania strikes we have had a sample of the possibilities along this line. In McKees Rocks with no organization and a confusion of tongues we see a big organization spring up and a strike won against the largest corporation in the United States. Not only that, but we find railroad men and steamship crews refusing to carry scabs. The rank and file of the working class is revolutionary enough to bring about a social revolution next week. What is necessary is the machine through which this revolutionary energy can manifest itself in unison. The leaders of the old time unions are as yet in most instances in the saddle, but they are being pushed aside and ignored by the revolutionary spirit and activity of the workers who will not be hoodwinked much longer.

In the second place we learn that it is not necessary to upset a man's religious belief first before making a revolutionist out of him. In McKees Rocks and Butler we see this finely demonstrated. When the strike began foreign priests interfered. They knew very little about the labor movement, though they did know the revolutionary difference between the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. In Butler, however, when the men were being organized a priest threw up his hands. He interfered with one of the largest meetings that was held there, and told his parishioners that the I. W. W. was a socialist organization and that they should join the A. F. of L. At any rate, a large percentage of his membership has left the church and, it is said, they are leaving him and his religion in such numbers that he will have to disband and hunt another parish or go into the car shops and work beside the men he tried to betray. In McKees Rocks, also, the faith in priests is waning rapidly. The poor workers say it's bread, not heaven, that they need just now.

Lastly, the most important thing demonstrated in these strikes

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is the fact that the political power of the working class is wrapped up in the economic organization, also that the revolutionary movement of the workers is on the industrial field. In McKees Rocks we have seen how a group of striking foreigners, because they stood firm, compelled the government to investigate conditions there. Why doesn't the government look into the conditions prevailing at other places, such as Butler, where they are just as bad as they are at McKees Rocks! It was because there was no economic organization carrying on the fight at that place. Without economic organization the workers are helpless and their groans are unheeded by the master class, but once they assert their solidarity in the shops the entire governmental machinery may be brought under their control. It is in the shop and in the mill and in the mine that the power of the workers lies and it is there it must be organized. Instinctively the worker, who has been brought under the modern machine process, realizes that. He lives and moves and has his being in the shop, not in the legislative halls. He wants direct action and there is the only place he can get it. Moreover, it is there where the foundation of the new society must be laid. The revolutionary and constructive movement of the workers is in the industrial union. All other movements, including the political, have been but theoretical or laboratory tests, all right as a passing stage, but something that must give way to the real, constructive movement.

The workers of the world, I believe, may well turn their eyes to America as the opening scene of the last struggle with the master class. All signs indicate that the great worldwide movement of the world's toilers will find its origin on American soil. The industrial process is more highly developed here than in any other country. Because of the fact that our capitalist class has accumulated its wealth so rapidly that it still retains its middle class attitude of mind, it is more despotic, more brutal and more intolerant, and with all, more ignorant than the master class of Europe. Then the progressive and revolutionary blood of Europe has been driven to this country and we are not hampered with the clannish traditions of the lands across the Atlantic. Besides, the working class, once aroused, in this country will want direct action. Not only that but a large percentage of the workers here have no vote, any way. The principal reason why the workers of this country will not look to the political state for the redress of their wrongs is that the state is not their direct enemy as is the case in Europe, where the industrial life of those countries is more or less directly controlled by the political state of the masters there. Great things, indeed, may be expected from the working class of this country in the near future.

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The Work of Watt the Material of Marx.

By James W. Hughes



N the seaport town of Greenock, Scotland, beneath those picturesque hills and highlands, on January 19th, 1736, a boy babe of genius was born, and nature could have given him no richer legacy than that remarkable ingenuity which asserted itself a few years later, by revolutionizing the motive powers of the world. James Watt, the great inventor, was a son of poor but talented parents, whose ancestors had held sway for over a hundred years as the leading mathematicians and mariners of the British Isles.

From his earliest childhood he displayed remarkable ingenuity and talent. When only ten years of age he is accredited with having knocked Old Lord Bacon's theory of "spirits" higher than a "cocked hat," by making a simple experiment that proved to his own little satisfaction that steam could be condensed into water.

It was not until about this time, or perhaps a little before, that the world had begun to really understand the nature and condensation of steam. It was only a short time before this, since Lord Francis Bacon (often styled, through the ignorance of people, as the "father of philosophy") tried, by his wonderful "philosophy," to account for all phenomenon, by the action of various kinds of "spirits," ghosts, etc. He seemed to think, with the ignorance of his age, that when various kinds of liquids were heated, the ebullition which ensued was caused by the escaping of "spirits" or "ghosts." And he is really kind enough to inform us, also, that "snow is colder than water because it hath more spirits in it, and quicksilver is the coldest of all metals because it is the fullest of spirits."

In those blindest days every phenomenon in nature was accounted for by the caprice of "ghosts" and "gods," "devils" and "spirits." "The very air was full of them," says R. G. Ingersoll.

All liquids were supposed to contain innumerable numbers of spirits with natural antipathies for heat, and when any liquid was heated up, in an enclosed vessel, the spirits in their frantic endeavor to get out, would lift up the heavy lids of kettles, sizzle through the

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spouts, and when too closely confined they would burst the whole thing asunder and fly out in the way of an explosion.

It is one of the strangest contradictions in the evolution of man, that although the expansive forces of steam were made use of, in a crude way, for pumping water, over 130 years B. C., yet some of our ignorant forefathers, less than three centuries ago, considered that any attempt to utilize the expansive force of steam was simply a means of making the spirits of the dead work for the living.

And that they wouldn't stand for at all. They had a great respect for the dead. In fact, they thought so much more of the dead than they did of the living that if any one attempted to do anything for the living they were promptly put into the land of the dead.

They thought a dead man was better any time than a live one trying to do something for himself and humanity. But let us not laugh too soon at the ignorance and prejudice of these people. "Let us not pride ourselves too much on the advancement of the age," for the most of us are in the same intelligent business to-day. Let a soap-box speaker get out on the street and advocate a real solution for the embetterment of humanity and he will be despised by society as a whole, and if he is not arrested and thrown into jail, it is because he has succeeded in bluffing the entire police force of the city in which he is speaking. Let us not be too quick to laugh at those spirit theories of the seventeenth century, either,—for some of us are in that intelligent business also—about a million, I would say. I mean our friends the "Christian Scientists," who not only cling to the spiritualism of yore, but contend, furthermore, that "all matter itself is merely a dream."

But now let us return to the birth of the steam engine, and some of its early applications and developments. We find that prior to Watt's day but little progress had been made in the way of utilizing the expansive force of steam. About the only application that was ever made of steam power up to this time was to drive, in a crude way, some reciprocating mechanism like that of a pump, with a "plain to and fro" motion. It remained for Watt, among other things, to construct the first successful engine that would convert reciprocating motion into rotary motion (that is to say, the "to and fro" motion of the piston into the rotary or revolving motion of the shaft). This he accomplished at first by what is known as the "sun and planet" motion, which we need not go into the details of here: while, furthermore, later on, this motion gave way entirely to the ordinary crank motion we commonly see in use on the modern steam engines of to-day.

In the year of 1769 Watt took out his first patent on the steam

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engine, and in so doing he at once lifted the steam engine from the impractical toy pump of Newcomen to a practical, world-revolutionizing motive power.

Watt's other inventions made during his lifetime are too numerous and varied to attempt to go into during this discussion, but we cannot pass over some of his most important ones, in connection with the steam engine, without making some mention. Watt not only made the first successful steam engine for driving machinery,

WATT, DISCOVERING THE CONDENSATION OF STEAM

but also invented all the necessary accessories that are still in use on the modern steam engines of to-day, with but slight modifications.

He invented and patented the steam gauge, the slide valve, the separate steam condenser, the steam indicator with its straight line motion, the throttle valve and the automatic centrifugal governor. He also took out a patent for the application of a steam engine to a carriage for the purpose of propelling the carriage, by rotating the wheels on a hard plane, thus antedating Stephenson's invention of the locomotive by many years. During his life he strenuously advocated the

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principle of propelling a boat or ship by means of a spiral screw, driven by a steam engine, almost exactly as the modern screw propeller is operated to-day.

Like most inventors, Watt, for the greater part of his life, was short of funds, and so found it impossible to put some of his finest inventions into practice. A short while before his death, however, he had begun to accumulate a considerable fortune, but by this time he was growing old, his health became more or less impaired, and without the vigor and strength of his former days it was impossible for him to push forward some of his greatest ideas and inventions.

He never looked with much favor upon his invention of the steam carriage or locomotive because he seemed to think it was too dangerous a proposition for mankind to handle, and when he died in 1819 at the age of 83, he had stipulated in his will that no "steam carriage" should ever be built or developed in his factory and, furthermore, he requested that none should be allowed to even approach the doors.

James Watt, in my estimation, was, in many respects, the most remarkable man of his age, a man that can well be admired for his talents without the slightest danger of "hero-worship."

Some people will contend, in a narrow-minded way, that circumstances make great men. This I deny. For, as F. H. Wentworth has aptly said, "Circumstances do not make (great) men, they exhibit them." If the theory that "circumstances make great men" be true, then it will hold good in the **physical** sense as well as in the **mental.** And if circumstances necessitate that a great rock shall be removed by physical strength, it would follow that some weakling might become able all of a sudden to remove the rock. If, on the other hand, a man of unusual strength should be found who could pick up the rock and cast it aside, would the circumstances "make" the strength for the man? or would the circumstances merely exhibit his strength? That the conditions and circumstances of a child's birth and life determine wholly its strength, both physical and mental, none can deny, yet circumstance in the abstract is merely an inactive species of condition, and has no bearing on the development of the man. In other words, circumstances are merely peculiar kinds of conditions that stand around and exhibit great persons, things or events, as shown from the very etymology of the world itself, which comes from the Latin "Circumstantia"="standing around."

Just as there are giants and pigmies in the physical sense, so there are giants and pigmies in the world of brains, and James Watt was truly an intellectual giant of his time.

While Watt's ingenuity was always equal to the occasion and while his fertile brain seemed to be able to solve any problem it

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came in contact with, his greatest mission in life was to give us the steam engine, and this he did and did well. Though he was fettered by poverty from his very childhood, was handicapped by the ignorance of his time, and had to fight against the most bitter prejudice of his age, yet he overcame every obstacle and succeeded in spite of conditions rather than by the aid of them.

He was one man in a thousand who could have succeeded under such conditions, while 999 men who might have succeeded as well under proper circumstances, would have proven utter failures under conditions like those he had to contend with. At this point I cannot refrain from calling attention to the absurdity of the bourgeois philosophy which says, "See, see how the great intellectual giant has overcome all obstacles,—why don't you, you little intellectual runt, go do the same?" In other words: "See, see the five hundred pound giant lift himself out of the debris of injustice. Why don't you, you little ninety-pounder, do the same?"

They seem to forget that conditions are not tested by how the able survive, but how the weakest of us manage to live.

Occasionally, therefore, we may expect some to succeed, in spite of the worst conditions that can exist.

And thus it was that Watt and his engine made their appearance upon the arena, and started a new era in the civilization of man. Up to this time the development of all machines was considerably held back through the lack of sufficient motive power to drive them. Most of the inventions were confined to those things that could be driven by "foot-power" or the power of beasts. True it was, they had the water wheel, the wind mill and the like, but these were subjected to special locations and special conditions. But now the steam engine offered a new form of power that could be used to run almost anything, at any time, and in any place. It offered the greatest inducement for inventions that the world had ever seen. Talent and ingenuity seemed to respond spontaneously, from every direction.

The methods of production were revolutionized in almost every branch of industry, and the world has been deluged with all kinds of inventions, good, bad and indifferent, from that day to this.

The development of machinery has gone forward and is still going forward in leaps and bounds. Having crossed the Atlantic Ocean the progress of the machine has been greatly accelerated by what is known as "Yankee ingenuity," which has played no small part in the inventions of the world. There are many great inventors, workers and originators in this country as well as in the old, that deserve no small amount of credit and consideration, but we could not even do justice to one of them without slighting all the rest.

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Each in his way has been continuously contributing to the great sea of social knowledge and wealth that we now have at our command (even if we don't take command of it). There is one, however, that I cannot refrain from mentioning, namely, Thomas A. Edison, the "Wizard of Electricity." He is in the electrical world what James Watt was in steam engineering, or Karl Marx was in political economy. These three great men were all pioneers in their particular lines. Each found his particular science in a state of chaos, gathered together the bits and fragments of social knowledge, selected the good from the bad, the true from the false, and welded them together into a consistent whole, and presented his results to the world.

In almost every line of science we find one of those great pioneers, who has taken the science and placed it squarely on its feet. In chemistry it fell to the lot of Lavoisier; in biology it was accomplished by Darwin; in sociology Ward has taken a most prominent place, while for grabbing and monopolizing the benefits derived from the social knowledge of the entire world, we must take off our hats to John D. Rockefeller.

We have now reviewed briefly the great march of machinery during the last two centuries; we have seen how the methods of production have been changed in almost every line; how the subtle powers of nature have been subjected to man's own behoof, and how the development of machinery has revolutionized the world. The steam engine was the great cannon that demolished the last vestige of the old "feudal system" and brought "capitalism" flourishing into the world. And capitalism we have had ever since. While some think we have had plenty of it, **others** think that we need more of it, but I think we have had about enough of it and we ought to abolish the whole blamed business.

In the old days of "feudalism" a "serf" was born legally attached to the soil, and a lord was born, his master. There was no attempt made to hide the fact they were simply born slave and master. Part of the time the serf worked for himself and part of the time for the landlord, but in no case was he denied the right to work for himself when his landlord had a sufficiency. And **never** was a serf turned out to starve to death on account of making more food than was needed. But where is there a working man of to-day who can claim one-half as much protection? How many of us, depending upon wages and salaries, can feel **safe** in the case of over-production?

With all the advancements of our age we are not as safe as the serf of the sixteenth century.

The development of machinery for the last hundred years has been beyond all comprehension; its gigantic footsteps of progress

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have shaken the earth; its every act has been to relieve some of the burdens of mankind, yet after all it seems as if it had wrought more evil than good.

While we have developed the machine to work with almost human intelligence, while the secret and subtle powers of nature have been enslaved to do the toilsome work of man, while one man to-day can produce more than ten thousand could of yore, yet, after all, there is more **misery, want, hunger, degradation, starvation and shame** in the world to-day than there ever was before!

Millions of men suffer from hunger, millions of souls are longing for a home, five millions of men to-day are out of employment, wandering and begging and seeking for work.

There is not a thoughtful man in all the world to-day who does not ask himself the question: Why do such conditions as this exist, in spite of all that we have to prevent them? The answer to this question can only be made by a truthful investigation of facts.

Such facts as these can only be truly gathered together through a materialistic conception of history, point out the economic basis, upon which all forms of society have rested from the earliest days of captive and chattel slavery down to the present form of "Capitalism" or wage slavery. While it was a natural course of evolution for "Capitalism" to follow feudalism, yet, strange as it may seem, it was a case of a worse form of slavery following an easier form.

That "Capitalism" is the most brutal form of slavery that the world has ever known was not clearly to be seen in its earlier stages of existence, for, like every other form of squalid sore, it was not apparent on the surface at the time of inception: its real hideousness could only be made conspicuous by its own development.

The development of "Capitalism" depended largely upon the development of motive power, upon the utilization of the blind and non-sentient forces of nature, the private control of which gives man power over men; gives one human being the right to subjugate, enslave and plunder many others. In the words of Watt, "We are continually seeking the weak sides of nature, where we can tap it for its energies," and many are the places where it is tapped, but every blessed "tap" is privately owned and controlled by those individuals who were never known to do any "tapping" or to exert themselves in the least in the operation of the "taps."

The utilization of the various forms of energy "tapped" from nature are too multifarious and many to attempt to enumerate here, yet it is safe to say that steam still holds the throne as king of the situation.

When Watt invented the steam engine he unconsciously acceler-

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ated the development of "Capitalism" to its most heinous and gruesome stage, thereby making it possible for Marx to analyze it in all its hideousness and rottenness in his great work called "Capital."

And thus we can clearly see, as we briefly pursue the course of the economic development of power and production, how it was the wonderful work of Watt that gave such magnificent material to Marx for his colossal construction of "Capital."

Up to the time of Marx the analyses of the "Capitalistic System" by all the greatest brains of the time were crude and sporadic, like the anarchy of production, on which the system itself rested. It remained for Marx to make the first scientific analysis of the present system, and the result of his work speaks for itself.

He stuck to the truth, and the truth only, without regard for personal feelings. He stripped aside every hypocrisy to show up scientific facts, he spurned every phase of diplomacy, for to him it was a child of mendacity, that was hatched from the egg of deception, and misleads in almost every case.

He went with the penetrating brain of a philosopher, to the very roots of the present system, and showed how all profits were derived through "surplus value" extracted from the unpaid labor of the wage slave.

He pointed out with derision and ridicule the fallacy of the theory that "primitive accumulation" was the result of "personal abstinence." He showed how the present system and the "sacred right of private property" "came into the world dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." He showed how the present system was destined to perish from its own rottenness and give way to a higher form of society known as an "Industrial Republic."

And, last, but not least, he called to the workingmen of all countries to unite, which was the first real "shot heard round the world."

Marx was one of the most remarkable philosophers of his day, as well as one of the ablest scholars of Europe, to which must be added his rare faculty for close observation, which was scarcely excelled by any philosopher of any age. He had eyes to see, and he saw; he had ears to hear, and he heard; but most of all, he had brain that could put together what he saw and heard and endowed with force enough to present it to the world. Some men seem to contend that Marx was lacking in literary ability, that his philosophy outstripped the quality of his language, that sentiment and style was wanting, as well as many other things. To which I can only say that anyone who can read the more beautiful passages of Marx, without feeling a thrill of inspiration, his or her soul must be dead, indeed.

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Personally, I think the following passage from Marx is one of the finest examples of the most forcible philosophy, expressed in as lovely a language as was ever penned by man:

"Within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labor are brought about at the cost of the individual laborer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of, the producers; they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into a hated toil; they estrange from him the intellectual potentialities of the labor-process in the same proportion as science is incorporated in it as in independent power; they distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labor-process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his life-time into working-time, and drag his wife and child beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of capital. But all methods for the production of surplus value are, at the same time, methods of accumulation; and every extension of accumulation becomes again a means for the development of those methods. It follows, therefore, that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse. The law, finally, that always equilibrates the relative surplus-population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the laborer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with the accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i. e., on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital."

Aside from Engels, whom Liebknecht styled "Marx's other self," Marx stood without a peer or an equal in the field of political economy, and this assertion is best verified by the fact that the whole world has "been at sea" regarding the true nature of "Capitalism" since as well as before Marx's time, while Marx, over fifty years ago, so thoroughly analyzed the present system of "Capitalism" that his analysis has needed no revision up to this day, notwithstanding all the new developments that have taken place since the time of his writing.

Outside of Marx few men, indeed, have been able to solve many of the riddles presented by the enigmas of "Capitalism" in its full development, for ever since steam revolutionized the process of production, "Capitalism" has been turned topsy-turvy and thrown into a conglomeration of confusions and contradictions.

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To solve the above riddles, Marx gave his life and labor to the cause of the proletariat, with a fidelity unfailing, and a loyalty sublime.

Over a debris of ignorance and superstition, over the horizon of prejudice and persecution, he arose like a sun whose intellectual rays penetrated every stratum of society, while they enlightened the path of the proletariat on to his final emancipation.

An artist on the Review memorized the original photo, which is in possession of a large capitalist newspaper and not for sale. It was taken at McKees Rocks and shows strikers' children eating out of the garbage cans of the rich.

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WAS freighting it eastward on "The Dope," known to respectable people who pay their fares as the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

One night, after a seven-hours' ride in a "gondola," through a land everywhere dotted with patches of snow—the unmelted remains of a March blizzard—I arrived about 4 a. m. in the train-yard at Chillicothe, shivering with cold and aching from exposure.

A short walk past multi-colored lights brought me out of the maze of cars and switches and into the rays of the flaming arc which illumines the unpretentious facade of Beefsteak Tim's. Thither I went, and there I found warmth and refreshment—and a one-legged waiter who stumped around painfully on a wooden counterfeit.

Scarcely had I begun to annihilate the ham and eggs set before me when the door-latch clicked, and a stocky, shifty-eyed customer, enveloped in a brown ulster that reached to his heels, and topped by a felt hat that encroached upon his ears, strode up to one of the tables with an independent air, and in a raucous voice ordered "A plate of beans, waiter, and a cup of black coffee, red hot."

Him I eyed between mouthfuls, while he in turn eyed the waiter. Surely I had seen him before, somewhere. But where? Had I seen him on the stage, or in the barracks, or on the New York "curb" buying and selling wild-cat mining stocks? I thought and thought, and then—oh, yes, it was on that hog train down in Texas. He had ridden over a thousand miles, posing as the owner of the hogs. And I had mentally named him Little Napoleon, from his resemblance to some picture I had seen of the warlike Corsican.

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"Anything else?" queried the waiter, when at length he spread the order before the newcomer.

"Naw, I guess not. But say? Did you ever work at Fording's Shoe Factory, in Brockton? I knew a guy there looked just like ye, called Watkins."

"That's me," replied the waiter, expectantly.

"Howd ye come to be here, and with that timber attachment?" asked Little Napoleon, gulping the beans and sluicing them down with coffee.

Watkins' eyes wavered. He flushed slightly, and then, with a rising inflection, drawled out:

"Aw-w-w sure! Thought I'd seen you somewheres. **You** worked on the stitching machines, didn't you? That was back in '96, and I—"

"Seems to me," corrected the other, "it was back in '94 when **I** was there. D' ye remember? **You** was one of the fellers that scabbed it when the bunch of us went out on strike."

"I—well, mebbe that's what **you** call it. But you fellers quit work, didn't ye? Wasn't satisfied with the conditions? I don't know that I was, either. But I needed the money, so I held on. Didn't I have a right to do that? And mebbe you don't know we was in a pretty tight fix then? If I hadn't kept humping we'd a lost everything; and I wasn't going to stand round and see the old lady starve."

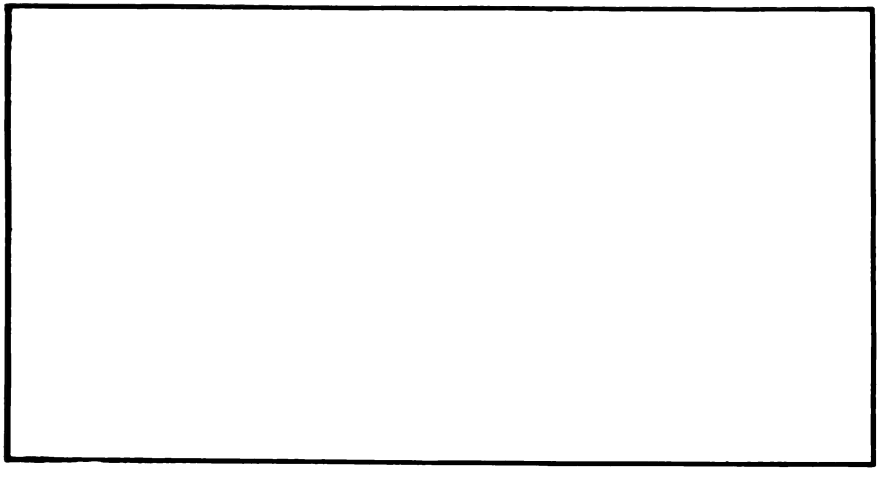
"P'r'aps not," retorted the stocky one, "but it didn't make much difference to you if somebody else's old lady starved. Ain't that so? Anyhow," he added sarcastically, "I s'pose they gave ye the foremanship, and doubled yer wages fer bein' faithful to the interests of the firm?"

Thus were the words bandied to and fro with increasing friction. And so adroitly did Little Napoleon shape his questions, his innuendoes, and his sarcasms, that the waiter, almost without knowing it, let drop the whole of his later history, how the "old lady" had died; how on that occasion he had taken a couple of weeks off and been discharged for it; and how, to forget his surroundings and revive his fallen spirits, as he thought, he had joined the volunteers at the time of the Spanish-American war and been sent off to the Philippines.

"And come back with a brand new leg," chuckled Little Napoleon.

An awkward silence ensued, during which Watkins leaned far over the table, glaring menacingly at his tormenter, while the latter seemed suddenly to have become absorbed in scrutinizing his now empty plate.

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"Cut that out now, you hear?" snarled the waiter. "I ain't asking no odds of anybody. I work—and damned long hours—for what I get. And any 'Bo that comes around here and tries to kid me will wish he'd kept his mouth shut, that's all."

"Kid ye—kid ye? W'y, I'm not trying to kid ye," parried Little Napoleon, putting on an air of injured innocence. "I'm only statin' facts, that's all. You don't understand my——"

"I don't, don't I?" broke in Watkins, tapping with his fingers on the table. "Well, lemme tell you. If it had to be done over again, I'd do it. That's the kind of a man I am. And what's more, any man that wouldn't would be a dog and a traitor."

"But not a scab, eh?" sneered the other.

That was the last straw. With a yell of rage the waiter jumped for a bread-knife that lay on a counter close at hand. But in his wild haste he fumbled it; and the Little Napoleon, who had evidently been on the alert for some such a move, bolted through the street door, his mocking laughter ringing in our ears.

An hour or so later I came across him a short way beyond the train yards, stretched at full length on the sunny side of a lumber pile, awaiting the next "rattler." He evinced an inclination to talk.

"What!" he exclaimed, in answer to a remark of mine. "Him get me? That lubber swears he'll get me, does he? Say, he's what ye call an invetebrate—ain't that it? You know—no backbone. Scabbed it—then lost his mother—then got bounced and lost his property, or whatever it was—and then his leg. I ain't sayin' it's not hard luck. But he'd do it all over again! And fer what? That's what makes me sore. W'y, ye can keep some folks' nose to the grind-

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stone till it's clean ground off, and I'll be damned if they won't holler fer more. Ain't that so?"

I admitted that it was. I admitted, also, that I understood but dimly the meaning of his transparent rancour against the waiter and others of his kind. Barring his willingness to be a scab, was not this Watkins inoffensive, industrious and patriotic, loyal alike to his aged mother and his country? "Suppose you had been in his shoes?" I asked in conclusion; "would you have done better?"

"Suppose, hey? Lemme tell you something, pal," he replied, lowering his voice to a confidential tone, at the same time getting up from his reclining posture, "mebbe you think I haven't been through the mill, hey? And talkin' about mills, mills manufacture something besides locomotives, and freight cars, and lumber and stuff—something that ain't listed in the corporation reports. They manufacture bums and cripples—thousands of 'em. I'm one. Watkins is another. Only he hasn't got a lookin'-glass to see himself by, and I have. That's the difference. He's so stuck on hypnotizin' himself into believin' he's a martyr fer his country, and that he's doin' his duty by earning a livin', and all that, that he'd sooner starve than beg if he couldn't get a job. O, I know him. He's one out of a million. I used to be a bit that way. But when I lost my mem'ry, I lost them ideas, too."

"Lost your memory?"

"Sure. It wasn't so long after the Brockton strike, either. Ye see, I'd been pretty active in that strike, and the powers had it in fer me. I couldn't land a job anywhere in Mass., so I borrowed a few shekels and showed up next in Brooklyn, which is a pretty good shoe town. Nothin doin', though. I hung on, anyhow, expectin' to land something sooner er later. When the dough gave out I hit the free lunch counters and slept standin'. Never struck anybody fer a cent. I was too proud—Watkins' style.

"I remember hoofin' it up the Bowery one March day in the sleet, with some phony notion of lookin' up the ads in the papers at Cooper Union. I couldn't a held a job half an hour if I'd gotten one. I was too far gone. But I never thought of that. I hadn't had a square sit-down fer a month, and what with the wet clothes and bein' doped fer want of sleep, I must a lost my head and gone adrift. When I come to in the hospital four er five days after, they said somebody'd picked me up in East 42nd Street."

"Now, the queer thing is, durin' all them days of starvation something had been goin' on inside me, though I didn't know it then. I was just rotten ripe fer anything that turned up. I'd cut loose from the hospital and was meanderin' around the burg one Sunday, till

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by and by I run into some mission house where an old feller was preachin' about duty. Fer one thing, he said we owed duties to ourselves as well as to others—said it was our duty to keep the mind and body clean and make the most of 'em."

"After he'd done pumpin' it into us, I hiked along up Broadway thinkin' it over and figurin' out how I could hook a job Monday, and if I didn't hook one, how in hell I was goin' to settle that duty to myself of steerin' clear of free-lunch slops and the hospitals. I could only see two ways—crackin' cribs er throwin' my feet. Crackin' cribs meant the jail er the pen sooner er later, and throwin' my feet—well, I made sure I wouldn't do that—it was too small and mean fer a man. And wasn't I a man, just as good as the next guy? What 'ud the fellers I used to work with say if they got onto it?

"Them's the questions I was firin' at myself when somebody bumps into me with a deuce of a jolt. I called him a fool, and a whole lot more, and asked him if he was blind. 'I guess I'm pretty near it, Bill,' he says, in the most apologizin' and God-forsaken voice ye ever heard. I never dreamed before there could be so much meanin' in half a dozen words. The minute I heard it, I knew that voice; it was the same, only changed, with a difference that 'ud make yer heart bleed. I looked hard at him, and damn if it wasn't my own brother Ed! He'd grown a beard and gone to pieces so I hardly recognized him—couldn't be quite sure till I asked his name.

"Ye see, he was a baker, and he told me the heat from the ovens knocked his lights out. I hadn't heard a word from him fer, I dunno how many years. So I piloted him along, jabberin' all the while about anything and everything. I soon noticed that he didn't seem to be much interested. Talkin' to him was like bein' hit by a cold, wet wind while yer reading a letter sayin' yer mother is dead.

"Well, I camped in his stuffy, three-room flat a day er two, and I guess some of the gloom soaked into my system and stayed there. Ed. never made any complaint—direct. It only sounded in his voice when he spoke. Somehow his gumption seemed to have oozed out into the ovens with the light of his eyes durin' them years and years of dough-slingin'. I could see that the only thing kept him from fallin' apart was his wife. And she wasn't much to look at. But when he was gone, what 'ud keep her goin', hey?

"The more I thought of it, the hotter I got. Twenty-one years buried alive in a cellar feedin' ovens, and nothin' to show fer it but a pair of burnt out lamps and a half-dead carcass! 'So this is what he gets,' I says to myself, 'fer findin' a job and stickin' to it! If that's it. then I don't want a job very bad—not that kind—anyhow—and I ain't goin' to starve, either.'

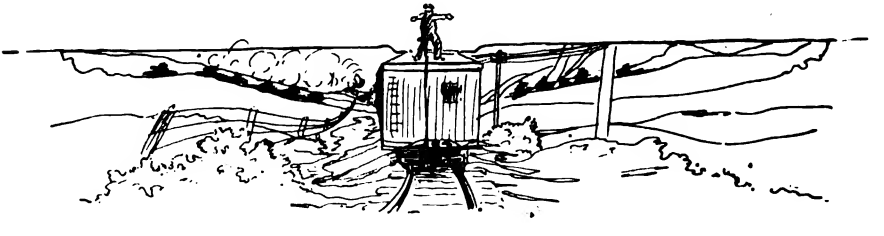
"I begun to see what that preacher meant by a duty to yerself.

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I begun to notice I wasn't so proud of bein' patriotic, and strong, and a fast worker, and all that. Of course, I ain't sayin' it didn't take more than that to root such notions out o' me. It got me goin', though. I'd seen hundreds of bums and broken-down men before; only I just **saw**—understand? and what had they to do with me? But when I was down and out, and heard that all-gone voice of Ed that seemed like a warnin' bell from hell, I **felt** somethin', too. I made up my mind I didn't want that kind of a hell fer mine. And I been running away from it ever since.

"Take my tip, Bo, when a feller's done his bit, and finds out he's side-tracked on some jerk-line of a job where there ain't one chance in a million, he'd better square himself to the facts and take the next freight out—er get a piece of clothes line and make use of it."

Little Napoleon ceased. There was the light of unwonted excitement in his eyes. He drew forth a package of Bull Durham and offered me the makin's. As he did so, a laborious coughing characteristic of freight engines made itself heard. We jumped to our feet, hid behind some coal cars on a siding, and when an "empty" trundled by, "sprung" the side-door and climbed aboard.



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The New Middle Class.

By Anton Pannekoek



THE middle class is the one which stands between the highest and the lowest strata of society. Above it is the class of the great capitalists; below it the proletariat, the class of the wage-workers. It constitutes the social group with medium incomes. Accordingly, it is not divided with equal sharpness from both of the other two classes. From the great capitalist the small bourgeois is distinguished only by a difference in degree; he has a smaller amount of capital, a more modest business. Therefore the question as to who belongs to this small bourgeois class is difficult to answer. Every capitalist who suffers from the competition of still greater capitalists denounces those above him and cries out for help on behalf of the middle class.

From the proletariat, on the contrary, the small bourgeois is divided by a difference in kind, in economic function. Be his business and his income ever so small, he is **independent.** He lives by virtue of his **ownership of the means** of production, like any other capitalist, and **not** from the **sale of his labor power,** like a proletarian. He belongs to the class that undertakes enterprises, that must possess some capital in order to carry them on; often he employes laborers himself. From the wage-working class he is, therefore, sharply differentiated.

In former times this class of small capitalists constituted the main body of the industrial population. Social development, however, has gradually brought about its destruction. The motive power of this development was competition. In the struggle for existence the greatest capitalists, the ones financially and technically best fitted to survive, crowded out the poorer and more backward ones. This process has gone on to such an extent that at present industrial production is carried on almost exclusively on a large scale; in industry small production survives only in the form of repair work or special artistic activities. Of the members of the earlier middle class a small number have worked themselves up to the rank of great capitalists; the great majority have lost their independence and sunk down into the proletariat. For the present generation the industrial middle class has only a historical existence.

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The class that I referred to in my first paragraph is the commercial middle class. This social stratum we ourselves have seen, and still see, decaying before our eyes. It is made up of small merchants, shopkeepers, etc. Only during the last decades have the great capitalists gone into the retail business; only recently have they begun to establish branch concerns and mail-order houses, thus either driving out the small concerns or forcing them into a trust. If during recent times there has been great lamentation over the disappearance of the middle class, we must keep in mind that it is only the commercial middle class that is in question. The industrial middle class long ago went down and the agrarian middle class became subordinate to capitalism without losing the forms of independence.

In this account of the decline of the middle class we have the theory of Socialism in a nut-shell. The social development which resulted in this phenomenon made of Socialism a possibility and a necessity. So long as the great mass of the people were independent producers Socialism could exist only as the utopia of individual theorizers or little groups of enthusiasts; it could not be the practical program of a great class. Independent producers do not need Socialism; they do not even want to hear of it. They own their means of production and these are to them the guarantee of a livelihood. Even the sad position into which they are forced by competition with the great capitalists can hardly render them favorable to Socialism. It makes them only the more eager to become great capitalists themselves. They may wish, occasionally, to limit the freedom of competition—perhaps under the name of Soclialism; but they do not want to give up their own independence or freedom of competition. So long, therefore, as there exists a strong middle class it acts as a protecting wall for the capitalists against the attacks of the workers. If the workers demand the socialization of the means of production, they find in this middle class just as bitter an opponent as in the capitalists themselves.

The decay of the middle class signifies the concentration of capital and the growth of the proletariat. Capital faces, therefore, an ever-increasing army of opponents and is supported by a constantly decreasing number of defenders. For the proletariat Socialism is a necessity; it constitutes the only means of protecting labor against robbery by a horde of useless parasites, the only bulwark against want and poverty. As the great mass of the population comes more and more to consist of proletarians, Socialism, in addition to being a necessity, comes more and more to be a possibility; for the bodyguard of private property grows constantly weaker and becomes powerless against the constantly mounting forces of the proletariat.

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It goes without saying, therefore, that the bourgeoisie views with alarm the disappearance of the middle class. The new development which inspires the proletariat with hope and confidence fills the ruling class with fear for its future. The faster the proletariat, its enemy increases in numbers, the faster the owning class decreases, the more certainly the bourgeoisie sees the approach of its doom. What is to be done?

A ruling class cannot voluntarily give up its own predominance; for this predominance appears to it the sole foundation of the world order. It must defend this predominance; and this it can do only so long as it has hope and self-confidence. But actual conditions cannot give self-confidence to the capitalist class; therefore it creates for itself a hope that has no support in reality. If this class were ever to see clearly the principles of social science, it would lose all faith in its own possibilities; it would see itself as an aging despot with millions of persecuted victims marching in upon him from all directions and shouting his crimes into his ears. Fearfully he shuts himself in, closes his eyes to the reality and orders his hirelings to invent fables to dispel the awful truth. And this is exactly the way of the bourgeoisie. In order not to see the truth, it has appointed professors to soothe its troubled spirit with fables. Pretty fables they are, which glorify its overlordship, which dazzle its eyes with visions of an eternal life and scatter its doubts and dreams as so many nightmares. Concentration of capital? Capital is all the time being democratized through the increasing distribution of stocks and bonds. Growth of the proletariat? The proletariat is at the same time growing more orderly, more tractable. Decay of the middle class. Nonsense; a new middle class is rising to take the place of the old.

It is this doctrine of the new middle class that I wish to discuss in some detail in the present paper. To this new class belong, in the first place, the professors. Their function is to comfort the bourgeoisie with theories as to the future of society, and it is among them that this fable of the new middle class found its origin. In Germany there were Schmoller, Wagner, Masargh and a host of others who devoted themselves to the labor of elaborating it. They explained that the Socialist doctrine as to the disappearance of the middle class was of small importance. Every table of statistics showed that medium incomes remained almost exactly as numerous as in former times. In the places of the disappearing independent producers there were appearing other groups of the population. Industry on a large scale demanded an immense army of intermediating functionaries: overseers, skilled workers, engineers, managers of departments, bosses, etc. They formed a complete hierarchy of officials; they were the

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officers and subalterns of the industrial army, an army in which the great capitalists are the generals and the workingmen the common soldiers. Members of the so-called "free" vocations, physicians, lawyers, authors, etc., belonged also to this class. A new class, then, constantly increasing in numbers, was said to be taking the place formerly occupied by the old middle class.

This observation in itself is correct, though not at all new. All that there is new about it is its exposition with a view to disproving the Socialist theories of classes. It was expressed clearly, e. g., by Schmoller at an Evangelical Social Congress held at Leipsic as far back as 1897. The audience burst into joyful enthusiasm at the good news, and declared in a resolution: "The congress notes with pleasure the reassuring and scientifically grounded conviction of the speaker that the economic development of modern times does not necessarily lead to the destruction of a class so useful to the welfare of society as the middle class." And another professor declared: "He has filled us with optimism for the future. If it is not true that the middle class and the small bourgeoisie are disappearing, we shall not be forced to alter the fundamental principles of capitalist society."

The fact that science is merely the servant of capitalism could not be more clearly expressed than in such statements. Why is this declaration that the middle class is not decaying hailed as reassuring? Why does it create content and optimism? Is it because through it the workers will attain better conditions, be less exploited? No. Just the opposite. If this statement is true, the worker will be kept forever in slavery by a permanent army of enemies; what appears to prevent his liberation is pronounced reassuring and optimistic. Not the discovery of truth, but the reassurance of an increasingly superfluous class of parasites is the object of this science. No wonder that it comes into conflict with the truth. It fails, not only in its denial of Socialist teaching, but in its reassurance of the capitalist class. The comfort that it gives is nothing more than self-deception.

The Socialist doctrine as to the concentration of capital does not imply the disappearance of medium incomes. It has nothing to do with relative incomes; it deals, on the contrary, with social classes and their economic functions. For our theory society consists, not of poor, well-to-do and rich, of those who own nothing, little, or much; but rather of **classes**, each one of which **plays a separate part in production.** A merely external, superficial classification according to incomes has always been a means whereby bourgeois writers have confused actual social conditions and produced unclearness instead of clearness. The Socialist theory restores clearness and scientific exactness by concentrating attention upon the **natural** divisions of

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society. This method has made it possible to formulate the law of social development; production on a large scale constantly replaces production on a small scale. Socialists maintain, not that medium incomes, but rather small, independent producers, tend more and more to disappear. This generalization the professors do not attack; everyone acquainted with social conditions, every journalist, every government official, every petty bourgeois, every capitalist knows that it is correct. In the very declaration that the middle class is being rescued by a new, rising class it is specifically acknowledged that the former is disappearing.

But this new middle class has a character altogether different from that of the old one. That it stands between capitalists and laborers and subsists on a medium income constitutes its only resemblance to the small bourgeoisie of former times. But this was the least essential characteristic of the small bourgeois class. In its essential character, in its economic function, the new middle class differs absolutely from the old.

The members of the new middle class are not self-supporting, independent industrial units; they are in the service of others, those who possess the capital necessary to the undertaking of enterprises. Economically considered, the old middle class consisted of capitalists, even if they were **small capitalists**; the new consists of proletarians, even if they are **highly paid proletarians**. The old middle class lived by virtue of **its possession of the means of production**; the new makes its livelihood through **the sale of its labor power**. The economic character of the latter class is not at all modified by the fact that this labor power is of a highly developed quality; that its development may have required an expensive course of study, and that, therefore, it receives comparatively high wages; no more is it modified by the fact that this labor power is chiefly of an intellectual sort, that it depends more on the brain than on the muscles. In modern industry the chemist and the engineer are dealt with as mere wage-workers; their intellectual powers are worked to the limit of exhaustion just like the physical powers of the common laborer.

With the statement of this fact the professorial talk about the new middle class stands revealed in all its foolishness; it is a fable, a piece of self-deception. As a protection against the desire of the proletariat for expropriation the new middle class can never take the place of the old. The independent small capitalists of former times felt themselves interested **in the maintenance of private property in the means of production** because they were themselves owners of means of production. The new middle class has not the slightest interest in keeping for others a privilege in which they themselves

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have no part. To them it is all one whether they stand in the service of an individual manufacturer, a stock company, or a public organism, like the community or state. They no longer dream of sometime carrying on an independent business; they know that they must remain all their lives in the position of subordinates. The socialization of the means of production would not change their position except as it would improve it by liberating them from the caprice of the individual capitalist.

It has often been remarked by bourgeois writers that the new middle class has a much more certain position than the old one and, therefore, less ground for discontent. The fact that stock companies destroy the small business men is a charge that cannot be allowed to count against its many advantages; it is really insignificant in view of the fact that the small business men, after being ruined, are given positions in the service of the company, where, as a rule, their life is much freer from care than it was in the first place. (Hemburg.) Strange, then, that they struggled so long, sacrificed their wealth and exerted their strength to the utmost, to maintain themselves in their old positions while all the time such an alluring berth was inviting them! What these apologists of the capitalist system carefully conceal is the great difference between present dependence and former independence. The middle class man of former times no doubt felt the pressure of want, of competition; but the new middle class man must obey a strange master, who may at any moment arbitrarily discharge him.

Now it is certainly true that those who serve the modern capitalist as skilled technical workers or company officials are not tortured by the cares which weighed down the spirit of the small bourgeois of former days. Often, also, their incomes are greater. But so far as the maintenance of the capitalist system is concerned they are worthless. Not personal discontent, but class interest, is the motive power of social revolution. In many cases even the industrial wage-worker of today is in a better position than the independent small farmer. Nevertheless the farmers, by virtue of the possession of their little pieces of ground, have an interest in the maintenance of the system of private ownership, while the wage-worker demands its destruction. The same is true of the middle class: the oppressed, discontented small capitalists, despite the disadvantages of their position, were props of capitalism; and this the better situated, care-free modern trust employes can never be.

This fact means nothing more than that the professorial phrases, intended to reassure the bourgeoisie with the notion of this new middle class and so hide from them the tremendous transformation which

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has taken place, have turned out to be pure trickery, without even the remotest resemblance to science. The statement that the new class occupies the same position in the class-struggle as did the small bourgeoisie of the past has proved to be worthless deception. But as to the real position of this new class, its actual function in our social organism, I have thus far hardly touched upon it.*

The new intellectual middle class has one thing in common with the rest of the proletariat: it consists of the propertyless, of those who sell their labor power, and therefore has no interest in the maintenance of capitalism. It has, moreover, in common with the workers, the fact that it is modern and progressive, that through the operation of the actual social forces it grows constantly stronger, more numerous, more important. It is, therefore, not a reactionary class, as was the old small bourgeoisie; it does not yearn for the good old pre-capitalistic days. It looks forward, not backward.

But this does not mean that the intellectuals are to be placed side by side with the wage-workers in every respect, that like the industrial proletariat they are predisposed to become recruits of Socialism. To be sure, in the economic sense of the term, they are proletarians; but they form a very special group of wage-workers, a group that is socially so sharply divided from the real proletarians that they form a special class with a special position in the class-struggle.

In the first place, their higher pay is a matter of importance. They know nothing of actual poverty, of misery, of hunger. Their needs may exceed their incomes and so bring about a discomfort that gives real meaning to the expression "gilded poverty;" still immediate need does not compel them, as it does the real proletarians, to attack the capitalist system. Their position may rouse discontent, but that of the workers is unendurable. For them Socialism has many advantages; for the workers it is an absolute necessity.

In addition to this, it must be remembered that this body of intellectuals and highly-paid industrial employes divides itself into a large number of widely varying strata. These strata are determined chiefly by differences in income and position. We begin at the top with heads of departments, superintendents, managers, etc., and go on down to bosses and office employes. From these it is but a step to the highest paid workers. Thus, so far as income and position are concerned, there is really a gradual descent from capitalist to pro-

* Because the part of the intellectual in the socialist movement has recently been the subject of controversy, I feel obliged to remark that we are here dealing with an altogether different subject. In the party discussions the question has been, What role can **individual intellectuals** play within the **socialist movement?** Here we have under consideration the problem, What is the role of the **whole class of intellectuals** in the **general struggle of the classes?** ..

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letarian. The higher strata have a definitely capitalistic character; the lower ones are more proletarian, but there is no sharp dividing line. On account of these divisions the members of this new middle class lack the unity of spirit which makes co-operation easy for the proletariat.

The state of affairs just described hinders them in their struggle to improve their position. It is to their interest, as it is to that of other workers, to sell their labor power at the highest possible price. Workingmen bring this about through joining forces in unions; as individuals they are defenseless against the capitalists, but united they are strong. No doubt this upper class of employes could do more to coerce the capitalists if they formed themselves into a great union. But this is infinitely more difficult for them than for workingmen. In the first place they are divided into numberless grades and ranks, ranged one above the other; they do not meet as comrades, and so cannot develop the spirit of solidarity. Each individual does not make it a matter of personal pride to improve the condition of his entire class; the important thing is rather that he personally struggle up into the next higher rank. In order to do this it is first of all necessary not to call down on himself the disfavor of the master class by opposing it in an industrial struggle. Thus mutual envy of the upper and lower ranks prevents co-operative action. A strong bond of solidarity cannot be developed. It results from this condition that employes of the class in question do not co-operate in large bodies; they make their efforts separately, or only a few together, and this makes cowards of them; they do not feel in themselves the power which the workingmen draw from consciousness of numbers. And then, too, they have more to fear from the displeasure of the masters; a dismissal for them is a much more serious matter. The worker stands always on the verge of starvation and so unemployment has few terrors for him. The high class employe, on the contrary, has a comparatively agreeable life, and a new position is difficult to find.

For all these reasons this class of intellectuals and higher employes is prevented from instituting a fight along union lines for the improvement of their position. Only in the lower ranks, where great numbers labor under the same conditions and the way to promotion is difficult, are there any signs of a union movement. In Germany two groups of employes of this class have lately made a beginning. One of these groups consists of foremen in coal mines. These men constitute a very high class of labor, for in addition to superintending industry they have oversight of arrangements designed to insure sanitary conditions and safety from accidents. Special conditions have fairly forced them to organize. The millionaire operators, in

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their greed of profits, have neglected safety devices to an extent that makes catastrophes inevitable. Something had to be done. Thus far the organization is still weak and timid, but it is a beginning. The other group is made up of machinists and engineers. It has spread over all Germany, has become so important, in fact, as to be made a point of attack by the capitalists. A number of ruthless employers demanded that their men desert the organization, and when they refused to comply discharged them. For the present the union has been able to do nothing for these victims except to support them; but even in this it has taken up the cudgels against the capitalist class.

For the cause of Socialism we can count on this new middle class even less than for the labor union struggle. For one thing, they are set over the workers as superintendents, overseers, bosses, etc. In these capacities they are expected to speed up the workers, to get the utmost out of them. So, representing the interest of capital in its relation to labor, they naturally assume a position of bitter enmity to the proletariat and find it almost impossible to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the struggle for a single goal.

In addition, a set of ideas, particularly notions of themselves and their position, tends to ally them to the capitalists. Most of them come from bourgeois, or at least small capitalist, circles and bring with them all the prejudices which stand opposed to Socialism. Among the workers such prejudices are uprooted by their new environment, but among these higher, intellectual employes they are actually strengthened. Small producers had, for example, as the first article of their faith, the idea that each one could struggle upward in competitive strife only by virtue of his own energy; as a complement to this teaching stood the notion that Socialism would put an end to personal initiative. This individualistic conception of things is, as I have remarked, strengthened in the intellectuals by their new environment; among these very technical and often high placed employes the most efficient sometimes find it possible to climb into the most important positions.

All the regular bourgeois prejudices strike deepest root in this class, further, because its members are nourished on the study of unscientific theories. They regard as scientific truth that which existed among the small bourgeois as subjective, unreasoned opinion. They have great notions of their own education and refinement, feel themselves elevated far above "the masses;" it naturally never occurs to them that the ideals of these masses may be scientifically correct and that the "science" of their professors may be false. As theorizers, seeing the world always as a mass of abstractions, laboring always

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with their minds, knowing nothing or little of material activities, they are fairly convinced that **mind controls the world.** This notion shuts them out from the understanding of Socialist theory. When they see the masses of laborers and hear of Socialism they think of a crude "leveling down" which would put an end to their own social and economic advantages. In contrast to the workers they think of themselves as persons who have something to lose, and forget, therefore, the fact that they are being exploited by the capitalists.

Take this altogether and the result is that a hundred causes separate this new middle class from Socialism. Its members have no independent interest which would lead them to an energetic defense of capitalism. But their interest in Socialism is equally slight. They constitute an intermediate class, without definite class ideals, and therefore they bring into the political struggle an element which is unsteady and incalculable.

In great social disturbances, general strikes, e. g., they may sometimes stand by the workers and so increase their strength; they will be the more likely to do this in cases in which such a policy is directed against reaction. On other occasions they may side with the capitalists. Those of them in the lower strata will make common cause with a "reasonable" Socialism, such as is represented by the Revisionists. But the power which will overthrow capitalism can never come from anywhere outside the great mass of proletarians.

Translated by William E. Bohn.

The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.—Communist Manifesto.

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great flood that came in the spring brought death
ıd misery to the tribes of savages that lived upon
ıe banks of the river. Many were drowned in the
wift waters, while others were borne away and
:attered in strange lands. A few members of the
..ibe of Cave Dwellers found safety in the trees near the old Hollow. Far below, many of their brothers and sisters, with the men and women of other tribes, clung to the great trees where they also found security.

Strong Arm, Quack Quack and little Laughing Boy were among these. With the Foolish One and the Hairy Man they lived in the great banyon until the river crept back into its old channel. Then they descended upon the earth once more and began their long journey toward the Hollow, where they had lived with a small group of Cave Dwellers, the people of their own tribe.

All the face of the world seemed covered with a layer of rich mud, deposited by the river. The sun grew warmer with every day and a hot steam arose continually from the earth. Strong Arm and his little band made their way slowly, for the moist air gave them a fever and weakened them. Always it was very difficult to find food, for the roots lay buried in the soft mud. It was necessary to search in the branches of the trees for the nests of birds, and occasionally they found a few gulls' eggs.

For two nights they had slept in the limbs of trees, while Strong Arm watched wearily lest an enemy approach.

Already at this early stage in their journey the rank grasses of the tropics were springing up. A thousand creeping things thrust out their heads from the mud and slime. And the tracks of the black

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bear, the wooly-haired rhinoceros and the sabre-toothed tiger were seen once more along the river bank.

Very cautiously this small band of savages advanced, for they had only rough sticks to use in defending themselves. On the third day they had traveled but a little way and of eggs they found none, nor any other thing. Their stomachs cried for food and they ventured beyond the skirts of the wood, where dangers lurked, seeking something with which to satisfy their hunger.

Strong Arm advanced, with caution, ahead of the little party. When he had gone but a little way, before him, from the cane, there arose suddenly a huge man. He was taller than any man among among the tribe of the Cave Dwellers, and with a stout stick he struck Strong Arm a blow on the head that dashed him to the ground. Though the arm of the big man was swift, it was not much quicker than Quack Quack, who threw herself upon him from behind. Laughing Boy added his blows to hers, scratching and biting the legs of the stranger with all his young power, till he also lay motionless.

A soft movement in the cane announced the presence of another and more wary enemy. But the blows of Quack Quack, the Hairy Man and the Foolish One soon drove him from cover, where they beat him freely, till he threw up his hands in a gesture of submission.

Then, borne on the winds that swept the old forest, came a faint smell of fresh meat to the nostrils of the hungry group. The anger of the travelers was soon forgotten and Strong Arm now commanded the two strangers to lead them to the feast. With a great show of friendliness, they limped forward and conducted their victors to a fire that blazed above a pile of rocks.

And they poked away the coals that covered a basin fashioned among the stones, like a great oven. Covered with large leaves, lay the roasted body of a man, which the two strangers dragged steaming from the flames. Then the Cave Dwellers and the strangers seized each his portion of the meat and fell to eating. And the flesh of the roasted man seemed very good to them.

Till the new moon grew round and full, the Cave People and the Hairy Man remained with the strangers, while the water slowly drained off the swampy river banks and the way toward their old home in the Hollow became more safe.

They now had always the wonderful Fire with which to protect themselves against the forest animals. No caves there were and the trees abounded with the green snakes and many other enemies, but for all these the small group of men and Quack Quack, the woman, were not harmed.

Upon the rocks they kept the fire burning continually and at

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night they slept securely while some among them fed the blaze.

Very soon the Cave People began to call the shorter of the two strangers Big Foot, because his feet were very long. The other they called Tall, on account of his extreme height.

Although Strong Arm, Quack Quack and the Foolish One were from tribes strange to Big Foot and Tall, they were all able to understand each other perfectly, by means of the simple gesture language common to all tribes in the lower stage of savagery. Thus, the Hairy Man, from still another tribe, had no difficulty in making himself understood, nor in learning the thoughts or wishes of his companions.

One day, when hunting, the little band came upon a flint pit. To the Cave People the old gravel bed meant nothing, but Tall and Big Foot became greatly excited, and they grabbed the flakes that had become chipped from the flint cores and dashed them violently against a great stone lying near. Faint sparks flew. Then Tall covered the rocks with the feathers of a dead fowl and struck among them with the flint flake. Soon the feathers were ignited by the sparks. And Strong Arm and Quack Quack marveled at the Fire Beast which the strange rock had been able to summon.

The tribe from whence Tall and Big Foot came, had long known the use of flint in kindling fires, and well they knew the treasures they had found. From them the Cave People learned, also, and Strong Arm and Quack Quack bore with them always thereafter, one of these strange and wonderful stones, with which they soon became able to call forth the Fire Beast to their protection.

More and more, as the days passed, Tall taught them wonderful things. The flesh they cooked remained sweet for many days and did not grow rank with time, as raw meat did. Thus a new hope sprang up in the hearts of the Cave People, for armed with these rude flints, they were able at any time to kindle a fire and protect themselves from the forest enemies. Also they cooked their food and, this made possible the long, dangerous journey to the land of their fathers.

In spite of the height of Tall and the long limbs and great muscles of Big Foot, they wished always to carry out the desires of Quack Quack. Not only was she a woman, and for all women they cherished a great tenderness, but also was she strong, and both these men were unable to forget the blows she had given them when first they had attacked the Cave Dwellers and their little band. To Quack Quack, therefore, they looked for commands and they obeyed her words and gestures, while they sought her good will. But in spite of all this, Strong Arm remained the leader over all, for he was able to stand up before any man in the group, and the words which

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he spoke and the desires he made known were always for the good of the band.

So it came about naturally that when Strong Arm and Quack Quack signified their desire to return to the Hollow, which was the old home of the Cave People, that the Hairy Man, Tall and Big Foot gave heed to them.

And they all made preparations for the journey. The large bones which they had found, were made formidable, when they were cracked and split open at end. Also they gathered knotted limbs from the trees, which the Cave People were accustomed to wave savagely around their heads, crushing in the skulls of the enemy.

But they prized nothing so highly as the rough pieces of flint flakes which they dug from the old gravel bed. Wonder and awe they felt for these strange stones, and not a little fear. To them even inanimate things possessed life, and the small flakes of flint were only a new, queer sort of animal that had hitherto befriended them by calling forth the great Fire Beast. These might also be capable of doing them harm and it was with deep feelings of uncertainty that they first began to use these wonderful flint rocks.

In the hunt which preceded their departure, the little band were fortunate in snaring a fat young boar. They speedily killed him and dragged his body to the top of a small rocky hill. And they pulled out the loose stones, building a deep, basin-like oven into which they put the body. This they covered with green palm leaves. Then a fire was kindled over this great oven and everybody made ready for the feast.

But the fragrant odor of roast meat reached the nose of the sabre-toothed tiger and he followed the scent till he came to the small camp. And all the stray members of the little band crouched low on the opposite side of the big blaze in mortal terror. For here there were no caves in which they could take refuge and their numbers were too few for them to fight the enemy safely in the open.

But all the loose stones they had dislodged and pulled out when building the great oven, lay about them. And they gathered them up and piled them high like a great wall, for they feared an attack from the rear. And the rude wall of stones rose almost to their waists.

Very warily the tiger crept up the hill and approached the flames. The wind bore the smell of the roasting meat squarely into his teeth, and lured him on. But the wind carried, too, the thick smoke upon him, and he choked and paused to reconnoiter. As the wind died down he advanced hungrily, but the smoke and sparks from the flames sent him back to the foot of the hill.

The little band of savages watched him, while their limbs trem-

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bled and their hair stood on end. Between them and the tiger roared the tall sheet of flames, but soon he began to circle the hill seeking an easy way of attack. Below the rude wall, erected by them, the the terrifying smoke and flying sparks no longer threatened. And he sniffed the air and advanced cautiously.

In the meantime, the small band of savages were rendered almost beside themselves with fear. Of weapons they had none. All their new sharp bone spears lay at the foot of the hill, with the great knotted clubs. The Foolish One started one of the big stones rolling down upon the tiger, but it passed instead of deterring him.

Then Strong Arm seized a large burning bough and hurled it straight into the great beast's face. But the tiger crouched low on the ground and the blazing torch passed over his head without harming him. Low he lay, with his long striped tail swaying to and fro, like the tail of a great cat. His eyes glowed with rage and fear and his lips were curled back in a snarl of fury.

Of all things in the old forest the strange, red, flaming fire alone had caused him to hesitate. The fierce unknown spat out a breath of hot smoke that bit into his muscular throat and choked him and the hot blaze held a menace that thrilled his long, lank body with a new fear.

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Still he did not give up. Never in all his strong, free life in the forest had he ever given up. But he retreated to the foot of the hill, circling round and round it once more.

Long he continued, with his body crouched low, and his head thrown up, scenting at once the rich odor of the roasting boar, and the thick smoke, so full of strange menace.

Again and again he advanced, driven by the hunger within him, only to retreat because of the fear that would not be subdued. But as the sun sank low in the west, the little band scattered the flames and dragged out the roasted body of the young boar. From this they tore, eagerly, great chunks of the warm and dripping flesh and devoured them and one and all they thought no meat had ever tasted so sweet before.

During the feast they watched the tiger always, and they laid new branches upon the fire to keep it alive. But ere any one was filled—as savages were used to fill their stomachs after a long period of fasting—Strong Arm made known his wishes. Soon everybody understood his desire to reserve a portion of the young boar, that, should they prove unequal to the task of driving off the tiger, they might fling to him and escape.

To his wise suggestion all listened and obeyed except Big Foot, who declined to relinquish his portion. It was only after Strong Arm had thrust him down the side of the hill, threatening to hurl him to the hungry beast below, that Big Foot yielded. Once more Strong Arm had proven himself the leader of the band. Once more had his words resulted in the welfare of the group.

For, the flames having subsided a little, the smell of the meat drew old sabre-tooth irresistibly, and he made a bold and sudden dash upon the band.

But Strong Arm was quick also and a yell of warning he gave, as he threw a blazing bough upon him. But the tiger leaped over it and made his way nearer. Now the others seized burning branches and hurled them, until he must step straight upon the glowing coals to advance. And the fierce fires under his feet and the sparks and flames about him, sent the old fear through his blood and the tiger down the hill and through the forest snarling and howling with pain. Long they hear his roarings re-echoing through the old woods, but when darkness came on they descended and gathered more branches and leaves to continue the fire throughout the night.

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Work's Coming-of-Age

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM IN EUROPE

BY ODON POR

fruitfulness and the potentiality of a direct struggle gainst the capitalist class has been disclosed in all s magnitude to the working class of Italy. It at last as realized that a substantial mutation of personality akes place in the fight. And by realizing the true ature of the State the workers gave up all illusions as to its radicalism and its social reforms. It became quite clear to their mind that the State will fiercely turn against the working class when another critical issue arrives. Therefore they consider it as a paramount social duty of the proletarian organizations to keep up an energetic anti-militaristic propaganda in order to prepare the active resistance of the workers as soldiers to the orders of their officers, who are the emissaries of the capitalist class and the Government of the Capitalists.

"The only reality of our times is the social revolution. It could not be different. The proletariat is becoming day by day more conscious of its own conditions and the intrinsic weakness of its rulers. Against the state the proletariat is organizing the anti-state, the non-state, in other words, it is organizing the collective potency of the groups of the proletarian interests which combat by means of the class struggle the capitalist bourgeoisie and the state which is its political expression."*

* Olivetti: "Senso di Vita."

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In the Latin countries the strikes take almost without any exception a larger social aspect. They have ceased to be mere battles of a union for better terms and conditions of labor and became a power seeking larger issues. In these strikes there is always present a desire, heedless of defeat, to go ahead and to conquer still more. The workers are no longer concerned with immediate victories. They have learned that the first defeat is but transitory, that a defeat which does not diminish their force of resistance and is not followed by discouragement and a loss of the heroic sense of the proletariat is not a real defeat.*

The workers are inspired by those constructive virtues that spontaneously come out in them during the struggle. They are fascinated by their collective consciousness, by the unity of their class that may attack and destroy, may create new forces of union and reconstruction, that may interrupt the production of the means of subsistence and may take it up again and reorganize it to the benefit of all. The effective dynamical reality of the active movement has infused the workers with a spirit of right and a consciousness of capacity, with a daring spirit of conquest and a passion of creation the significance of which can not be emphasized enough.

A new man, the worker with a strong collective volition, is born.

* * * * * * *

France is industrially more developed than Italy, consequently in this country the antagonism between the industrial workers and the capitalists, on the one side, and the state and its employees on the other, is even more acute and distinct than in Italy. The strike movements in France have also revealed unsuspected forces and have shown the gravity of the crisis of the socialistic-radicalism now in power. Violent military interference at strikes, suppression of associations and suppression of free speech is the order of the day in France. And the democratic state, though pretending to be the protector of the workers, has turned against them not merely when they were fighting the capitalist employers, but also in the cases where they asked better conditions and better treatment from the state as their employe. The state as an employer has shown itself as a true exploiter.

All this has powerfully contributed during the last years to the disaggregation of the democratic hopes, and now all political illusions of the workers are dissipated.

In the French republic which is gradually monopolizing all public utilities where powerful and growing political parties demand the expropriation of the private industries, the attitude of the workers in

* By the same author: "Anima Nouva." loc. cit.

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the employ of the state toward their profession, and the state itself, is of supreme social importance. The actual character of the state monopolies satisfies neither the public nor the workers. The public complains of disorganized service and the workers of the tyranny of the administration.

The recent postal strikes and their motives clearly put in relief the critical situation conjured up by a so-called democratic administration.

The postal employes have become tired of being directed and dominated by absolutely incompetent politicians who do not understand anything, neither about the work of the postal clerks nor about work in general. They therefore proposed to solve the technical questions themselves, and to eliminate the present political character of the postal service. They wanted to get rid of an exterior political discipline which offended their most intimate and profound sentiments of right and manhood. They struggled for the autonomy, the freedom of labor.*

It goes without saying that this autonomy of work presupposes in those who fight for it a professional valor jealously fostered, a clear sense of the economic realities, a realization of the public interests and of the responsibilities connected with such an industry of national importance like the postal service.** The General Association of the Postal Employees of France has during the last years turned its attention, beside the general social problems, to the professional questions connected with the postal service and administration. It not only has denounced the state as incompetent to run the postal department, but it has also occupied itself with technical reforms, with the amelioration of the service, and has sought to awaken the class consciousness of the workers and give them a high conception of their work and of the dignity of the producers.

The postal employes, through their daily experiences and observations during the work, have discovered the faults in the complex mechanism of the postal service. And they have tried to utilize their technical efficiency, in the light of their observation, in order to counterbalance the mistakes committed by the incompetent administration of the politicians. They were against the administrative waste of money and working force; in other words, they safeguarded the interests of the public.

Many important technical reforms were prepared by the association at the initiative of simple and obscure workers, that later were

* See Odon Por, "The Recent Postal Strikes in France," Wilshire's Magazine, July, 1909.

** G. Beaubois: "L'organisation syndicaliste du service des Postes." Mouvement Socialiste, April, 1909.

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put in practice by the administration. The new French mail cars were built on the plans submitted by the Association. In virtue of the action of the professional groups of the employes many vital advantages were introduced directly in favor of the public.

The technical groups revealed themselves as true organisms of industrial progress, as complete and active bodies capable to replace the inert and heavy administration and to transform and take over its functions. The valor of the technical groups has suggested that the holders of high-salaried offices are useless, and that without them the postal department would work better and at less expense, animated by a new life, enriched by the competency and devotion of the employes, whose work the Association succeeded in co-ordinating.*

The postal employes are the last body of French workers who have come to realize that the organization of technical groups creates a technical capacity in its members, that it wakes their spirit of initiative and their practical sense; in short, elevates the technical level of the working class.

The French workers have as a rule a very clear idea of the future, and know that the materialization of the future depends upon their personal qualities and efforts and upon their moral value. And they know that by consciously enhancing the technical capacities of the individual worker they make him desire a profound change in the organization of the industries, corresponding with the highest revolutionary ideal of Socialism. They want to teach the young workers all the details of their trade in order to make them capable of taking the organization of work into their hands. It is clear to them that "the revolutionary unionists must take care of the technical, moral and social perfection of the young men; they must guide and advise them, and awaken in them the spirit of observation, the qualities of initiative and energy. They must efface the painful and repugnant features that accompany labor under the present organization of production; the problem of progress lies in saving work from the monotony and routine, from the fatality and servitude; in other words, the problem of progress lies in freeing work and ennobling it. To initiate every worker into the progress of industry and the marvels of human activity, to show them the usefulness of their efforts and the grandeur of their work—this is to give them a passion, a soul, a conscience. . . . . The organizations should become a paternal home for the young workers, protecting them from all temptations and leading them into life. A revolution does not improvise itself, and it is necessary that in the industrial groups new ideas, new collective

* A. Monbrunaud: "La Greve des Postes et sa porte sociale." Mouvement Socialiste, March and April, 1909.

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sentiments should be born and should develop and prepare the social change. The work of liberty is a work of creation."*

Those ideas agitate the French working class. In their great strikes, when by force of their industrial cohesion and moral solidarity the workers were successful in tying up whole industries, they realized their true force which they hold by the nature of their economic functions. In the strikes they received the strongest fundamental sensations of their life to be compared only as to intensity, endurance and significance to the first awakening of sexual life. So strongly they felt the solidarity of labor and its possibilities during these strikes that they came out of them as new men full of endurance and bravery, full of stirring ideas. A spirit of collective responsibility took hold of them that is beyond any consideration of immediate interests, beyond the consideration of the daily bread. Before of pale mentality, now they aspire for the highest social ideals and the greatest possible degree of culture. The monotony of their life has been replaced by a collective impulse that forces them to act and presents life to them in all its beautiful forms and varied colors.

The efforts of the French and Italian workers to free work from its guardians means work's coming-of-age. It means the beginning of a new era. It means that the workers are thoroughly conscious of an impending social change that will be based on a discipline called forth by the nature of the work to be accomplished. Their ideal is a work which is free and the same time organized under an inner logical discipline voluntarily consented to.

A desire was evolved in the workers by their organizations and their own activity which increased their technical capacity, elevated them morally and gave a powerful collective efficiency to the whole working class. A desire sprang up in them to rid themselves of the state as an employer and of the capitalist employer, a desire of eliminating the present imposed discipline in the industrial organizations, replacing it by an inner discipline organized by work itself. They, workers, want to get rid of the non-producers, the capitalists, and the parasitic big office-holders, being conscious of their ability to run the industry themselves. They feel a tremendous social responsibility resting upon them, originating in the nature of their work, and they have a firm will to contribute to economic progress. But they imperatively demand free work, for they know that only a free work in which they can give vent to their constructive virtues of initiative and cohesion, a work in which all their manhood is involved, can assure social progress and collective freedom.

This consciousness of the producers is the most revolutionary

* G. Beaubois, loc. cit.

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force actively engaged in the formation of social relations. The state and the capitalists fiercely oppose the further development of this consciousness, fearing the inevitable consequences of this growing interest of the workers toward the organization of work. They justly fear that it will bring with it a legal, moral and social change, an entire reorganization of all social relations. But the workers are on guard. They well know the schemes of the ruling classes and oppose them directly, not, however, merely within the limits of their work, but outside of it as well. Many French teachers, also influenced by a revolutionary realization of their mission, teach revolutionary doctrines to the children, enlightening them as to the nature of capitalist patriotism and the role of the army, and bringing them up with a sense of collectivity. The workers keep up an intense propaganda against militarism and all foreign wars.

Through action the French working class has attained such a degree of co-ordinated and conscious industrial and moral discipline that it is able to tie up all the industries at a critical moment. And when enlisted in the army the conscious French worker will not forget his training, and, obeying the new law in his being, he will refuse to either shoot down his striking comrades or to go to war against the comrades of another nationality.

The confidence of the bourgeoisie in itself is shaken, it is desperately organizing now the last resources of its power against the continuously growing demand of the working class for social rights and a social revolution.*

* * * * * * *

Within the organizations a new morality has been formed, a new will has arisen. The movement gave new sensations, new sentiments, new moods and new interests to the workers, freeing and elevating their consciousness, driving them on to larger conquests. Within the movement the workers undergo a training collectively. In their practical collective economic activity they evolve a sense of personal responsibility and a class-consciousness. The collective and mutual division of labor at the initiative of collectively-brought decisions trains the worker for a future social discipline. In the moment he has realized that he is a factor in the building up of a wonderful new society, that his life is not useless and not aimless, but full of vital meaning and is an indispensable and aimful force—he obeys collective sanctions and orders and takes part in collective decisions.

Action and the conditions of a struggle are the most powerful determining factors for morality to both the individual and the group. The new personality which the workers have acquired during their

* The French situation is concisely stated by A. Ular: "French Labour Unions v. The State." Contemporary Review, June, 1909.

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collective struggle and through the solidarity and cohesion of their class, their new generous impulses, their new industrial capacities and awakened initiative, their new dominant disposition is essentially of social, of collective nature. Their new personality is a collective personality resting upon a sense of collectivity.

The moral development of the worker is closely interwoven with the growth of the power of his organization. And inasmuch as his individual power is felt by him as a result and a part of the collective power, his morality is essentially a collective morality, a moral attitude which measures every individual action by the interest of the collectivity. With the development of the collective power goes a development of the consciousness of right, and a growing demand for the materialization of the conceived rights. The consciousness of right is absolutely necessary in order to be victorious in the social struggle.

"In the struggle, the consciousness of an ethical right, which is an abstract thing, transforms itself into an eminently dynamic factor, even more necessary than the best filled safe of a union. The union funds, as we can observe in the course of the economic movement of all countries, may, in certain conditions, be an element of safety during the struggle and a powerful arm for attaining victory. But, on the other hand, the funds may also—and history has proven this as well—tend to keep an organization static, and even tend to retrogression, and may hinder the workingmen from persisting in the struggle, lest they lose the sums amassed during past years at a great sacrifice. The consciousness of a proper right due to one as against the power of the bourgeoisie transforms itself during the struggle into money by ceaselessly renewing the forces of the combatants, by serving as a shield against the assaults of pessimism and accidental discouragements, and by winning higher wages as the prize of a victorious battle. Finally, there is nothing that would reinforce to a higher degree the class consciousness—in other words, the respect of the workers for their own movement—than the knowledge that the right is on their side, or stating this in less popular terms, than the notion of their right. This notion of a proper right is a stimulating factor. It is generally this notion that renders the workers victorious over their enemies. . . . The conviction that one's rights are superior to the rights of the enemy is a veritable reservoir for the sentiments of sacrifice and solidarity of the proletarian collectivity, without which it would remain powerless to the end. . . . In the daily struggle between Capital and Labor the ethics, the moral sentiments, transform themselves into qualities absolutely indispensable for the working class, like courage, perseverance and sentiment

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of sacrifice becoming thus in its turn a veritable means of victory and ceasing to be a mere philosophical abstraction."*

The new ethico-economic consciousness of the working class, as determined by the technico-economic development and the maturity of the labor organizations, influences in its turn the trend of social development, on the one side, by deepening the antagonism between the social classes and, on the other, by preparing a collective state of mind and a collective efficiency, the basic forces of the organization of a new society. The consciousness in the individual worker of the organized collective power and capacity of his class makes him to plan. Man, if he feels any capacity in him, will plan to develop and materialize the desires which an insisting capacity creates in him. When man feels himself dominated by a collective consciousness, when he feels that by merging his activities with the activities of the collectivity, he engages his forces at their best—then he certainly will plan a social co-operation. The more intensely he plans a social work, with the more determination he will try to throw himself into the stir of collective activity, the larger scopes he will set himself. It is in the intrinsic logic of collective work that the more people it calls to co-operate the more efficient it becomes. With the enlarging of collective activities goes inevitably a broadening of aims, a widening of outlook, a deepening of motives. And a man amidst powerful and large collective action feels as though he could change everything, he feels himself a social creator.

Within the sphere of collective action of the revolutionary working class every individual worker wants to know what his particular work means and what it adds to the work of the whole in order that he may consciously co-ordinate his actions to the ultimate social aim. The revolutionary working class has changed its attitude toward the means of production, it has become interested in the problems of the machine process. And we know that many improvements in modern machinery and in the organization of work can be traced to simple workingmen. Schooled in the organization the modern workers have evolved a perfect knowledge as to organizing the production and running the machines. Therefore their desire to get rid of the owners of the machines and the administration of the non-producers is but natural. The workers have given up the idea of bureaucratic central government; they are against any employer, be it an individual, an association of shareholders or the state. They feel themselves professionally capable to run the production and to administer the affairs of the factories with their organizations.

The idea of an industrial or agricultural union sufficient unto

* Robert Michels: "Le cote ethique du socialisme positiviste." La Societe Nouvelle, Mons, September, 1908.

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itself has evolved from the class consciousness and the collective power resting with the unions. The workers feel themselves as a real part of production. Their instinct of workmanship has been called out and therefore they rebel at being ordered around and being exploited and desire full liberty of initiative in order to improve individually and enhance the productivity of labor. They feel themselves responsible for social progress, for they know that everything depends on them. They want to put in the place of authoritative discipline, imposed from above by people outside of their rank, a self-discipline imposed by the social consciousness of their new individuality. Their ideal is a free, a conscious discipline that will render them social creators.

This sense of social responsibility of the working class, which excludes political authority and imposes a discipline logically enfolded in the process of production, is a continuously flowing source of the instinct of workmanship, of the passion of creation. It is the most powerful lever of progress. It has already formed in the industrial organisms that demand for themselves an autonomous active life upon the basis of the effective collaboration of the grouped workers and the continuous relations of the federated groups, the nucleus of the future social organizations. A successful national and international co-ordination of all the industrial groups will finally realize the new society in its full extent.

A new formidable state of facts has been created that constitutes the structure of the future society and has laid down the principle and the structure of new economic relations within which the capitalist methods of production and distribution will be entirely eliminated by the associated production of the free workers.

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"Progress," as Lawrow puts it, "is the growth of the social consciousness, inasmuch as it leads toward the consolidation and the broadening of social solidarity; it is the consolidation and the broadening of social solidarity inasmuch as it rests upon the growing consciousness of society. Then the indispensable organ of progress is the individual who develops himself, who discovers in the progressive development of his thoughts and thinking the laws of social solidarity and applies them to his environment, and who finds in the process of the development of his energies the ways of a practical activity, especially the way of reconstructing his environment, conforming to the ideal of his convictions and the knowledge he has acquired. In short, progress is the development of consciousness and solidarity."*

The revolutionary worker has proven himself as the true organ

* Peter Lawrow: "Historische Briefe." Translation from the Russian. Berlin, 1901.

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of progress because his developed consciousness is bent upon realizing a social organization, the supreme principle of which shall be a social solidarity creating all the freedom and offering all the opportunity to the further development of the individual personality, knowledge and consciousness.

Vilfredo Pareto, the great economist, advanced the theory that a mutation in the distribution of wealth in the sense of a greater equity is essentially and indispensably conditioned by the growth of collective wealth. From this Arturo Labriola justly concludes that a social revolution is possible only with the increase of social wealth.

"Now, we know that man is the highest factor of wealth; that the more energetic and the freer he feels himself, the more he feels himself as an individuality, the more he will produce and that, therefore, the growth of wealth depends principally upon the formation of a class of producers morally highly elevated."

"The revolutionary worker is a superior element of society, for he has a conception of his own person and of his social duties which is far more complete than the conceptions of the conservative or revisionist worker. It is evident that a revolutionary class, by virtue of the fact that it is revolutionary, has far more social value. If the success of revolution is determined by the possibility of increasing social wealth, then it is evident that the existence of a revolutionary working class is a guaranty that this result will be attained. Men who are more mature, who are conscious of the value of their person, who are more inspired and saturated with the sentiment of duty toward their fellowmen, and who therefore are disposed to discharge their duties with all possible broadness—will necessarily be good producers. They will know the economic and moral value of work, and there will certainly not spring up among them an aspiration for parasitism and loafing. The observers have proven that the most productive classes are the most exigent and restless classes. The East-Indian coolie demoralized by continuous work and by traditions of obedience, accustomed to a blind servility to customs and contended with low wages—produces precious little and is a very dear laborer."

"Revolutionary Unionism by training the working class to evolve a 'direct action' and to disregard the established situations and to act with open contempt as to everything that is consecrated by custom and law, works actively on the formation of a new superior society."*

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Not much attention was paid to Jack London's "Iron Heel" by

* Arturo Labriola: "L'Economico e l'Extra-Economico." Pagine Libere. March, 1909.

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the American and European Socialists. Was this because they shrank from confessing that Jack London's vision was very much like reality? Indeed, Jack London is not merely a novelist. He is a man with a vision. In his imagination he sees certain germinating tendencies in their full growth at work, deciding and ruling.

Jack London evidently does not believe in a peaceful social evolution toward Socialism for he knows that the Capitalist is not a pacific man, and that he will violently oppose the establishment of Socialism. In his mind the capitalist class will not let itself be stripped of all its alleged rights by a gradually progressing social legislation, but will organize an army of hirelings and drown Socialism in an ocean of blood. Jack London evidently has no faith in the present form of the political socialist movements, he doubts their force of revolutionizing the whole working class when he predicts that an elite army of skilled workers will go over into the camp of Capitalism and will fight the revolutionary movement. His vision sees a handful of desperate revolutionists fighting with bombs and destructive violence against organized and paid hordes. Then only after centuries of fierce struggle will we reach Socialism. This gloomy and haunted book is a warning. It tells us that something is wrong and that it may become still worse.

Coincidently with the Iron Heel a still gloomier book left the desk of Anatole France. A few years ago he drew a ravishing picture of the socialist society in his "Sur La Pierre Blanche;" now he has lost all hope in the happy future of mankind. In his "L'ile des Pinguoins" he predicts a return to barbarism. The renegade socialists now in power in France, the treachery of a few political leaders, made him forget all his hope.

In his mind the future will surpass the horror of modern times. The "Comrades" will succeed each other in the cabinets of the ruling classes, while Civilization will pursue its normal course: the trusts will multiply, extending their political and economic power ad infinitum. An industrial society will establish itself exclusively devoted to the production of wealth not for being consumed but for merely being accumulated. A certain type of man will evolve in this environment, that "the anthropologists call the type of the billionaire." The cult of wealth will supplant all ideals. The workers will realize the type of the poor. They will not resist nor strike. The unions will be powerless to fight against the infinite number of the unemployed. A methodical selection, operated by the employers, will precipitate the gradual and continuous degeneration of the body and spirit of the workers. The machines will serve to weaken their resistance and their

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intellectual faculties. The arts and the pleasure of the spirit will die out. * * * *

One day an exasperated employee of the Steel Trust will blow up Paris. Destruction will follow all over the country. *And "the hunters will come to chase the bears upon the hills of the forgotten city." Then a cycle will begin all over again. . . . .

Are Jack London and Anatole France right? Is man's fatuity and conceit stronger than his social impulses? Will man always be a traitor to his ideals? Will he always sell himself for the profits and the pleasures of the moment? Will this perpetual fighting among the classes and the nations never cease?

In my mind Anatole France and Jack London have just seen the surface of things. Their terrible vision was conjured up by detached phenomena, that, though existing and seemingly all powerful, are doomed to perish by the intrinsic logic of the ethico-economic revolution now in progress. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the coincidence of the social visions of two active and broad-minded socialists, living one far on the Pacific Coast and the other in Paris, is significant and full of meaning. We must take the warning.

We may believe in a social catastrophe or a violent social revolution, in a sudden mutation of the present form of society into the socialist society; we may believe in the gradual infiltration of the present political institutions by socialist institutions or, in other words, in a slow, step by step evolution toward the socialist society—but all these beliefs, based more or less on unverified theories, do not actually change society.

One social fact, however, is undoubtedly established: the fact, namely, that the bearers of the social revolution are the organized workers. There is one firmly established fact, that the nature of the organizations preparing for social revolution will determine the rhythm and the course and the outcome of the revolution. We then must form our attitudes to the mould of this positive fact.

The experiences of a half a century are behind us. It is useless to reiterate always the same theories. The practice of the last fifty years furnishes us with more facts and material than all the old theories combined. "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs," wrote Marx many years ago.** The theories have furnished us with a valuable point of view. The facts, however, have furnished us the arms wherewith to fight the battles for our aim.

We have seen the most active part of the European proletariat

* H. G. Wells in his The War in the Air anticipates the destruction of Civilization by an international war in the air.

** Marx on The Gotha Program. Republished in The International Socialist Review, May, 1908.

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throwing overboard the inefficient, sedative and corrupting methods of the "political fight"; we have seen it declaring as useless the intermediary functions of politicians who pretend to usher in Socialism by legislation; we have seen the proletariat turning its whole attention to its economic functions and social mission. The economic activity stirred the instinct of workmanship in the workers, awakened their passion of doing, accomplishing and creating. The revolutionary movements in France and Italy have touched fundamental passions and desires in man and are proceeding to give them full liberty of unfolding.

Herein lies the answer to the pessimist. Man's inmost tendencies are involved and called upon by the direct economic struggle for a social end. And there is no power, no other tendency, which could stop the inner pressure of a creating force, the flow and the surging of man's social passions. Not the rapacious elements will become victorious. The new man born from the struggle, the new man who has consciously turned away from his immediate interests, who with all his being has thrown himself into the collective and direct battle, the new man will conquer the new peaceful world.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.—Communist Manifesto.

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left the ox team standing in the field while he went to the house for the customary cup of afternoon coffee. He was but a boy of fourteen, freckled, towheaded, with the expression of a philosopher welded with that of bull-dog determination. He had been driving the oxen steadily for several hours and now sought the house, where he could rest for a moment under the spreading umbrella China trees and sip his coffee in the pleasant Louisiana style—a survival of leisurely, anti-bellum days.

As he reached the house his Uncle Tom, a mild-eyed, middle-aged man, passed him with a warning whisper: "She's on the rampage to-day, sonny."

The boy stopped short.

"Go on," the man said. "She'll give you coffee, but be easy like."

The boy entered the house and faced Aunt Jane for better or for worse. It was worse. She scolded Jimmy roundly for leaving the team standing in the field and walking to the house for coffee when "he knowed the rice oughter be all harrowed in 'fore night." She protested against his sitting down to drink the coffee she grudgingly handed out to him—a privilege which even his stepmother had never questioned. He gulped down the coffee, hastily performed the errands Aunt Jane never failed to demand, then with hands in his pockets and a look of stoical indifference on his face he trudged back to the field and resumed his work.

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"Haw Buck!" he yelled. "Git along there, Brandy, you son of a Senegambian slush biler. Rock along! Whoa, come!" The oxen tightened the chain slowly and once more the heavy harrow moved over the ground. The boy's face betokened deep thought. He had been religious, "got saved at the last 'tracted meetin'," but he was beginning to show signs of backsliding, much to the annoyance of his class-leader. To-day was Wednesday, and to-night was the regular prayer meeting. He was debating strongly as to whether he should or should not go. All at once his face lit up with a new idea and he burst forth in a popular church song:

"Look up yander what I see,
Not made with hands,
A bleedin' savior waitin' for me,
Not made with hands."

One of his chums came riding by as he reached the fence. The song died away from his lips. "Whoa, wo-o-o there, you leather hided sons of Satan!" he shouted, and Buck and Brandy came to a standstill.

"Hello, Benny!" he yelled, "goin' ter prayer meetin' ter night?"

"Yas, reckon so, is you?"

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"Yas, if Uncle Tom'll let me ride old Lucy I'll go. If he don't let me ride Lucy, damn if I go."

"Look here, Jimmy, sounds like yer losin' yer 'ligion?"

"Don't give a damn if I do—don't want it nohow."

"Gee, Jimmy! yer know what yer doin', yer backward slidin'. Better come out tonight and shout some."

"Yo go to hell," shouted Jimmy, as his chum dashed away.

Slowly the oxen turned. A few blackbirds flew up and lit on the fence, but Jimmy neither shouted nor threw clods at them—he was absorbed in thought. Yes, he would go to prayer meeting, and he smiled knowingly.

At sundown he unyoked the oxen. He patted old Brandy lovingly on the head—something unusual—and watched them as they trotted away to the wateringplace.

Shortly after reaching home he had slipped on his "church" clothes, and with Uncle Tom's permission had saddled Lucy and was riding away.

"Now, don't yer 'lope that mare, an' don't yer let her git loose, an' don't yer lose yer Uncle Tom's saddle blanket, an' don't yer play in ther road, an' don't—but Jimmy was too far to hear the rest of Aunt Jane's commands even if he had cared to listen.

Brother Clark, Jimmy's class leader, was leading the prayer meeting. He had known Jimmy from infancy—had been present at his conversion and watched with interest and love his "spiritual growth," and was much dismayed to find him gradually drifting back into the world. One thing gave him hope. He had been present at the conversion of Jimmy's mother, which occurred on the day of the death of Jimmy's grandfather. Satan had made an effort to take the old man alive, and was seen to enter the room in the form of an exceedingly large black cat, which proceeded to climb the bedpost a few minutes prior to the old man's death; but was finally compelled to flee from the room because of the prayers of those who "had power with God," and the Christian songs that were being sung. He had almost vanished from mortal sight, but several Christian women who were standing near the bed observed his feet and tail as he passed through the window. The rejoicing over the discomfiture of Satan was intense. They gathered in the death chamber and sang their most inspiring songs. Clark remembered that when he sang a certain song Jimmy's mother had been "blessed" and had "shouted all over the room." It was claimed by some of those present at the time that she didn't touch the floor, but just flew around the room by means of invisible wings. Clark knew that this had been told Jimmy, and he hoped by the help of that song, which would

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awaken in Jimmy's mind the remembrance of his mother, to win him back to the fold before it was "everlastingly too late."

The scripture lesson was read; many earnest prayers were offered up, and still Jimmy sat stolid and unconcerned.

"Let us pray," again rang out through the room, and this time the leader himself petitioned the throne of grace. He pleaded for mercy for the young, especially those whose mothers had gone before. He referred to those incidents which he calculated would most likely soften Jimmy's heart. He prayed fervently. The room was filled as it were with a magic influence, and as the "amen" announced the end of the prayer, he rose to his feet singing:

"If you get there before I do
And have a shout in glory,
Just tell my friends I'm coming too
To have a shout in glory."

This was too much for Jimmy. This was the song which had resounded around his mother as she "left the world" to become a servant of Christ. The divine spirit overcame him and he burst into a flood of tears. A mighty shout went up in that little room. The lost was found—the stubborn backslider had been reclaimed.

He was called on to lead in prayer but choked down and could only sob, "Lord have mercy." But his "experience" came easier, and he told how that he had considered himself mistreated and had, that very evening, decided to steal his uncle's mare and try to get into Texas before they caught him, but by coming to the prayer meeting he was not only saved from committing a crime, but was brought nearer to the bleeding savior.

The ride home was given up to religious meditation and a complete confession was made on his arrival, which brought forth from both Uncle Tom and Aunt Jane loud thanks and prolonged shouts of praise for the wonderful manifestation of God's power to reclaim sinners.

"Jimmy, Jimmy! git up. Nearly daylight and nothin' done. Don't know what'll become of us. Git up now 'fore I go in there an' break your neck. Yer Uncle Tom an' me's got ter go up ter the Bethel 'tracted meetin'. 'Low we got some 'ligion, too," and Aunt Jane hustled Jimmy out to work.

But the next morning Aunt Jane received no reply to her calls and threats. A suspicion of the worst flashed through her mind and she hurriedly entered Jimmy's room. The bed had not been touched—Jimmy was gone. Aunt Jane rushed out to the barn to see whether

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he had taken the mare, and finding her standing in the stall returned to the house.

"Well," she sputtered, wiping away the tears, "I shore did all I could to make him lead a Christian life, an' if he goes wrong my hands is clean. I used to whip him every time I ketched him a playin' on Sunday."

JOY IS OUR HOME.

I stood upon the slopes of the Mongol-world
And saw the toilers climb beneath their loads;
How wearily along their diverse roads
Their piteous procession was out-furled!
Not Dante in his visions of deep Hell
Dreamed of such cares. His little Florence, set
On war and hate and deadlier lusts, has met
The gracious silence of the passing hell.
And thus the Florences of all the years.
A new day dawns at last for human kind,
No more a body-servant, for his mind
Stirs and awakes and through its birth-hour tears
Can almost smile to see the dawning come:
What of the goal? Joy is our common home.

—Isabel N. Wilder.

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Socialism and Labourism in England.

By H. M. Hyndman.



OME time ago you wrote to me asking me to send you my views as to the position of Socialism and the Labour Party in this country. Unfortunately I am so much taken up still with the mere bread and butter sciences that I can do little more in the way of writing and speaking for Socialism than I am doing already. In fact, it will take me twice my present life to catch up with the work I feel I ought to do. You must therefore excuse a brief statement of my opinion about the present situation in England. If your readers wish to see my analysis of the general position here, and care to verify how completely that summary has been borne out by events, they can look back at an article of mine in the first number of your Review.

What has happened is precisely that which those who know best the ignorance and character of our working people saw to be inevitable if trade union leaders failed to develop vigour and initiative. As M. Clemenceau said more than three years ago, when lunching with me in Paris, "la classe ouvriere en Angleterre est une classe bourgeoise"—the English working class is a bourgeois class. That is absolutely true. It is ignorant, prejudiced, anxious to make petty profits for itself, and given over, in many cases, especially in the north of England and Wales, to the most canting and loathsome form of Religionism. Consequently, it has accepted in full the Political Economy of its worst enemies, holds that compromise is the highest wisdom, never accepts any definite principle with a view to pushing it to a conclusion, and believes that there is no way out of the present miserable system, because the governing classes say so.

The Labour Party, coming to the front at a time when the whole country was sick of both the existing factions, had a magnificent opportunity, if its Members of Parliament had acted straightforwardly upon Socialistic lines, of awakening the whole nation to the possibilities of social revolution. This they had neither the courage nor the ability to do; although all the really hard and dangerous work of Socialism in England had been done long years before the Independ-

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ent Labour Party, and longer years before the Labour Party was ever heard of. They do not even take up and push vigorously palliatives of the existing anarchy formulated and advocated by the S. D. F. for more than seven-and-twenty years. They have been content to accept with gratitude just what the Liberals thought proper to chuck to them. The result of this, combined with their failure to criticise with any effect the proposals of Ministers, has been that they have lost all influence with really advanced men, and are now being rapidly absorbed into the capitalist Liberal party. The process has been going steadily on for some time past; but until the Labour Party resolved to support Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, which puts more than ten times the amount of additional taxation on the workers that is imposed upon the landowners, the people at large thought the Labourists, though incompetent, were still independent. Now they are being taught the truth daily.

Nothing has surprised me more, I confess, than the attitude of your Review in regard to this miserable surrender. Anyone would think to read the **International Socialist Review** and its comments on British Socialism, that the one object of Socialist work in England is to get men who belong to the working class into Parliament, quite regardless of the principles which they hold. When a man once succeeds, no matter at what price in the way of sacrificing the principles of Socialism, in getting M. P. tacked on to his name as a Labourist, the revolutionary Socialists who have done and are doing all the really valuable Socialists propaganda in this country are told that they are not practical men, and that they ought to give up the results of thirty years of propaganda in order to come to terms with the Labourists and Liberals in a nice semi-Socialist "successful" sort of way.

For my part I utterly repudiate and contemn such criticism and such suggestions. I, for one, threw myself into the Socialist movement thirty years ago at the cost of position, property, friends and comfort, because I saw that until the capitalist system is completely overthrown the worst form of slavery must still continue. Therefore, though the S. D. F. was the first organization to propose the Eight Hour Bill, the Free Feeding of Children in all Public Schools, the Nationalization of Railways, Gratuitous Secular Education from the Public Schools up to the Universities, the Organization of Unemployed Labour on Co-operative Principles by the Community, and several other palliatives which we have always advocated, we, nevertheless, have at no time compromised in any way, and have always refused to sink our revolutionary programme by trafficking with the profit-mongers.

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We do not pretend to be satisfied with the progress we have made. Our countrymen, however, are so badly educated, and slumdom is so rampant in our cities, that we could not possibly have done more in the way of Socialist propaganda than we have achieved. But it is sad, not to say disgusting, to see men who know better taking advantage of our unpaid and exhausting toil to make good positions for themselves, pecuniarily and politically, by deliberately trading away the interests of the workers to the exploiting class. You can see plainly enough in America whither such a policy must lead for you. I hope, after this letter, you will take the trouble to apply the same canons of political and social criticism to what is happening here for us. The Labour Party in England today is the greatest obstacle to Socialist progress at home; while the leaders of that party by their insulting refusal, when in Germany, to recognize the German Social Democratic Party in any way, showed to all the world how completely out of touch they are with International Socialism abroad, though recognized as Socialists by the International Socialist Bureau.

The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and intrudes himself upon us as a friend and brother—HIM AND HIM ALONE HAVE WE TO FEAR.—Wilhelm Liebknecht, in No Compromise.

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Ballots, Bullets, or ——

By James Connolly.

the least of the services our comrade, Victor Berger, as rendered to the Socialist cause must be accounted he writing and publishing of that now famous article ı which he draws the attention of his readers to the ossibility that the ballot will yet be stricken from ..ıe hands of the Socialist Party, and raises the question of the action our party must take in such an emergency.

It must be confessed, however, that the question has not been faced at all squarely by the majority of the critics who have unburdened themselves upon the matter. We have had much astonishment expressed, a great deal of deprecation of the introduction of the question at the present time, and not a little sly fun poked at our comrade. But one would have thought that a question of such a character brought up for discussion by a comrade noted for his moderation—a moderation by some thought to be akin to compromise—would have induced in all Socialists a desire to seriously consider the elements of fact and probability behind and inspiring the question. What are these facts?

Briefly stated, the facts as they are known to us all are that all over the United States the capitalist class is even now busily devising ways and means by which the working class can be disfranchised. In California it is being done by exacting an enormous sum for the right to place a ticket upon the ballot, in Minnesota the same end is sought by a new primamry law, in the South by an educational (?) test to be imposed only upon those who possess no property, in some states by imposing a property qualification upon candidates, and all over by wholesale counting out of Socialist ballots, and wholesale counting in of fraudulent votes. In addition to this we have had in Colorado and elsewhere many cases where the hired thugs of the capitalists forcibly occupied the polling booths, drove away the real voters and themselves voted in the name of every citizen on the list.

These are a few of the facts. Now what are the probabilities? One is that the capitalist class will not wait until we get a majority at the ballot box, but will precipitate a fight upon some fake issue

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whilst the mass of the workers are still undecided as to the claims of capitalism and Socialism.

Another is that even if the capitalist class were law-abiding enough, or had miscalculated public opinion enough, to wait until the Socialists had got a majority at the ballot box in some presidential election, they would then refuse to vacate their offices, or to recognize the election, and with the Senate and the military in their hands would calmly proceed to seat those candidates for president, etc., who had received the highest votes from the capitalistic electorate. As to the first of these probabilities the issue upon which a Socialist success at the ballot box can be averted from the capitalist class is already here, and I expect at any time to see it quietly but effectually materialize. It is this: We have often seen the capitalist class invoke the aid of the Supreme Court in order to save it some petty annoyance by declaring unconstitutional some so-called labor or other legislation, now I can conceive of no reason why this same Supreme Court can not be invoked to declare unconstitutional any or all electoral victories of the Socialist Party. Some may consider this far-fetched. I do not consider it nearly as far-fetched as the decision which applied the anti-trust laws solely to trust unions, or used the Interstate Commerce Acts to prevent strikes upon railways.

I consider that if the capitalist class appealed to the Supreme Court and interrogated it to declare **whether a political party which aimed at overthrowing the constitution of the United States could legally operate to that end within the constitution of the United States** the answer in the negative which that court would undoubtedly give would not only be entirely logical, but would also be extremely likely to satisfy every shallow thinker and fanatical ancestor-worshiper in the country.

And if such an eventuality arose, and the ballot was, in Comrade Berger's words, stricken out of our hands, it would be too late then to propound the query which our comrade propounds now, and ask our friends and supporters, What are you going to do about it?

But even while admitting, nay, urging all this on behalf of the pertinency of our comrade's query, it does not follow that I therefore endorse or recommend his alternative. The rifle is, of course, a useful weapon under certain circumstances, but these circumstances are little likely to occur. This is an age of complicated machinery in war as in industry, and confronted with machine guns, and artillery which kill at seven miles distance, rifles are not likely to be of much material value in assisting in the solution of the labor question in a proletarian manner. It would do Comrade Berger good to read a little of the conquests of his countryman, Count Zeppelin, over the

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domain of the air, and thus think of the futility of opposing even an armed working class to such a power as the airship. Americans have been so enamored of the achievements of the Wright brothers that too little attention has been paid to the development of the balloon by Zeppelin. Yet in his hands it has evolved into the most perfect and formidable fighting machine ever dreamt of. The words "dirigible balloon" seem scarcely applicable to his creation. It is a balloon, and more. It is a floating ship, divided into a large number of separate compartments, so that the piercing of one even by a shell leaves the others intact and the machine still floating. Nothing less than fire can menace it with immediate destruction. It can carry seventeen tons and with that weight on board can be guided at will, perform all sorts of figures and evolutions, rise or descend, travel fast or remain stationary. It has already been equipped with a quick-firing Krupp gun and shells made for its own special use, and at the tests of the German army has proven itself capable of keeping up a rapid and sustained fire without interfering with its floating or maneuvering powers. No army on earth, even of highly trained and disciplined men, could withstand an attack from ten of those monsters for as many minutes. It is more than probable that the development of these machines will eventuate in an armed truce from military conquest by the international capitalist class, the consecration of the flying machine to the cold task of holding in check the working class, and the making safe and profitable all sorts of attacks upon social and political rights. In facing such a weapon in the hands of our remorseless and unscrupulous masters the gun of Comrade Victor Berger will be as ineffective as the paper ballot in the hands of a reformer.

Is the outlook, then, hopeless? No! We still have the opportunity to forge a weapon capable of winning the fight for us against political usurpation and all the military powers of earth, sea or air. That weapon is to be forged in the furnace of the struggle in the workshop, mine, factory or railroad, and its name is Industrial Unionism.

A working class organized on the lines on which the capitalist class has built its industrial plants to-day, regarding every such plant as the true unit of organization and society as a whole as the sum total of those units, and ever patiently indoctrinated with the idea that the mission of unionism is to take hold of the industrial equipment of society, and erect itself into the real holding and administrative force of the world, such a revolutionary working class would have a power at its command greater than all the achievements of science can put in the hands of the master class. An injunction for-

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bidding the workers of an industrial union to do a certain thing in the interest of labor would be followed by every member of the union doing that thing until jails became eagerly sought as places of honor, and the fact of having been in one would be as proudly vaunted as is now service on the field of Gettysburg; a Supreme Court decision declaring invalid a Socialist victory in a certain district could be met by a general strike of all the workers in that district, supported by the organization all over the country, and by a relentless boycott extending into their private life of all who supported the fraudulently elected officials. Such a union would revive and apply to the class war of the workers the methods and principles so successfully applied by the peasants of Germany in the Vehmgericht, and by those of the Land League in the land war in Ireland in the eighties.

And eventually in case of a Supreme Court decision rendering illegal the political activities of the Socialist Party, or instructing the capitalist officials to refuse to vacate their offices after a national victory by that party, the industrially organized workers would give the usurping government a Roland for its Oliver by refusing to recognize its officers, to transport or feed its troops, to transmit its messages, to print its notices, or to chronicle its doings by working in any newspapers which upheld it. Finally, after having thus demonstrated the helplessness of capitalist officialdom in the face of united action by the producers (by attacking said officialdom with economic paralysis instead of rifle bullets) the industrially organized working class could proceed to take possession of the industries of the country after informing the military and other coercive forces of capitalism that they could procure the necessaries of life by surrendering themselves to the lawfully elected government and renouncing the usurpers at Washington. Otherwise they would have to try and feed and maintain themselves. In the face of such organization the airships would be as helpless as pirates without a port of call, and military power a broken reed.

The discipline of the military forces before which Comrade Berger's rifles would break like glass would dissolve, and the authority of officers would be non-effectual if the soldiery were required to turn into uniformed banditti scouring the country for provisions.

Ireland during the Land League, Paris during the strike of the Postmen and Telegraphers, the south of France during the strike of the Wine Growers, the strike of the Peasants at Parma, Italy, all were miniature demonstrations of the effectiveness of this method of warfare, all were so many rehearsals in part for this great drama of social revolution, all were object lessons teaching the workers how to extract the virtue from the guns of their political masters.

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But all this requires organization inspired by a revolutionary aim, and at every stage of the game instilling into the mind of the worker that he is being organized, not as a carpenter, a miner, a steel mill employe, a printer, or a teamster, but as a member of the working class, with rights and destinies bound up with all others of his class.

What is Industrial Unionism? The economic manifestation of Socialism.

I take it, then, that the real answer to the problem Comrade Berger propounds is:

Not the Bullet or the Ballot, nor the Ballot or the Union, but rather the Union and the Ballot, each resting upon, fortifying and completing the other.

In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere the workers, enlightened, understanding their self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial and economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes, they will be prepared to take possession and assume control of every industry. With the education they will have received in the Industrial Workers, they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.—Eugene V. Debs, in Revolutionary Unionism.

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An Inspiring Victory. The first great battle of the new Revolution on American soil has been WON. The despised mass of "ignorant foreigners," held apart by their separate languages, half starved when at work, homeless and emptyhanded, have accomplished the impossible. In a few short weeks they have welded themselves into a fighting organization that has beaten the steel trust to a stand-still. They return to work victorious on practically every point in dispute. Their victory is an inspiration not only to themselves but to the whole working class of the world.

The Steel Trust's Mistake. The officials of the Pressed Steel Car Company, a subsidiary corporation of the steel trust, were evidently ambitious to break all records in profit-making, and to this end they shut their eyes not only to all considerations of humanity but also to the simplest principles of economics. They succeeded for a short time in squeezing out extra profits by paying the workmen less than the value of their labor power, less than enough to enable them to live and bring up families with the minimum of comfort common among wage slaves. By this course of action, these officials no doubt pleased Wall Street and boosted for the time being the prices of their stock certificates. But by depressing the purchasing power of their wage-workers, they lost the good will of the "business men" and newspapers of the surrounding community. More important still, they crushed out ruthlessly all the old craft unions among their men—the unions with time-honored traditions of "community of interest" and "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work." Thus they left the field clear for the in-coming of the modern revolutionary union.

The Industrial Workers of the World. Organized at Chicago in November, 1905, at a conference before which Eugene V. Debs delivered several notable addresses, this organization has had a checkered career of nearly four years. Its first burst of enthusiasm was followed by bitter factional disputes between "leaders." There was a split, and for some time a dual organization. Finally the constitu-

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tion was modified in a way to remove, so far as any constitution could do it, the power of "leaders" to make mischief, and the I. W. W. took a new start. Up to this time we have watched its career with sympathy tempered by misgivings. All along we have been firmly convinced that industrial unionism would show itself to be the most effective weapon, not only in the daily struggle with the capitalist class for a larger share of the daily product, but also in the final struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Our doubt was whether the I. W. W. had the efficiency demanded by the tremendous task involved in organizing the working class of the United States along modern lines to battle with organized capital.

Equal to the Test. The events of the last few months have convinced us that the Industrial Workers of the World, as now re-organized, offers the best available rallying point for socialists on the economic field, and it is on that field that the main battle must be fought and won before capitalism will end. What the I. W. W. has done at McKees Rocks to justify this change of attitude on our part is fully told by Louis Duchez in this issue of the Review, and we will not waste space in repetition. What needs discussion now is the practical question of the attitude socialists should take toward the different labor organizations. Thus far the Socialist Party as a party has been neutral, and this neutrality has been bitterly resented by the more aggressive members of the I. W. W. We believe that the events of the coming year will remove the reasons for neutrality that have obtained thus far, and will open the way for a better understanding and a more effective co-operation. The main function of the Socialist Party has been and still is its work of propaganda and education. Its vote-making is secondary. Some things of great importance may yet be accomplished by the ballot. When industrial union tactics become general among the working class, the capitalist class will desire new laws and new instruments of repression to crush the revolutionary unions. Socialist legislators might do much to block the passage of such laws and to expose their intent when first introduced, instead of letting them as now slip through in the dark and be sprung upon the unions by surprise. Again, the United States government and the governments of all the great cities are to an increasing extent employers of labor, and to protect the right of government employees to organize is one task of a working-class party. Wherever a socialist mayor or judge can be installed, employers will hesitate to fight a union, knowing that it will be difficult or impossible for them to use the powers of government against the strikers. But something more than voting is needed to overthrow capitalism, and revolutionary unionism is the something more.

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A Paris Editor on Gompers. The Petit Journal of Paris is perhaps the greatest capitalist newspaper in Europe. Like most of our cheap American newspapers, it is ably edited under the supervision of capitalists for the consumption of workingmen. It may be interesting to American revolutionists to know how Samuel Gompers and the organization headed by him are regarded by the capitalists of Europe, and also how they feel toward the C. G. T., the great French industrial union. We, therefore, translate a few passages from the leading article in the Petit Journal of July 17, 1909.

If the American Federation of Labor were like our C. G. T., and Mr. Gompers like one of the revolutionaries whom assume the direction of our caricature of a labor organization, the United States would inevitably be in a constant state of civil war. But it is not so at all. Quite the contrary; with a few slight exceptions the relations between the working people and the manufacturing interests are better in the United States than in any other country in the world. [This, of course, means better, for the capitalists.—Editor.] This is because the American Federation of Labor is in no way revolutionary. Better still, it is not even socialist. [If there is a covert satire here on certain forms of so-called socialism, the satire is that of the French journalist; our translation is very literal.—Editor.]

It pursues the definite aim of removing the causes of strife between employers and laborers, by means of peaceful negotiations. In other words, the American Federation and its chief laugh at the crude European conception which would have it that between employers and employees there exists a "class struggle." Mr. Gompers has many times declared that he regards this "class struggle" as a mischievous invention of old-world politicians, and he has often publicly reproached the labor movement of Europe for having thus wilfully complicated a purely economic question with an element of political discord which is wholly irrelevant. In his opinion, the laborer may and should demand the highest wages compatible with the state of industry, but he ought also to work in an orderly fashion and keep the agreements that he has accepted.

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In the eyes of our lunatics of the C. G. T., Mr. Gompers is so "reactionary" that he puts the public good above the immediate interests of a group of laborers. Thus, not to stop the ecenomic life of a great part of the United States, he put an end, five years ago, to the great strike of railroad employees, sacrificing for the moment the demands of labor. Again, the following year, he called off the New York strike, because this check to the labor movement seemed to him less harmful than the interruption of traffic, from which the whole city was suffering intensely. And most remarkable of all, these decrees, unfavorable to the workingmen whose leader he was, were obeyed to the letter.

The editorial concludes with the fervent hope that Mr. Gompers' visit to Paris may help reorganize the French unions on the lines of the A. F. of L. We might add some words by way of comment, but it seems hardly necessary. Mr. Gompers' tactics are, it seems, thoroughly satisfactory to the capitalists. Why, then, should revolutionists support them?

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ANOTHER REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE. Among revolutionists everywhere there has been one chief topic of discussion during the past six months. Everywhere comrades have been asking one another, "Which is the surest road to power?" Many have lost faith in parliaments; on the other hand the French postal strike was no more than a moral victory, and the armed revolt in Spain went down to bloody defeat. The working class is feeling the consciousness of power as never before, yet all methods of conducting the great struggle for the mastery have led to defeat or questionable success. So the question, which method is surest? Into which shall we throw our chief energy? has called forth a confusion of replies.

But now when interest in revolutionary tactics is at its height there comes out of the north of Europe an answer in the form of an actual demonstration of proletarian might. I shall not attempt to give here an account of the great Swedish strike. For weeks the papers have been full of it; before this month's Review is in the hand of the reader the outcome will be known. But whether our Swedish comrades win or fail in the achievement of their definite purpose they have taught the whole world a lesson.

The strike originated in the ruthless attempt of one of the three Swedish employers' associations to reduce its workers to a state of miserable dependence. No matter what the subject in dispute might be it constantly held over its men the threat of the lock-out. Altogether it had thrown out of employment at the beginning of August some 80,000 employes. No one was sure of his livelihood from day to day; wage-slavery was reduced to its lowest terms.

But this was labor's opportunity to show its power. Swedish labor is among the best organized in the world. Out of some 500,000 men and women employed in industrial concerns nearly half are organized, and of these the majority belong to the national organization. The position of the employes affected by the constant danger of the lock-out was made the affair of this national organization and it was decided to call a general strike on August 4. When the day finally came about 70,000 unorganized workers also laid down their tools. So at one signal about 300,000 men and women, more than half of the industrial workers of Sweden, entered into a life-or-death struggle with the unfair employers' association.

So complete was the tie-up that for a time no funerals could be held, for there were none to dig the graves. The labor paper was the only one that appeared; typesetters and printers refused to produce any other. And when the editors themselves managed to print some little rags of sheets to take the place of the regular editions they could find no newsboys to vend them. When a Danish paper, Politiken, proposed to print an enlarged edition and send part of it into Sweden its typesetters and printers rebelled in turn. The interesting feature of this incident is that some years ago when a strike was under way in Denmark Swedish workingmen did exactly the same thing. It is a good example of effective internationalism.

When the great conflict was once fairly started two things struck all those who were following events. The first was the marvelous self-control of the men. At Stockholm 1,500 strikers were detailed to maintain order. They were directed especially to maintain public lighting, sanitation, etc. Marked by their red badges they are to be seen wherever there appears to be danger of disturbance. But even this measure appears to have been unnecessary. The strikers remain for the most part quietly in their homes. And even when they gather in tremendous out-of-door mass meetings they mantain an impressive quiet. One can imagine the feeling of power which inspires the 40,000 who regularly meet just outside of Stockholm.

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They are described as sitting or standing for hours waiting for their meetings to open, waiting there in absolute stillness. And even when the speech-making begins they are not demonstrative. They listen soberly, and when the time comes for decision vote without excitement.

It goes without saying that the employers and the government, on the other hand, hardly balk at any means of achieving a victory. Their methods stand out in startling contrast to those of the men. The police are unnecessarily rough, and as if to compel resort to violence troops are conspicuously paraded on every hand. Travelers behold the strange spectacle of regiments of men fully armed, waiting week after week for an enemy that never appears. The only purpose served by this display of force is to show the subservience of the government to the employing class.

The methods of the employers themselves have just been exhibited in a highly interesting manner. As soon as the strike was declared it became noticeable, as it has on other similar occasions, that there was a remarkable unanimity of attitude on the part of the bourgeois press of foreign countries. One might think that this was due merely to the class instinct of the international bourgeoisie. Not so, however. On August 24 the Swedish strike committee published Circular No. 3, which is destined to remain famous. This circular, which fell into the hands of the strikers through some lucky accident, was addressed to the 1,300 members of the employers' association. It contained the following sentence: "The influence we have brought to bear on the foreign press has cost us much, but it is beginning to show results." It is not clear from this just how the funds designed to "influence" the agencies through which we receive our news was expended, but at any rate we know that when American dailies all unite in representing the strike as ended when it is still going on full blast they have good reason for so doing.

At this early date (Sept. 17) it is impossible to tell what the final outcome will be. But at any rate this is the most impressive demonstration of proletarian power that has ever been made. The population of Sweden is some 5,500,000; the number of those who struck in the beginning was about 300,000. A strike involving the same proportion of the laboring population in this country would include nearly 5,000,000 men. The industry of the whole nation, even including little towns on the northern frontier, has been brought to a standstill. If the working class can maintain this condition for yet a few weeks it will surely conquer. Even now it has the fate of the nation, its industrial life, in its hands. How did the working-class bring this about? Through careful class organization. The general strike failed in France because less than an eighth of the French working class is organized, and that part but loosely. In Sweden, as we have seen, a large proportion of the industrially employed men and women are members of a national organization. That is why the Swedes are more successful than were the French. What counts is the revolutionary strike with the great number of workers carefully organized and drilled for the conflict. It takes class-conscious thinking and class-conscious organization together to put labor in the position of power which of right belongs to it.

MR. GOMPERS ABROAD. The backwardness of the American labor movement was never more dramatically exhibited than in Mr. Samuel Gompers' recent European tour. When he stood face to face with the French or German labor leaders he was forced to attempt a connected account of the policies of our American Federation of Labor. His failure to meet the demands made upon him was the result of no personal fault; mere words could not make the crooked straight or turn a hand-to-mouth way of merely getting on into a logical labor policy. It was all perfectly natural, the inevitable result of trying to justify mere conservatism from the point of view of labor.

Of course it goes without saying that Mr. Gompers was politely received. At London, Berlin and Paris he addressed large gatherings. He was greeted in fact, with a good deal of enthusiasm. It must be recorded, however, that the longer he remained in any one place the more this enthusiasm cooled down. At Berlin, for example, he was introduced by Comrade Legien, Secretary of the National trade union organization, as a real revolutionist. In his address he explained that our American conditions are peculiar, hence we have a peculiar form of unionism. The peculiarity of this form, he went on to say, is that it aims at only one thing at a time. It

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works for an eight-hour day or a rise in wages till it gets it, then thinks of something else to work for. This policy, according to Mr. Gompers, has led to the most marvelous success. Not only have wages been raised, but the employers have been so impressed that they have not dared to lower them during times of depression.

Hardly was the address ended before trouble began. Comrade Dittmer asked Mr. Gompers about his attitude toward the bourgeois parties; it had been reported that he had entered into a campaign for the candidates of one of them. Why did not American unionists cooperate with the socialists? To this question Mr. Gompers answered that his personality did not enter into the discussion, therefore he did not consider it necessary to reply. Unfortunately for him, however, the answer was given for him in more than one socialist and labor paper. In **Die Neue Zeit**, e. g., Karl Kautsky devoted an article to the matters. He quoted at length from an address delivered by Mr. Gompers to his friends of the Civic Federation just before he left New York. In this address he is reported to have said that European unionists are over radical, and that he felt sure a proper presentation of the advantages of American tactics would induce them to take a more reasonable view of things. This went to show, Kautsky pointed out, not only that Mr. Gompers is no revolutionist, but that he is a good deal of a demagogue. As if this were not enough the American correspondent of Vorwaerts sent over a long communication proving that Mr. Gompers' assertions as to the success of the A. F. of L. policies were either false or incomplete. He had told of the rise of wages, for example, without mentioning the corresponding rise in the cost of to the maintenance of wages during the recent industrial crisis was quite untrue; in numerous cases, which were mentioned in detail, wages had been reduced. It can easily be imagined that after such revelations as these there was a sudden decrease in German enthusiasm for th representative of American labor policies.

In Paris Mr. Gompers' experience was not unlike that in Berlin. **L'Humanite** wrote him up politely without critical comment on the policies which he advocated, but in **Le Socialiste** these policies were exposed at length. The climax came, of course, at the international congress of union secretaries. This met at Paris August 31 and September 1-2. In presenting himself before this body Mr. Gompers explained that the A. F. of L. is in favor of internationalism, but (once more) conditions in America were peculiar, and so the American unionists had not yet decided to join the international organization. He had no credentials to present. This statement was received with some surprise. Comrade Hueber (Austria) remarked that the American Federation had been in correspondence with the international secretariat for at least four years and during that time it might sure have come to some conclusion with regard to joining. It was clear, it seemed to him, that the Americans were not yet ready for international action. Mr. Gompers was finally received merely as a guest. Strangely enough the only proposition which he introduced was one looking toward a closer international organization in the future. He said that the present loose organization could mean little to the Americans; what they needed was a close, powerful alliance which would lay stress on practical reforms such as the abolition of child-labor. In view of the fact that the A. F. of L. is unwilling to enter the present organization this proposition naturally fell rather flat.

Everywhere, then, Mr. Gompers was met by leaders more advanced than he, most of them socialists. Invariably he tried to explain his tactics by allusions to the peculiarity of American conditions, and always he failed to satisfy his hearers. Even those who were not sufficiently well informed to oppose him insisted that the "peculiarity" of American conditions is only temporary and so sooner or later American unionists will take their place in the class, will come into the international movement and adopt revolutionary tactics. So the Europeans have learned something of America but remain as unreasonably radical as they were before Mr. Gompers' missionary journey.

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Anti-Socialist though he confessedly is, it is always a pleasure to receive a new book from the pen of Major Charles E. Woodruff, Surgeon in the United States Army. Among present-day students of anthropology I know of no one whose work is more uniformly original and suggestive than his, nor, let me hasten to add, of greater practical importance.

Some of my readers will probably remember that some four years ago Major Woodruff caused something of a commotion in military and medical circles by the publication of a book in which he contended that what made prolonged residence in tropical countries dangerous for the average white man was the intensity of the light rather than that of the heat common to such countries. The more blond the would-be colonist the greater the danger of tropical residence to him. The book was in the main based upon Major Woodruff's experience in Cuba and the Philippines as a member of the Army Medical Corps, and its startling conclusions, bitterly attacked at the time, have gradually come to be accepted as fundamentally correct.

The practical importance of such a theory can be realized in a moment, even by the veriest tyro. It completely knocks out the prevalent notion that white men can be acclimatized to stand tropical life. In 1898 the Medical Department of the Army, under the delusion that soldiers could be "acclimatized," sent thousands of men to Tampa and other places to prepare them for service in the Philippines. Instead of helping the men, this had an exactly opposite effect, and thousands of men started out already enfeebled. That is only another way of saying that a larger knowledge of anthropology would have saved many an army corps.

Still another delusion commonly entertained concerning the prolonged residence of white men in tropical countries is that they need very little fat in their diet; that the best diet is an approximation to that of the natives—generally fruits and rice. At first thought it would seem as if this ought to be so; that in tropical countries nitrogenous foods should as far as possible be avoided. But there is the logic of facts against this assumption. Soldiers everywhere in tropical climates demand quite as much sugar and bacon as in colder climates; the soldiers in Cuba and the Philippines use quite as much of these articles per capita as do those in Alaska, and any attempt to make them do with less provokes serious discontent. In his latest volume, Major Woodruff demonstrates very clearly why tnis is so; why the waste of tissue in the tropics is such, in the case of a white man, as to require an ample nitrogenous diet. Incidentally, also, he performs a very useful service by protesting against those mischievous food reformers, the Crittendens and others, who insist that the average American eats too much nitrogenous food. He shows very clearly, it seems to me, that the effect of the propaganda carried on by these food faddists cannot be other than dangerous. As a matter of fact, with the near-tropical climate common to a large part of the United States during a very considerable part of every year, there is every reason to believe that we already suffer from a deficiency of nitrogenous food, rather than otherwise. We Socialists in particular, it seems to me, ought to be careful not to countenance a propaganda which must inevitably lead to a lowering of the standard of living.

These matters are but incidental to the main theme of the Major's latest volume, which bears the title, **Expansion of Races**, and is published by the Rebman Company, New York City. In a bulky work of nearly five hundred octavo pages the reader is led through an amazing array of facts, all bearing upon one big group of questions having to do with human progress, and upon the answers to which depend both our interpretation of past progress and our forecast of future progress. Major Woodruff seeks the cause of the innumerable mi-

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grations of man; why should the Aryan peoples rule as they do? Why did so many Europeans migrate across the Atlantic to America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and why are we now crossing the Pacific in much the same manner? And how comes it that the white races always control the tropics, despite the fact that they cannot be acclimatized and that efficient colonization is impossible?

Most of my readers, being more or less familiar with Marx's historical method, will realize that only an economic explanation of these facts, and other similar ones, is possible. Now, Major Woodruff gives such an economic interpretation to the great movement of historical development, though it may not satisfy all the followers of Marx. Yet the answer is not, in my judgment, anti-Marxian.

We can briefly summarize Major Woodruff's answer by saying that the prime motive for race expansion and migration, and therefore for the whole movement of history, is over-population in one place and the capacity for sustaining a larger population in some other place. When men find it impossible or difficult to raise food, or to secure the wherewithal to buy it, they needs must move on. And the movements of men, motived by the great fundamental need for food, constitutes history as Major Woodruff conceives it. Of course, "over-population" is a very elastic term. A thousand white men will live in comfort upon as many acres as ten savages would require, and we are always increasing the productivity per acre by improvements in implements, seeds, fertilizers, and so on. Still, our author contends that the reason why the United States has taken the Philippines is the same reason that has motived all migrations of races, the need for new sources of food supply.

Major Woodruff is, therefore, not a disciple of Malthus, though it may be surmised that the famous Albury parson would be astonished at some of the facts contained in Major Woodruff's book, as well as at the conclusions he draws from them. Especially does he scout the idea of a degeneration of the great historic races and nations which has played such an important part in discussions of matters sociological and anthropological. An imperfect adjustment of man to his environment is about all that there is to the much talked of degeneration of the great ruling races. In every one of the tropical countries the ruling class has been an alien, intruding blonder race, forced there by the great economic pressure, the need of new food supplies. But none of these blond rulers of darker peoples have been able to perfectly adapt themselves to the new environment, and after a few generations they have died out. In the case of India we see how impossible it is for the English, after centuries, to maintain themselves there. Not only must the Englishman in India constantly recuperate his strength in his native land, but even while he remains in India he is not able to support himself by his own labor; he is a parasite, and is incapable of becoming anything else in that climate, and by the third generation the Anglo-Indians die out.

In discussing the relation of the birth-rate to the saturation point, Major Woodruff starts with the assumption that the surplus population must always either migrate or be wiped out by death. That is the old Malthusian notion. He regards the birth-rate as a "delicately regulated governor, instantly responding to the need for over-population." It is very large where losses are tremendous or where the offspring cannot find room, but low in the opposite conditions of civilized life.

He is unquestionably right, I think, in the main proposition involved here. Nature struggles with Titanic energy against extinction, and where infantile mortality is great—where, that is to say, infant life is most menaced—there most babies are born. The well attested fact that every war is attended by a phenomenal increase in the birth rate is but one of a large number of illustrations of the working of this strange law of population. Adam Smith called attention to the fact that the birth rate was always highest among the poorest part of the population, and lowest among the well-to-do—a fact which has always seemed to me to adequately refute some of the practical conclusions of Malthus and his followers.

And it seems to me that the data which Major Woodruff has assembled bearing upon this question is capable of a very different interpretation. I have, myself, in a very humble way, suggested in one of my books that the increased complexity of life which goes with advancing civilization—education, the excitation of city life, and the other fac-

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tors which mark the advance of mankind over mere animalism—tends to the automatic repression of the birth rate, and that volition enters in only as a very small factor. The same is true of the decay of another maternal function analagous to child-bearing, namely breast-nursing. No fact is more abundantly verified than the repressive influence of complex conditions of life upon these functions.

It is curious, to say the least, that Major Woodruff should ascribe the fall of the birth rate in Australia and New Zealand to the approach of saturation —that is, the limit of the food supply. I confess that my good friend the Major seems here to have forced the facts to fit the theory; at least I am quite unable to see upon what grounds he would suggest that there has yet been the remotest approach to the saturation point in Australia. I should say that, on the other hand, the resources of Australia have scarcely been tapped as yet, and that there is a much more reasonable explanation of the phenomena of a declining birthrate in the increasing complexity of life due to an increased degree of comfort. Race suicide is a condition of prosperity, never of poverty, or the fear of poverty.

I have touched only the fringes of the Major's argument, and indicated only a few of the many vital problems with which it deals. I trust, however, that enough has been said to indicate that the book is one of uncommon interest and value. You may not agree with the author—though you had better well fortify yourself with facts before pushing your disagreement very far!—but at least you will admit after reading **Expansion of Races** that the volume is far more interesting than the average novel of today, and that every page contains a distinct challenge to the intellect of the thoughtful reader. It is a book to be read and re-read.

Keir Hardie has published through the publication bureau of the Independent Labor Party a little volume entitled **India**, composed of a series of articles he wrote for the Labour Leader—the I. L. P. organ—during his visit to India a couple of years ago. To those Socialists who have read the numerous pamphlets, books, editorials and speeches which British Socialists have devoted to this subject—especially the veteran H. M. Hyndman—Hardie's observations will come merely as so much corroborative testimony. He shows clearly enough that India's chronic state of famine is an artificial condition for which her rulers are responsible. India is taxed to exhaustion, and the states which still maintain under native rule are much better off than those under British rule. The little book is one which ought to have great influence in rousing the working men of Great Britain; it admirably meets the long felt need for a cheap and readable summary of the facts about India which have been mainly published in expensive volumes out of the reach of the workers, both financially and otherwise.

Time was, not so long ago, when the publication of a new five-cent propaganda pamphlet by an American Socialist writer was an event of considerable interest, which attracted attention in every Socialist local in the land. But the flood of Socialist literature has swoolen to such dimensions that both books and pamphlets pass by unnoticed. In the old days one could—and religiously did—review every new pamphlet and book on the subject as it appeared, but that is no longer possible. It is only once in a great while that one is able to mention a propaganda pamphlet at all. And the writing of such a pamphlet is no longer the certain guarantee of fame, within the movement, that it formerly was.

This brief explanation is offered to the numerous Socialist pamphleteers who have sent me copies of their publications, only to find that no mention of them crept into these pages. Occasionally, however, some exceptionally successful propaganda pamphlet imperatively claims attention. For example, W. F. Ries, of Toledo, claims to have distributed more than a million copies of his pamphlet, **Men and Mules**, which is a marvelous achievement. Now he is out with another pamphlet of very similar scope, entitled **Monkeys and Monkeyettes**. It is a useful little pamphlet for general distribution, but it is not, I think, as successful in its appeal as its predecessor.

Unless I miss my guess (in which case I shall claim the right to make another) the "great American novel" has at last been written. Its title is **A Certain Rich Man**, and its author William Allen White, the Kansan who won fame by asking: "What's the Matter with Kansas?" in a

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now celebrated editorial. Hereafter he will be known as the author of "A Certain Rich Man," one of the greatest, if not the greatest, achievements in fiction within the whole range of American literature. If you have time for only one novel before the busy days come again, let it be this great story of American life.

Mr. White has taken the Kansas village about which cluster all his boyish memories as the scene of his great story, and the boys and girls with whom he played and fought are its characters. Take any little Kansas village in the ante-bellum days, when abolitionist agitation was rife, people it with just the ordinary mortals common to all such villages, engage them in all the incidents of such placid village life, and add the roar and excitement of the great war, and then you have the materials for such a story as this, provided you have the genius of Mr. White—a genius so reminiscent of Thackeray.

Little Johnny Barclay, the fatherless boy who drove the cows to pasture, played the melodeon, drove hard bargains with other boys, and ran away with the local company to the war, was no exceptional type. His environment made him what he was—hard, determined, resolute and masterful. And the qualities developed in the little Kansas village proved to be of great value when the boy grew to be a man and went out into the world. In his case it was especially true that the boy was "father to the man." Mr. White gives us a picture of John Barclay's progress that is like a relentless, untouched photograph, without a line softened or erased.

He shows us John Barclay the trust magnate, President of the National Provisions Company, gambling with the people's bread as recklessly as though the stake were of no earthly consequence. He shows the steps leading from the Kansas village to the great metropolitan office—rebates, bribes to lawmakers and judges, and so on, through a list of methods not wholly unfamiliar to the real world of business. The picture impresses the reader as being true, a photograph rather than a caricature. Mr. White is too good a literary artist to write a political tract, or a treatise on political economy, in the guise of a novel. Still, for all that, the greatest value of his story will be the relentless and calm exposure of the methods of our great modern capitalists.

I confess that I found the minor characters more interesting even than John Barclay, the central figure of Mr. White's canvas. This is not said by way of criticism, let me add, for it is but another sign of the perfection of literary art which marks Mr. White's work that the figures in the background are as well drawn as the central figure. **A Certain Rich Man** is a great, big, virile story, worthy of America and the preblems with which it deals. It stands out like a mountain above the plain represented by most of the season's fiction.

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It cannot be denied that the United States Steel Corporation has been having considerable success in hauling ore from its mines in the Northwest to its mills distributed along the lakes and eastward during the past few months. But the stormy days of autumn are at hand and the high school scabs and landlubber strike-breakers are deserting the ships in large numbers or protesting against continuing in the service of the trust. The result is that more work is thrown upon the few competent men aboard who deserted their organizations, and they are naturally disgruntled.

To make matters more uncomfortable for the trust magnates, the rumor has become current that a new organization has been secretly forming on the lakes which is to include all classes of workers from the master of the ship to the engineer and cook, and even the dock men are to be drawn into it. It cannot be denied that many of the engineers on board are disgusted with their lot, and it is also known that many of the captains have expressed regret in pulling away from the other crafts and accepting the open shop dose crammed down their throats by the trust.

Meanwhile many of the independent shipowners have suffered severe losses this year in allying themselves with the trust to smash unions and enslave labor, and not a few are doomed to bankruptcy. On top of it all the trust is building still more ships for the purpose of hauling its own ore and killing off the independents whom it used.

As the readers of the **Review** noticed in the daily newspapers, the 6,000 unorganized strikers of the Pressed Steel Car Co., at McKees Rocks, Pa., won their contest, which was undoubtedly the bitterest struggle that has been waged in any locality since the ill-fated Homestead strike. The result, as could be surmised, has aroused great enthusiasm among the iron and steel mill workers. Now there is talk of merging all the unions in that industry and forming one great organization, somewhat along the lines of the Metal Workers' Union of Germany, the most powerful labor body in the world.

The Industrial Workers of the World, who were the controlling factors in the McKees Rocks struggle, are said to be growing at a rapid rate throughout the iron and steel manufacturing districts. During the past two months I have visited a number of strike centers and found a friendly feeling among members of the Amalgamated Association for the I. W. W. It is even predicted that these two organizations and the tinplate workers (finishers) will form some sort of a federation and organize the entire iron and steel industry. The Sons of Vulcan are also said to favor the plan.

It was erroneously stated in last month's **Review** that the great strike of hatters had been adjusted. The statement was based on a brief telegram and the settlement was anticipated because Governor Fort of New Jersey was requested by certain of the manufacturers to work out a plan to establish peace, which request he complied with. Governor Fort's idea was that the union should be recognized and the label used as before, that those who deserted the organization should be readmitted, and that no wage demands should be made within three years. The propositions were accepted by the unionists while the employers, who asked for a settlement plan, refused to abide by the Fort decision at the last moment. The hatters are making steady progress, only about 5,000 being still on strike. The rest have obtained work in union factories that have expanded their business on account of the strike or in other avocations, and the chances are good that some of the open shop bosses will hang out the sheriffs' sale sign soon unless they come to terms.

What bids fair to become the hottest election that ever has been waged in

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the United Mine Workers is now in its primary stage. President T. L. Lewis will be opposed for re-election by William Green, president of the Ohio district. John P. White of Iowa, rormer vice-president, has also been mentioned as a probable candidate, although it is doubtful whether he will enter the race to preside over the destinies of 300,000 men. Vice-President McCullough, who is a Michigander, will be opposed by Frank Hayes, the stalwart young secretary-treasurer of the Illinois miners, and it is probable that Secretary Perry and all the other officers will have opposition.

It is not the desire of the writer to "butt" into the miners' contest any more than to say that President Lewis inherited a whole lot of trouble and had some hard problems to solve. Being human, he doubtless made mistakes, but it cannot well be claimed that one of those errors was to muzzle progressive thought and expression. Lewis is not a Socialist, but he has given the Socialists a fair shake in the official journal to make their views known, and Socialists ask for no more than a square deal. Probably Green would do the same thing, for socialism has become a power among the miners.

"When the cat's away the mice do play." Likewise: "Put a beggar in the saddle and he will ride a willing horse to death." These old sayings come to mind as one watches the crazy gyrations of Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. When Sam Gompers went to Europe to inform the foreigners that we are the greatest thing that ever happened and that their ways are not our ways, always, he appears to have instructed Morrison and the office cat to run the Federation headquarters at their own sweet will.

Anyhow, no sooner does Sam get out o' sight of land when Morrison begins to bombard the state and city central bodies with circular letters peremptorily ordering them to expel the flint glass workers or lose their charters forthwith. The flints, not desiring to be blamed as the cause of creating local divisions, withdrew from most city and state bodies. In a number of places the unionists protested against the flints withdrawing and they remained, the upshot being that the charters of the central bodies were revoked.

Having been fairly successful in ousting the flints (with the voluntary assistance of the latter) Morrison hunted around for new worlds to conquer. He espied the electrical workers, who are in the throes of an internal controversy. Unlike the flints who are engaged in a jurisdictional row with the green glass blowers and hold no charters from the Federation, the electrical workers are affiliated with the A. F. of L., although the Federation executive council has recognized the so-called McNulty faction and frowns upon the Reid faction.

It would require too much space to go into the merits of this controversy. Suffice it to say that the Reid faction desired to rid itself of the international officers, petitioned for convention, were turned down by McNulty and then proceeded to hold a convention upon their own responsibility at St. Louis in September last year, and unseated practically all international officials except Treasurer Sullivan. At the Denver A. F. of L. convention McNulty was recognized and a representative was appointed to arrange a settlement of the controversy, but from that day to this the breach instead of being closed, has steadily widened. The anti-McNulty (or Reid) faction is composed of fully 80 per cent of the membership, but despite this fact the A. F. of L. officials outlawed the Reidites and Secretary Morrison peremptorily ordered all the state and city central bodies to expel those who refused to acknowledge the McNulty regime.

The consequence is that the local labor movements throughout the country have been thrown into a turmoil. A number of state federations and many city central bodies have defied the ultimatum and had their charters revoked, and the revolt is spreading all over the land. The feeling against the A. F. of L. cabinet is becoming intense and it is likely that this ruling will precipitate a bitter contest in the Toronto convention next month.

In the hope of prejudicing the rank and file the McNultyites have been hollering "Socialist' at the Reidites, but it appears that that old chestnut is wormy—ausgespielt. They will have to come into court with clean hands.

During the month a seceding faction of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union held a convention at Lynn, Mass., and organized the "United Shoeworkers of America." Dissatisfaction with the older organization in matters relating to wage

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agreements and administrative policies are mentioned among the causes that led to the formation of the new organization.

The International Association of Machinists is also having trouble. Some 5,000 members in the New York district were suspended immediately following the recent referendum election. In the international referendum all the old officers were re-elected and the Federation of Labor delegation stands three Socialists to two 'antis."

The Illinois ten-hour law for working women was knocked out by Judge Tuthill, "the working people's friend," on the ground that it interfered with the sacred right of contract. The case will be carried to the Supreme Court.

Organized labor and Socialist locals in the principal cities are making liberal donations to the strikers in Sweden. Two representatives are in the country explaining details of the great struggle.

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NEWS & VIEWS

Socialists Who Work

NEW CASTLE, PA., SOCIALISTS.

"THE FLYING SQUADRON" of the Socialist Party of New Castle, Pa., is one of the best disciplined and the most progressive group of revolutionists in the state. About a year ago the idea struck them to start a weekly paper. This was done. No one had any great amount of money to put into it—there were no millionaire socialists in the local—but the paper has been carried through and The Free Press, which is published bi-weekly, is self-supporting.

Here is their plan: They get out a regular edition of 10,000 copies, eight small pages, and guarantee to place one copy in every home in New Castle every issue. Advertising sells for $1 an inch. $25 a page, so it can be seen that The Free Press is no little affair. The local owns its own press and does job work in connection.

Were it not for the fact that "The Flying Squadron," which is composed of about 75 real red comrades, who line up every issue, get their bundles, and distribute them from house to house, the great work they are doing would not be possible. The accompanying photograph, which was taken by Alderman Crabill, who is a socialist, does not contain all the "Flying Squadron." The others were driven out of town on account of the tin mill strike which is still in progress.

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In this connection it is well to note that these Socialist Party men are industrial unionists, too. Not the kind that say: "Yes, yes, I believe in it," and so on, and then refuse to stand for the organization that represents it, but they are I. W. W. men. The Socialist Party men and the I. W. W. work in harmony in New Castle. The Free Press has come out for the I. W. W. very forcibly. Revolutionists may well keep an eye on the New Castle bunch.

TWO CALIFORNIA REDS.

SELIG SCHULBERG AND SON,
SAN FRANCISCO.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO'S MUNICIPAL PLATFORM. The Socialist Party of San Francisco in convention assembled reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism.

The Socialist Party, as the political expression of the class-conscious working class, demands that the workers, the producers of all wealth, shall receive the full social value of their product. With this end in view, we demand that the working class, as the essential class in society, shall seize and control the powers of government, and shall use these powers for the purpose of enforcing and defending their ownership and operation of the means of production.

The Socialist Party is the only party able or willing to make plain the cause and the cure of the great problems of today, including the problem of the unemployed. So long as there is industrial competition, so long as there is a struggle for profit, so long as one class owns what the other class produces, there will be panics, industrial prostration, and the tramping of the unemployed. To abolish unemployment, we must abolish capitalism; we must organize the workers as a class. To organize the workers into a solid political and industrial phalanx, the fundamental antagonism between the exploiters and the producers must be emphasized in every act of the workers in the shop and at the ballot box.

The Socialist Party realizes that, while the aim of the workers is to capture the state and national powers of government we are forced by the form of the industrial and political institutions of today, to acquire control of the municipal government in order to aid the workers in their struggle with the capitalist owners of the means of wealth. We therefore pledge our candidates to administer the powers of the municipal government of San Francisco in such a manner as to strengthen the working class in this city in all its efforts to organize for the final empancipation of labor from wage-slavery.

We declare that the only political issues of importance to the workers are class issues, and that all other parties in this campaign, in order to prevent the workers from lining up as a class, are aiming to center attention upon issues that do not affect the labor or social question.

The Socialist Party recognizes that an organized working class is essential to the progress of the human race. Hence our party calls upon all the workers to organize, the unskilled as well as the skilled. Understanding the trend of capitalist development, the Socialist Party of San Francisco realizes that, to cope with the powerful capitalist class and resist the encroachments of the greedy exploiters, an industrial form of labor organization is essential.

The Socialist Party the world over represents the interests of the toiling masses. Wherever men and women are organizing to abolish poverty and misery, wherever they are standing in stalwart defiance to militarism and all the

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dred horrors of capitalism, wherever labor is on the march to emancipation, the Socialist Party is found in the vanguard of the conflict, an international army of over ten million, solidly arrayed around the banner that proclaims the slogan of International Socialism, "Workers of the World, Unite."

WE WISH TO THANK our friends who responded to the call for aid and who sent contributions to the strikers at McKees Rocks. The money helped the men to hold out against the Pressed Steel Car Company. It is only when we co-operate with our comrades on the line of battle that they can hope to accomplish big things.

COMRADE JACK WOOD writes from Southern California. "In spite of the wonderful crops and delicious fruit here, not many farmers are making fortunes, nor many slum-dwellers eating peaches. (Four footed) hogs eat raisins here while in London Jack London saw men eating rotten fruit from the gutter. But the burdens will be shifted soon. We will have peonage or socialism right here in America. Industrial Unionism is one of the main planks, if not the only one to save the country from chaos. And the Industrialists will vote the Socialist ticket. Farmers' unions abound here, grasping at elusive prosperity. They'll have to get in the big industrial organization. It's the only remedy! Best wishes to all."

T. A. HICKEY WRITES: I am going to say a few things about the Lone Star State of Texas.

If Texas were laid on the face of Europe with its head resting on the mountains of Norway, one palm covering London and the other Warsaw, it would stretch across the Kingdom of Denmark, the Empires of Austria and Germany, across northern Italy, and bathe its feet in the Mediterranean.

This gigantic state had twenty-five locals of our party with two hundred members in 1905. She has now over two hundred locals, two thousand members in the spring of 1909. In 1904 there in spite of the poll tax that amounts to $2.75 in the city, 7,500 votes were cast for Debs and Hanford. It is estimated that the vote is cut in two because of this poll tax and some thousands of votes were illegally counted out.

One of the briliant features of the movement in Texas is the Socialist encampments—great open-air gatherings, at which from six to ten thousand people attend for a week to ten days. Enormous quantities of literature are distributed and the ablest speakers from all parts of the country attend. Eight of these encampments were held last year, this year twelve.

The movement in Texas is remarkably clear, considering its youth. Like all southwestern and western states, democracy is not a shibboleth, but an ideal to be fought for. 'Tis not surprising, accordingly, that the first move looking towards an adjournment of the National Executive Committee and National Committee between campaigns should have sprung from the State Secretary of the Lone Star State. Not only this, but Comrade Bell is pushing forward the organization of counties, senatorial and congressional committies to the end that local autonomy prevail in this great state.

'Tis worth remembering that Texas had one hundred thousand populist votes in the heydey of that movement. A great many of the old "pops" have been in reform movements for a generation and accordingly have become tired and pessimistic. However, the majority of them are still eager for reform and can be readily brought into our fold and will embrace our revolutionary doctrine when it is presented to them. The legislature has refused to put through the various planks in the platform they ran upon. The Senate at Austin is hopelessly reactionary and is controlled by legal lights from the big cities in the state, who between legislatures receive large fees from the special interests. Already the radical newspapers in Texas, like the Houston Chronicle, are referring to the men in control at Austin as the Republican side of the house. The old time Democracy is falling into disfavor everywhere and the new democracy—the Social Democracy—is being greeted on every side as the movement to bring peace and prosperity to the Lone Star State.

COMRADE W. J. BELL, writing from Texas, says: The man on the road finds himself questioned as to the danger of officialdom in the event of our party's triumph. Thousands of clean men can be secured for our organization within the next year if steps are taken that will remove or minimize the

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danger of a bureaucracy. One of the first steps toward that end should be the prompt retirement of our National Committee and its subordinate body, the N. E. C.

On the night after last election day the National Committee of the Republican Party met and adjourned subject to call of the chair, which will in all probability be about the 10th of April, 1912. Is there any good reason why our party can not do the same? But one tenable objection can be offered, and that is that there are four unorganized states. By turning some active organizers into that field they can be organized within the next few months. Then the rank and file of the party, with National Constitution in hand, can read Section 4, Article 12, to the National Committee and ask them: "Gentlemen, what reason can you give us for the continuation of your committee?"

The committee assumes the attitude of "direction" over the purely clerical work of the National Secretary. Not having daily oversight of the details of his work, they meet semi-occasionally and get him to instruct them in what they must instruct him to do, or by their ignorance of current necessities, prescribe procedure that merely interferes with the efficient performance of his duties.

The powers of the committee are merely "executive" yet we see them arrogating to themselves the power of direction over the thought and expression of a majority of the party in such self-imposed rules as National Committee Rule No. 7.

When called upon to enforce protection of State autonomy they are impotent. When called upon to choose between two factions in a state, their indecision and vacillation only complexes the situation. They are a nonentity in interstate law and in the political structure of the nation.

The curse of the movement in the past has been centralized power in the hands of the National Committee. The history of the S. L. P. is a history of blighted hope, smashed aspiration and pessimism for the suffering working class who looked to that organization for protection. Hundreds of thousands of workmen went to their graves in despair when the once magnificent K. of L. went on the rocks of centralized power, the S. T. & L. A. is another case in point.

If there is one lesson more than another that our past experience can teach us, it is this: That centralization spells autocracy, and obviously decentralization spells democracy. The Romanoff dynasty, the religious hierarchies, the powers of kings, the New York Life Insurance Companies, in short everywhere that despotism lives it is based on centralized power.

If we follow the example of the Republicans and adjourn our National Committee, it would not be the first time that the Socialist movement has taken a leaf out of an old party book and prospered accordingly. When our party kicked over the centralization of the S. L. P. and established the state autonomy program of the old parties, we found the movement making an immense advance for the first time. When the rank and file found the deadly effects of centralized power removed, their individual initiative immediately asserted itself and growth was the order of the day. This plan must be followed if we are to win. All attempts to increase National dues and strengthen the "powers that be" nationally must be relentlessly fought. Rather should the national dues be reduced to a minimum, the funds remain in the state until all counties are organized, then the maximum amount accrue to the county central committees. The spectacle of a state handing over for the support of the national office an amount equal to what it retains for its own work of agitation and organization, and then accomplishing practically the same amount of work as does the national organization thus supported by the funds of forty states is an anomaly.

Steps should be taken also to abolish conventions and thus place absolute power once and for all in the hands of the men and women who comprise the rank and file of the party. A fraction of the membership, in convention, never truly represents the majority. Their work is done usually only to be undone by referendum after they adjourn. Caucusing and bargaining "support for support" run rife in old party style by this and that "clique" and time that cost sweating, bleeding hands of toil an enormous price per minute is consumed in senseless jargon for the sake of "getting into print."

Before closing I desire to call the attention of the membership to the fact that already in the labor movement a great labor organization has abolished conventions for all time, has done so for a number of years with tremendous success. I refer to the Cigar Makers'

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International Union, of which our present National Secretary is a member. This is the record: On the 4th of July, 1896, they held their last national convention in Detroit, Mich. After wrangling for three weeks at an expense of over twenty thousand dollars to the rank and file, they adjourned never to meet again in national convention. The election of their national officers, the question of their dues, their grievances, strikes, etc., etc., have all been settled by referendum. They have even developed a national telegraphic referendum whereby at a reduced night rate the entire membership, over forty thousand strong, can settle important questions in thirty-six hours. We, as fighters for a Social Democracy, should do likewise—develop the initiative in the rank and file and place all responsibilities on their shoulders and reduce the menace of officialdom to the vanishing point.

I expect to be sharply criticised for this position, but stand ready to defend it against all comers, confident that I am walking in the light of advanced democracy.

AMERICAN JAILS FOR HIRE. "There is not one scintilla of evidence to hold this man," concluded the attorney for Tomas Sarabia as the two days' examination before the United States Commissioner, in the Federal Court room in San Antonio, Texas, came to a close.

The prosecuting attorney arose to his feet to reply. It had been his business for the last two years to follow up these fleeing Mexican patriots as they came over the border and see that they were placed in jail. So far, not one had escaped—not one that had been pointed out by the secret service men from Mexico—and Attorney Boynton's black eyes glittered, his hook nose and block chin drew together, as the pursuit drew to its close and he was about to utter the last argument for the jailing of the brown-eyed, boyish prisoner.

No one knew better than Boynton the weakness of the prosecution's case; he had attempted to introduce translations of papers, found in the prisoner's room, that were incorrectly translated, false upon their face, with twisted meanings that would cause the quick conviction of the prisoner. Nothing abashed when this false evidence was detected, the prosecuting attorney fought the case point by point, offering all sorts of printed and written documents that were as innocent of guilt as the Declaration of Independence—and were, in very fact, declarations of independence written by Tomas Sarabia against the despotism of Porfirio Diaz.

And so this, the last work for the prosecution, was to be Boynton's final blow, and he drew himself together for the effort.

The Commissioner raised his hand for silence. "I do not care to hear from you," were the words that floated from the judge's seat across the astonished court room. Boynton dropped back into his chair with a fallen countenance. The prisoner's friends took heart; surely, they thought, "The Commissioner is about to order the Mexican patriot's release."

"——And so," concluded Commissioner Scott,' the prisoner will be held to await the action of the grand jury."

Six months in jail before even a trial —that is what it meant!

A smile of keen appreciation flashed across the prosecuting attorney's face. He clawed his law books together with the satisfaction of one who has caught his prey and can afford to dine at ease.

The little prisoner shook hands with his friends. A Mexican woman handed him some fruit; a Mexican baby-boy offered him a drink of water, which he took smilingly. Kind words of hope and encouragement, given with drawn faces and tremulous lips, he accepted without an expression of emotion, for Tomas Sarabia had lost all hope of justice in American courts long before he entered the court room. He had come to be sentenced—and it had been done.

Sarabia's lawyer was an attorney of the old school and he had really believed that his man would be freed. Citing United States Supreme Court decisions in favor of political refugees and foreigners in righteous rebellion against despotism, telling the story of Kossuth, Siegel and scores of other famous rebels that have been honored in America, the attorney pleaded for our country's right of asylum in vain, for it had been foreordained that Sarabia must follow the footsteps of those other Mexican patriots who had gone before, into the jaws of our American jails that yawn for the political enemies of President Diaz.

For six months Sarabia must be caged in this black pit, the Bexar County jail, a place of vermin, sweltering heat, and unmentionable vileness. For six months must this boy be jailed, before it is even decided by the grand jury whether or no there is evidence enough to try him.

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The bail that the Commissioner set might as well have been a million as fifteen hundred dollars, for the friends of a Mexican political prisoner in the United States can only be found among the poor, propertyless Mexicans.

"I sometimes think that the men of our family were born for prison," whispered the Mexican revolutionist across the table strewn with law-books—this, in reply to my question about his cousin, Juan Sarabia, who has been held for years, "incommunicado," in the famous prison of San Juan de Alua in the harbor of Vera Cruz. "Even my little, 13-year-old brother, Francisco, has been imprisoned in the City of Mexico for refusing to give the police information about revolutionists."

When babies of 13 are manacled by Diaz to suppress a revolution, how long can an uprising in Mexico be kept down?

Let the officials in Washington consider these things, for, surely, they are wasting jail-space in their efforts to co-operate with Diaz.

JOHN MURRAY.

DO NOT FORGET that our comrades at New Castle, Pa., are still out on strike. They will surely win if they can hold out long enough. But it is hard work fighting on an empty stomach. Many of our readers sent in contributions for the strikers last month and the money was promptly forwarded to the Strike Committee. Through the Review this Committee desires to thank those friends who lent a hand when things looked pretty bad for the boys at McKees Rocks. But the New Castle comrades are still out. All contributions received for their strike fund will be promptly forwarded them.

UP THE DIVIDE, the little magazine published in Denver, Colorado, reached our desk this month—better than ever. We have wondered why our friends did not call the magazine FORWARD for Forward is precisely their watchword. Every Christian Socialist, and for that matter, every socialist, ought to read this new periodical. The prescribed course of reading alone is worth the subscription price. Unlike the orthodox teachers the editors of this magazine do not believe in a static religion. To them the very essence of a religion is that it must be a live, growing, evolutionary movement seeking and making use of each new truth. Our old friend, Rev. William Thurston Brown, is one of the editors on Up the Divide and gives several interesting articles. This is one of the most refreshing and inspiring little magazines we have received in a long time.

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OUR RECORD FOR AUGUST.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Cash balance, August 1	$ 50.51	Manufacture of books	$ 614.77
Book sales	1,955.80	Books purchased	86.93
Review subscriptions and sales	867.04	Printing August Review	482.54
Review advertising	18.81	Review articles, drawings, etc.	61.00
Sales of stock	220.09	Wages of office clerks	309.50
Loans from stockholders	751.61	Charles H. Kerr, on salary	110.00
Donation, G. D. Sauter	.75	Mary E. Marcy, on salary	60.00
Donation, R. L. Hicks	10.00	Postage and expressage	385.63
		Interest	40.31
		Rent	70.00
		Miscellaneous expenses	77.45
		Advertising	570.44
		Copyrights and royalties	62.29
		Loans repaid	469.48
		Cash balance, August 31	474.27
Total	$3,874.61	Total	$3,874.61

In the month of August, 1908, the cash receipts of the **International Socialist Review** were $285.25; last month $885.86. Until lately the **Review** was a heavy burden for the publishing house to carry. Today it is paying its own way; it would even be earning a profit but for the fact that our co-operative publishing house is not run to make

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profits, so we are using the increased receipts to improve the **Review** and extend its circulation as rapidly as possible.

What we most need now is hustlers who will take the subscriptions of people who are glad to read the **Review** but will not take the trouble to order it for themselvs. Thousands of socialists can get libraries for themselves without cost by working on the plan outlined on the preceding page, and with the growing demand for the literature of socialism, there is room for several hundred workers to earn a good living by taking subscriptions to the **Review** and selling our books. Write us for terms.

We wish to add a word of special praise for the **Library of Universal History,** described in full detail on another page of the **Review.** We have lately concluded an arrangement with the publishers of this work by which any **Review** reader can have a set shipped on approval without expense. We have as yet had time for only a casual examination of the volumes, but we can positively say that the plan of the work is admirable for popular reading and reference, the literary style is attractive, and the mechanical make-up of the books very attractive and substantial. The author, Israel Smith Clare, is a socialist.

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THE INTERNATIONAL

Vol. X. NOVEMBER, 1909 No. 5

TWO weeks before Thanksgiving Day every newspaper in Chicago began to tell about it. Mr. H. Harrison Browne, they said, President of Browne, Johnson & Company, one of the largest wholesale grocery houses in the city, would give away, on the day before Thanksgiving, a carload of choice country turkeys.

The amount of free advertising Browne, Johnson & Company, and Mr. Browne in particular, received upon the strength of this bare announcement is almost incredible. Every branch of every charity bureau in the city received requests from him for the names of families particularly "worthy" to share Mr. Browne's bounty. Several ministers mentioned his name in writing their Thanksgiving sermons as a man of wealth for other rich men to emulate and for the poor to thank God for.

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All over the city people were asking each other, how many good sized turkeys go to make up a car-load and everybody declared it was really very handsome of Browne, Johnson & Company, with turkeys at 27 cents a pound. It would be a good thing, they declared, if he could shame the Beef Trust into being reasonable for once, instead of holding everybody up during the holiday season.

The city papers gave columns lauding President Browne, and a sympathetic cub-reporter spent several evenings among the hard-working, underfed people on the West Side, gathering local color for a Thanksgiving story on Browne's Turkey Dinners.

And fully ten thousand underfed families read about Browne's car-load of turkeys, and doubted and longed for one of them. The charity organizations were besieged with requests and pleas for notes of recommendation to the Browne Distributing Committee and the subject of universal interest in Packingtown, Bubbly Creek and all along Halsted street was Browne's free Thanksgiving turkeys.

Now Skinny McCarty was one of the scrappiest boys for his age, in Bubbly Creek, and he made up his mind to secure one of these free turkeys for the McCarty Thanksgiving dinner. His father, Dan McCarty, had been working on half time for so many months that the family well knew it was their only chance.

Skinny read all the papers and gathered sufficient information to know that the best way to secure one of the prizes would be to have a note from the Charity People. And, as Big Dan McCarty said, "'Skinny was a bye with a turrible nerve." So to the Charity People he went. From past experience he realized that Miss Thompson, the investigator in whose territory he lived, would be the most likely person to approach.

Miss Thompson had long been prejudiced in Skinny's favor. When Dan McCarty had been laid off at the time of the advent of the last new McCarty baby she had found Skinny eager to get a paper route down town and to go into business. All the McCartys were cheerful, hard working, and, as a rule, self-supporting. She believed in encouraging them.

So when Skinny explained about the "free turkeys" and asked for a note to Browne's Distributing Committee, he got it. Three times he was compelled to kick his feet waiting for Miss Thompson in the Bureau Investigating Room, but the morning before Thanksgiving Day his patience was rewarded and he returned to Bubbly Creek the envy of every boy and girl along the Alley.

Five minutes before he reached home, Mrs. McCarty, bending over her wash-tub, heard his triumphant shrill whistle and the smaller

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McCartys began to expand into the largest grins of which they were capable as they flew to meet Skinny.

This was the morning before Thanksgiving Day. The turkeys were to be given away from Browne, Johnson & Company's down town wholesale store at four o'clock in the afternoon. So Skinny assumed an air of great importance, ate a slab of bread spread with fryings, and departed for the scene of his hopes.

His mother gave him a nickel to take the car home, for it was over five miles to Browne, Johnson & Company's store, and she hoped the turkey would be a heavy one. Besides it was not always safe for a small inhabitant of Bubbly Creek to parade his worldly wealth too freely without possessing the strength of arm necessary to protect it.

As Skinny strutted proudly down the Alley, Mrs. McCarty took her hands from the tub and stood watching him from the basement steps and bragged a little to Mrs. Smith, who lived next door, and thanked God for giving her such a smart "bye."

It was a long and interesting walk for Skinny down to Browne's, and he enjoyed every step of it. He reveled too in the great masses of people that packed State street for nearly a block and swelled over and blocked the cars on Randolph. All these people had come

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hoping to get a free turkey too, but few of them would have notes from the Charity People. And his boy heart swelled with the pride of his own cleverness.

Long before three o'clock the crowd had become an impact mass through which it refused to allow newcomers to pass. But Skinny had, long before, slowly and laboriously wormed his way near the side door, where the papers said the Browne Distributing Committee would give out the turkeys. And still the people came till the whole street looked like a hive dotted and swarming with bees. At last Browne, Johnson & Company sent a call to the Police Department and a little later a squad arrived to clear the streets and disperse the crowd.

Skinny managed to hold his position near the big doors, and when the Distributing Committee finally made its appearance he shrilled instantly,

"I've got a letter from the Charity People; read it. They told me to give it to you an' you'd give me a turkey. Her name's Miss Thompson," and he frantically climbed over the rude platform and thrust the note into a man's hand. So Skinny was one of the first to receive a turkey.

With a deep sigh of joy, he threw it over his shoulder, holding firmly to its legs. Then he backed cautiously against the walls of the building. The air was very cold, but Skinny heeded it not, and when a few belated policemen appeared driving the crowd before their clubs, he followed at their backs, out of the crowd, and made his way to a South Side car.

As it leaked out afterward (though it did not leak far) only five hundred turkeys were really given away, but Skinny never knew that, and if he had known, he would only have considered himself more lucky in securing one.

It was seven o'clock when he arrived home. Supper was on the table and a roaring fire in the stove, and the beaming smiles of his mother and the smaller McCartys sent Skinny's spirits skyward in an ecstacy of pride and joy.

The turkey was hung on a nail outside the window, in the cold, but in full view from within. And Skinny persuaded Tim to sit in his place at the table so that he would not be compelled to tear his eyes from the lovely sight.

At eight o'clock came Dan McCarty home to dinner. Often it is not enough that a man shall work on "half time" but he must need work over hours to get out the job the boss wants done. So it was with Dan, but the smiling face of his wife and the grins on the faces of the children told him, at once, that Skinny had secured a turkey

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"Well, Bye," he said, after he had soused his face in the tin basin at the sink, and seated himself at the table, "I'm sure glad you got it."

"You'll sure be a success in loife, if you kape on gittin' things you wants, loike you do now."

And proud and very red in the face, Skinny brought the treasure into the kitchen that the whole family, and his father in particular, might feel the heft of it and admire his smartness. Never in all his eleven years had Skinny accomplished a feat like this.

While Dan ate his supper, Mrs. McCarty sat beside him and the little McCartys chattered while Skinny walked about, alone, too big to play with the children (in the light of the day's work) and not old enough to sit beside his father. But all the joy and pride of a first success were his.

But the fire grew hot and Mrs. McCarty arose and began to clear off the dishes, as Dan wiped his mouth on the back of his hand and reached for his pipe.

"There's a turrible smell in here, Mary," he said, as he sniffed with his head in the air, while he filled it.

"There's sure somethin' dead in this kitchen, an' be the smell of it, I'd say it'd been dead a LONG time."

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"Perhaps it's a rat," suggested Mrs. McCarty, while the children looked under the stove and poked behind the coal box. But there was no need to search long, for the heat from the kitchen stove had thawed the frozen treasure and an unmistakable odor of decayed flesh arose from the sink. Alas for the hope and faith we may have had in the philanthropy of the large advertiser! They are on the way to a severe set-back, for the turkey—Skinny's prize turkey—was bad beyond the hope of eating on that Thanksgiving Day.

We cannot tell the history of that fowl, whether his days had been many or whether they were few, we only know—for Browne explained to the Charity Organizations afterward, that he had been "shamelessly cheated by the packing company." They had unloaded a lot of spoiled fowls upon him, taking advantage of his confidence and sent a number of turkeys spoiled in a wreck the previous summer on the T. and P. R. R., between Joplin, Mo., and Kansas City.

But Skinny was very young and full of hope. He refused to believe the evidence of his senses.

"All turkeys smell that way," he declared at first, and it was only when his father had forcibly separated him from the prize he thought he had won, that the truth penetrated his brain and the iron entered his soul. His mother said the turkey was bad; the other children said it SMELLED bad; and his father insisted,

"It was turrible ROTTEN."

So it was, that amid a storm of tears and with deep regret, that Dan McCarty deposited the turkey in that portion of the Alley where the scavengers are supposed to remove refuse, and Skinny McCarty's first illusion was destroyed.

He went to bed crying and fell asleep with the tears still wet on his cheeks, while Big Dan and his wife talked it over, and sighed and wondered if they couldn't afford a turkey dinner after all.

"We might," said Mrs. McCarty in despair, at last, "we MIGHT get a RABBIT." But just then Big Dan thought of a way.

At two o'clock on Thanksgiving Day, garbed in their very best, Dan McCarty, his wife on his arm, and all the children began their long walk to Halsted street. With their free hands, Dan and Mary clutched the fists of Mamie and little Pete and kept them from falling over themselves. Kate piloted Buddie, and Skinny marched proudly before with a wary eye on Nick. For the moment, the tragedy of yesterday was forgotten by Skinny, in the joy of a new pair of shoes.

"You shall all have TURKEY for dinner," Big Dan had declared and Big Dan meant it. So the kiddies squirmed around and gal-

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loped along risking their own limbs and the equilibrium of their fond parents.

At Mike's Place they all spilled noisily into the Family Entrance, and such a squeaking of chairs and pushing of tables there was that Mike himself stuck his head through the swinging doors to see what the trouble was.

"Well, well," he said heartily, looking from one expectant face to another, "If it ain't Big Dan McCarty," and he nodded to Mrs. McCarty and mussed the childrens' hair.

"Mill runnin' on full time yet?" asked Mike. Big Dan said "No, 'bout half toime," and ordered three beers, "an' a little of that Free Lunch for the kids."

"SURE!" Mike said, and disappeared through the swinging doors. He stayed so long that Dan began to fear he had forgotten the order, when the bar-keep's helper appeared staggering beneath a load that caused the small McCartys to squirm off their seats with joy!

For the helper bore a huge tray and upon that tray were there many plates, piled high with good things. Turkey there was—a whole leg for each one of the children, and mashed potatoes, pickles, bread and butter and CRANBERRY sauce!

Then began such a clatter of knives and forks and such a smacking of lips as would drive a hungry man green with envy.

When the last crumb had been forced downward and Mrs. McCarty had straightened Tim's tie, and washed Buddie's face and hands and rebuttoned Katy's dress, Dan permitted Mamie to press the button. A moment later Mike's red face appeared.

"Won't you come in and have a drink with us?" Big Dan asked,

"It was sure a swell feed you're handin' out today." "Purty fair grub," Mike nodded. "No," he shook his head, and waved aside the money Big Dan had laid on the table.

"You're money ain't good here TO-DAY. What'll-it-be?"

"Beer," said Big Dan; "beer," said Mrs. McCarty, and Mike once more disappeared behind the swinging doors.

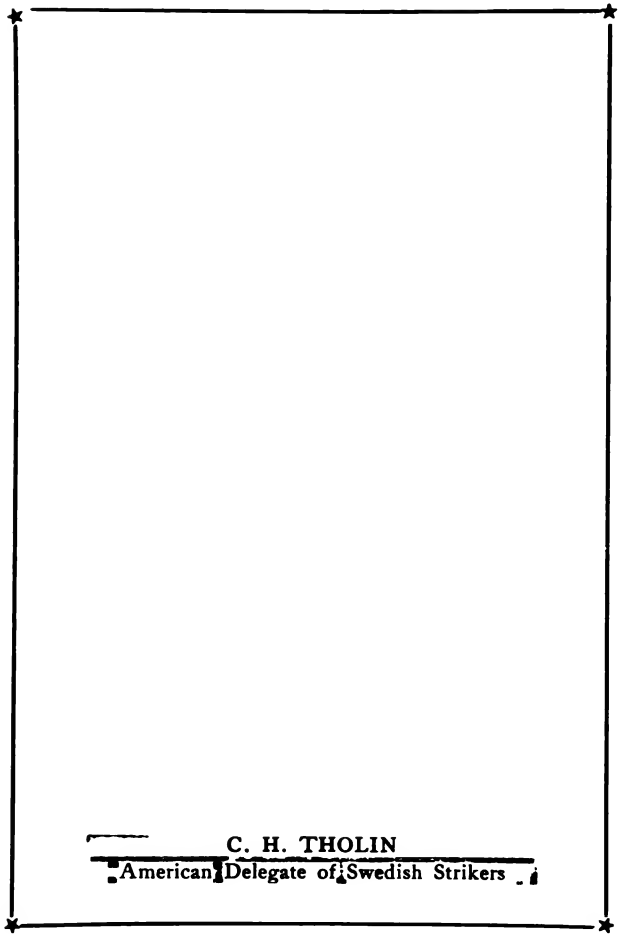
"Gee!" said Big Dan leaning toward Mary. "Mike's a hell-of-a foine fellow!"

"It's the folks whose fathers leave them heaps of money—folks who never have to stand on their own legs, who are always so free with moral talk to the hungry ones."—From "Out of the Dump."

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The General Strike in Sweden

By J. O. Bentall.



C. H. THOLIN
American Delegate of Swedish Strikers

OU have refused to come to time. We therefore refuse to give you employment. We close our factories and we would like to know what you are going to do about it.

This was substantially the declaration of the Employers' Association of Sweden to the 160,000 workmen it engaged.

The answer from the workers came firm and unflinching: "You

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have declared a lockout against 160,000; we declare a general strike by 280,000."

The general strike in Sweden is unique.

There has been nothing like it in the history of the world. It is therefore necessary to give a resume of its main features.

For some time the workers in Sweden have been organizing and educating themselves. They have occupied the field with two distinct forces.

I. THE INDUSTRIAL FORCE.

Realizing what the workers all over the world have realized for some time, that to secure conditions where an existence is possible the workers must unite in organized form, the men in the different trades set themselves to the task of effecting such organizations as would afford them as much self protection as possible under existing industrial and political conditions. Every trade therefore was thoroughly organized. The farm hands, even, followed their brothers in the factories and made their union as strong as the strongest.

But they did not stop with the organization of the individual trades unions. All these—the machinists, blacksmiths, miners, carpenters, bricklayers, weavers, paper and saw mill workers, celluloid and textile laborers, printers and street car men, shoemakers, glass blowers and all others—linked themselves together into one strong unbroken chain called the national organization (Lands organization).

When therefore any individual worker or group of workers were imposed upon or demanded improvement in working conditions, shorter hours or higher wages, their grievance or demand was carried to the local union, and if the difficulty could not be settled there, this local union appealed to Lands organization.

This thorough form of organization has enabled the workers of Sweden to enforce many of their demands. The union had become so strong that it was generally feared by the employers.

II. THE POLITICAL FORCE.

While the unions thus strengthened themselves and became more and more a power in the hands of the working class the political field was not by any means neglected.

Sweden being a monarchy was slow to grant the people any participation in governmental affairs. It was only by persistent effort that the workers were given some rights of suffrage. Property qualifications have been adhered to and only by degrees has the male portion of the population been allowed to vote for members of the Riksdag.

The popular demand for unlimited suffrage has been so strong that a new law has just been passed providing that all men over twenty-one

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years of age shall be allowed to vote. This has encouraged the workers to ask for more and a strenuous campaign began to be waged for the suffrage of women as well.

Very little protest on the part of the ruling class would have been raised against granting the women the ballot had it not been for the fact that the proletariat was rapidly drifting into Socialism. Even under the old law the socialists have constantly added new members to the Riksdag until now thirty-five seats are held by them. It is generally granted that at the next election, when all men may vote, the socialists will capture at least seventy-five seats.

Thus the working men of Sweden have organized thoroughly, both industrially and politically.

But that is not all. The industrial organization and the political organization work hand in hand. To be a union man means of course to be a Socialist. Over 50 per cent of the union men are dues-paying members of the socialist party and 99 per cent of the remainder vote the socialist ticket.

In order to destroy the Socialist movement and the entire labor organization, the employers took advantage of the industrial depression when the unemployed were numerous, threatening a general lockout if the workers would not submit to a reduction in wages.

In three different industries, and in rather insignificant places, wage reductions of a slashing character were dictatorially ordered. The increased cost of living made it entirely out of question to submit to them.

On August 2nd, therefore, a general lockout was declared and the workers were informed that they could not come back until after an unconditional surrender.

The representatives of organized labor at once convened. It was plainly seen by the workers that not only was the result of 25 years of struggle for a human existence endangered, but the very existence of the organization. The last and most powerful means of defense had to be resorted to—the general strike. This was ordered on August 4.

Not only did the organized workers vote almost unanimously to cease work, but even the unorganized men to the number of 100,000 went out with their fellows.

This tied up practically every industry. Bakeries and meat shops, street car lines and liveries, stores and freight houses, shops, mills and factories—everything was at a standstill. Railroad employes were not called out because they are mostly engaged by the government and get a pension after a certain period of service, but they had nothing to do, as all production and handling had ceased. They only drew their pay.

This cessation of work was too much for the owning class. The

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rich could not secure their living and their stomachs began to feel the pangs of hunger.

The desire to misrepresent the situation was frustrated by the walkout of the typographical union. No daily papers could therefore be issued, except in letterhead size produced by mimeograph. The only daily paper regularly issued was "Svaret" (The Answer) sent out by Lands organizationen.

From the very beginning the unions arranged for committees to keep the workers peaceable when attacked by riot makers sent by the capitalists. It was therefore impossible to incite to riots and so no excuse for interference by the government could be found.

This angered the employers to such an extent that they demanded that the King send out the militia to charge on groups of strikers. But even this failed, for two regiments, ordered to fire into gatherings of workers refused and stacked their guns saying: "These men do no harm and we will not shoot our brothers without cause."

In several of the larger cities the mayors are socialists. This is the case in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. The police can therfore not be used by the employers in harassing the strikers. When the government placed the constabulary as guard over the workers in the gas and electric plants they responded by saying that they would leave the plants unless the constabularly was withdrawn. The demand of the workers was obeyed at once.

After six weeks of the strike 150,000 workmen were ordered back by the union, because they had then demonstrated the ability of the unions to control the situation. The command from Landsorganizationen is always obeyed. No strike breakers have been imported and no strikers have broken with the union.

The last cablegram from Landssekretariatet is as follows:

STOCKHOLM, Sept. 29, 1909.

"Attempts to arbitrate stranded—Employers' terms unacceptable. Struggle continues with all the power the Swedish workingmen can command. Only hunger can compel our members to go back. We appeal for continued support. Inform Tholin and Sandgren.

"LANDSSEKRETARIATET,

"Lindquist."

As soon as it became known that the strike had to continue, Landssekentariotet, the executive council of Landsorganisationen, sent C. H. Tholin to represent the strikers in the unions of America. Mr. Tholin has been speaking in all the larger cities in this country and the workers everywhere have responded liberally. Germany, France, Norway,

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Denmark, Finland, England and other countries have given generous support, thus enabling the strikers to hold out.

After two months and a half not a break has been made in the ranks of the Swedish strikers, not a riot has been precipitated, not a drop of blood spilt. The union is stronger than when the strike started, and the capitalists are frantic because of the tremendous loss and because of their inability to break the strike.

The workers in Sweden have demonstrated what can be done when labor unites solidly in the industrial and political field and make the two forces act in harmony guided by intelligence and intensified by determination.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years. * * * * Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.—Communist Manifesto.

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Punch and Judy

(Cartoon from Chicago Tribune)

S the Review goes to press preparations are being made in El Paso, Texas, for the dinner to be served upon the bridge that spans the Rio Grande at El Paso, at which President Taft will shake the hand of Porfirio Diaz.

There will be much ceremony at this little dinner for two. According to present plans, each president is to be

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quartered close to the end of the bridge that touches his own country, and at a given hour to proceed to the middle of the structure. At that point a banquet table is to be spread exactly on the international boundary line. Each president is to sit and dine in his own country. The bells will ring; the bands will play; the people will stare and the Secret Service men of Taft and the soldiers of Diaz will regard everybody with suspicion.

For this meeting is taking place in defiance of the protests of the people of Texas, in spite of the appeals of editors and readers of papers and magazines all over the country. All along the border states, great mass meetings are welcoming Mother Jones and protesting against the alliance between Diaz and the United States Government which continues to violate our constitutional rights of asylum.

But the real hands that pull the strings of these two servant-presidents, the hands that arranged this little love feast—are the hands of the American capitalist. Very close commercial relations have developed between Mexico and the United States, particularly at the borderland, within the past decade. And Mexico is even a more fertile field for the exploitation of labor than Pennsylvania. It is a heaven for capitalism just as it is to-day, and the capitalists do not propose to allow a small band of half starved revolutionists to destroy the Diaz autocracy.

A correspondent from Mexico writes: "Diaz and his little oligarchy have put the greater part of the natural resources of the country into the hands of foreign capitalists, while they gobble up the ready cash. The central government's only concern is the taxes and the army.

"Popular elections are unknown. Diaz names every one of the state governors, who, in turn, name the governors of the towns. By these governors thousands of men have been murdered; property has been confiscated and women outraged. They regard their territories as so much field for plunder.

"The school system is almost extinct. And what still remains has fallen into the hands of the clergy whose only aim is to hold the people in ignorance and to bilk them out of the little money they may possess. Most of the people are illiterate.

"In the face of all these difficulties it seems incredible that Mexico should be seething with revolutionary activities. But this is the case."

It would seem that Diaz, as Chief of Police at the head of his own army, is doing better work for the capitalist class than Taft,

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the figure-head, has ever done. John Kenneth Turner, in the October number of the American Magazine, gives further reasons why the large commercial interests should regard with fear and horror any change in the policy of the Diaz regime. Mr. Turner says:

"Mexico is a country without political freedom, without freedom of speech, without a free press, without a free ballot, without a jury system, without political parties, without any of our cherished guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is a land where there has been no contest for the office of president for more than a generation, where the executive rules all things by means of a standing army, where political offices are sold for a fixed price, where the public school system in vast districts is abolished because a governor needs the money.

* * * * * * * *

"I found Mexico to be a land where the people are poor because they have NO rights, where peonage is the rule for the great mass, and where actual chattel slavery obtains for hundreds of thousands. Finally, I found that the people do not idolize their president, that the tide of opposition, dammed and held back as it has been by the army and the secret police, is rising to a height where it must shortly overflow the dam.

* * * * * * * *

"Slavery is the ownership of the body of a man, an ownership so absolute that the body can be transferred to another, an ownership that gives to the owner the right to take the products of that body, to starve it, to chastise it at will, to kill it with impunity. Such is slavery in the extreme sense. Such is slavery as I found it in Yucatan, Mexico.

* * * * * * * *

"Don Joaquin Peon informed me that the Maya slaves die off faster than they are born, and Don Enrique Camara Zavala told me that two-thirds of the Yaquis die during the first year of their residence in the country. Hence the problem of recruiting the slaves seemed to me a very serious one. Of course the Yaquis are coming in at the rate of 500 per month, yet I hardly thought that influx would be sufficient to equal the tide of life that was going out by death. I was right in that surmise, so I was informed, but I was also informed that the problem of recruits was not so difficult after all.

"'It is very easy,' one planter told me. 'All that is necessary is that you get some free laborer in debt to you and then you have him. Yes, we are always getting new laborers in that way.'

"The amount of the debt does not matter, so long as it is a debt.

"The slaves of Yucatan, Mexico, get no money. They are half starved. They are worked almost to death. They are beaten. A large percentage of them are locked up every night in a house resembling a jail. If they are sick they must still work. They are not permitted the services of a physician. * * * There are no schools for the children. Indeed the entire lives of people are ordered at the whim of a master. * * * I have heard numerous stories of slaves being beaten to death, but I never heard of an instance in which the murderer was punished or even arrested. The police, the public prosecutors and the judges

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know exactly what is expected of them, for the men who appoint them are the planters themselves.

"The slaves rise from their beds when the big bell in the patio rings at 3:45 o'clock in the morning and their work begins as soon thereafter as they can get to it. Their work in the fields ends when it is too dark to see any more, and about the yards it sometimes extends until long into the night."

A persistent rumor is afloat that the Steel Trust will start work on a $50,000,000 steel plant in Mexico within the next few months. And we see every reason to credit it. It looks to us as though a land where it is unnecessary to pay workingmen enough to rear families; where men may be worked out—killed within a few years, and a fresh supply at hand—and no press to tell of the outrages—would appeal strongly to the BIG business men, with the BIG business instinct.

There are few lands left in the world which offer such tremendous advantages to the industrial capitalist as Mexico and the small Latin republics of Central America. The Chicago Tribune says in the Sunday issue of September 26th, 1909:

"Diplomats are well aware of a tacit but some day to be formal agreement between Mexico and this country to maintain peace among the bickering Latin republics of Central America."

Verily, verily, all things give way before the Great American Capitalist. Kings, Czars, Emperors, Sultans and Presidents receive him, consult him and, permitting him to secure control of the industries of other countries, at last bend the knee.

For it is now, as always, the men who possess the economic power who dictate to the State and the representatives of the state. The state is only a committee serving the interests of the real economic rulers.

So it is in Mexico. President Diaz is permitting big capital to entrench itself industrially in Mexico. Our correspondent writes us, from Mexico that Diaz is growing rich in the granting of these favors to capitalism. But economic power once relinquished, the economic kings attain the rank of masters. And woe to the little presidents in Mexico or Central America who refuse to serve the Lord Economic! For the Government will step forth in its capacity as guardian of class interests and put "the lid on the little nations" under some trumped-up pretext—and put a new servant-president into power.

It is well to understand that neither the Punch nor Judy of this little show are "making history" to-day but that the newer methods in machine production are remaking the kingdoms, autocracies, empires and republics, are changing the national boundaries, institutions and religions of the world to-day.

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And that is not all. With the machine process everywhere arise vast armies of proletarians. With the growing strength of the capitalist class, the song of revolution begins to swell from nation to nation. For capitalist society bears the seed of its own destruction. It is digging its own grave. Even now in blood drenched Mexico the fires of revolution burn more fiercely day by day. Let us stand ready to help our struggling brothers in Mexico, for their battles are our battles; their victories are our victories and it is only by presenting a solid, united front to those in economic power that the working class can hope to win its way to economic freedom.

The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. * * * * The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.—Communist Manifesto.

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Unionism and Socialist Politics

By B. E. Nilsson.

WHICH is of greater importance to the socialist movement, politics or unionism? What position should middle-class socialists, especially "socialist intellectuals," hold in the socialist movement? However unlike these two questions may appear, they are in reality only one problem stated in two ways. As this problem is keeping the whole international socialist movement divided in two opposing camps, it is utter folly to regard it as a trifle that can be settled by silence; we should rather seek the cause of division and use our utmost efforts to remove it, which means that we should discuss the problem until we understand it.

The "Appeal to Reason" frequently uses the phrase "Let the nation own the trusts," thereby expressing a conception of the future form of government which is more or less distinctly accepted by John Spargo in "The Common Sense of Socialism," by Isador Ladoff in "The Passing of Capitalism," and by various other "socialist leaders" in short articles which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post a few months ago. In fact "Let the nation own the trusts" is the slogan of middle-class socialism, the watchword in the political camp.

On the other hand, the position of the proletarian socialist is well stated in this sentence, quoted from the preamble to the constitution of the I. W. W.: "The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The difference between the two positions is this: "Let the nation own the trusts" implies that the socialist government will be built on the same geographical plan on which the present government is built, and that this socialist (?) government shall control the industries; thus making the system of production conform to the present geographical plan of government. The proletarian idea is that the future government must be constructed according to the classification of industry, thus creating a new plan of government to fit the modern method of production.

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Just as these two different conceptions of socialist government lead to the adoption of different tactics, so they are the products of different processes of reasoning, due to different material environments. "Ideas do not fall from heaven," they are the product of experience; hence where there is a difference of experience, there must also be a corresponding difference of opinion.

The present middle-class was at one time the economically and politically dominant class, and in those days of glory it created a political state after its own image. When the present ruling class, the plutocracy, had, by means of its improved methods of production, acquired economic supremacy, it took possession of the political state by right of economic conquest. But aside from its loss of economic and political importance, the middle class makes its living in pretty much the same way as it did formerly; the change in its living conditions is less than in the case of any other class. For this reason the middle class must carry a heavier burden of antique ideas than any other class; and it clings the more to the idea of the political state, because that is its own masterpiece. In short, the middle class loves the state as its own intellectual offspring.

Farmers, shopkeepers, professional men and countless other varieties of the middle class, are only indirectly connected with modern industry as operated by the great capitalists, and they can have no voice in the control of industry except through the medium of the political state; hence, when such men absorb the revolutionary theory of collective control of the machinery of production, they regard the state as the necessary medium of such control.

Their own productive labor being individual, and as such exempt from collective control, they yet want a voice in the control of the collective, or social, labor with which they have nothing to do, and which they know nothing about. They want undisturbed control of their own individual labor, and they want to utilize their surplus wisdom in instructing the industrial proletariat how to perform social labor. To make this possible, the political state is absolutely indispensable.

Industrial wage-workers have no especial love for the political state, they know it as an abstract idea which sometimes materializes into jails, clubs, bayonets and bullets. They had nothing to do with the making of the state, and have had nothing to do with its performances after it was made. Their struggle to make a living leaves them no time to study the political game; at most they compare the platforms of the different political parties, and vote for that party which promises the largest and fullest dinner pail. But while their knowledge of politics is extremely limited, they know quite a good deal

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about industry. Their very first experience in industry teaches them that specialized knowledge is absolutely essential in modern production; they must know the work they have to do, and they are not permitted to meddle with work they know nothing about; further experience only gives further proof that this rule is necessary, not only in regard to their own work, but also in regard to the work of the various bosses and officials over them.

Occasionally some college graduate, with a world full of knowledge about nothing in particular, is appointed to boss their work, then they quickly learn that even a good-natured ignoramus can be a worse boss than a slave-driver who knows his business. A college graduate, who knows everything except the work he has to do, makes a bum boss.

When a wage-worker hears about Populism, or Hearst-ism, or any other ism that advocates government ownership of industries, his reasoning will be about like this: Government ownership of industry would mean that industrial boss jobs would be political jobs; even a wage-worker knows that political jobs are spoils that belong to the political victors; hence, if government ownership of industries should become a reality, it is only natural that those who helped the most to bring about this condition would be the ones to fill the most important industrial jobs. Our wage-worker will then begin to look for his future boss, and he finds that populism is composed of farmers, lawyers, doctors and other middle-class men, all equally unfit to be his boss; all may be classed with the college graduate I haye mentioned; the same thing applies to Hearst-ism, except that this ism presents a greater variety of industrial ignorance.

When the wage-worker turns to socialism and finds such men as Debs and Haywood, who have had actual experience in industry, he sees readily where they could be useful in industry; but on closer investigation he discovers that socialists, who really know something about industry, have long since abandoned the idea of placing it under the control of a political state.

Thus, even among socialists, he finds that only those who know nothing about industrial production, are anxious to place it under national control; he therefore concludes that a vote for national ownership of trusts is a vote for inefficiency in the management of industry.

The closest study of socialism will only convince the wage-worker that this conclusion, which he has reached without knowing anything about socialism, is essentially correct.

The average wage-worker would like to have a voice and vote in the election of his own boss and in the making of rules and regula-

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tions to govern his own shop, for in that case he could speak and vote intelligently; but he has no desire to show himself as a fool, as he would most certainly do if he should try to elect bosses, and make rules for a shop which he knows nothing about. He knows the limitations of his knowledge, wherein he is far in advance of the middle class political socialist.

The proletariat rejects the idea of national ownership of trusts, because, under such a system, the administration of industry could not be democratic without losing its present efficiency.

Why does the idea of a socialist state lead to parliamentary tactics? That is an easy question. If socialism has nothing else to do but to elect socialists for those political offices which are now occupied by capitalists, or the hirelings of capitalists, then a political party is the only organization that is needed. If a purely political victory is possible, it follows that the more we concentrate our effort to that end, the sooner will that victory be won; it also follows that any socialist organization, other than the Socialist party, will, by preventing concentrated political effort, greatly delay the desired political victory. Hence the purely political socialist consistently opposes the agitation for socialist unionism.

The reasoning of the industrial proletariat is also correct. What wage-labor wants is to control industries, not through the medium of the political state, but more directly by means of an economic organization, which can hold its elections in the workshop rather than anywhere else. That economic organization is now in existence, it does not have to be invented or created. The capitalists have already organized industrial wage-labor into an army of production which it has officered with bosses, who are slaves in relation to the capitalists, but autocrats in relation to labor. This army of production is exactly the form of organization we need, it will fill all our requirements just as soon as the autocratic boss-rule has been abolished; we merely want to exchange despotism for democracy. But, like the poor Filipinos, we are incapable of self-government; we lack the necessary training; therefore we organize unions to serve as training schools. Looking on the unions from this point of view, it is clear that the more closely they correspond to the productive army officered by the bosses, the better will they serve that purpose.

Whatever transformation a political party may bring about must be limited by its political form of organization, therefore socialist policies can not abolish the state; but the abolition of the political state, or its subordination under an industrial government, is one of the main conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat; hence, the

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proletariat must organize in a non-political—or non-geographical—organization.

There is yet another tactical difference which springs from that difference of conception of the socialist government. Those "leading" socialists in the Saturday Evening Post were not agreed about paying for the means of production, but they were all sure that the socialization of industry would be a slow, very slow, evolution. That is quite a natural idea, for leading middle class socialists. They are socialists more from fear of what may happen to them in the future than from discontent with their present condition. If their brand of socialism becomes dominant, they think their future will be safe; on the other hand, they will remain in their present position of superiority towards the proletariat as long as that process of socialization can be made to last. But how they expect to get the support of wage-labor for such a program, or how they can think that wage-labor—after overthrowing the now dominant class—should quietly remain in misery and poverty while a gang of politicians "evolute" industrial title-deeds—well, that beats me.

We proletarians want the full product of our labor, we also want to take charge of the industries in which we work, and we are going to get these things as soon as we have the power to take them; when we have got what we want the title-deeds will be quite empty, so we won't care how they "evolve" nor who keeps them.

If the position of those "leading" socialists—which is also the position of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Party Press—is right, then the future society will be another class-society, in which the present middle class will be dominant, in which case wage-labor would have no interest in the revolution and should rather save its energy for the next time. But that would imply that socialist teachings are entirely incorrect. We may therefore assume that the proletariat will be the principal element in the revolutionary force, that the revolution will be carried out according to proletarian ideas, and that future society must meet the requirements of the proletariat. It is therefore up to "leading" socialists to revise their ideas about the future state, about the importance of unionism, and about the revolutionary process. When they have done that, they may become really useful to the socialist movement.

I am not one of those who would like to exclude the middle class from the Socialist movement. I know that middle class intellectuals were teaching socialist economics long before the proletarian ranks held men who were competent to do so. I know that even now socialist intellectuals are discussing questions and problems, that are of great importance to the movement, but which the proletariat has

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so far neglected to study. Socialist intellectuals have an important place in the movement; but when they attempt to manufacture ready-made ideas for proletarian consumption, they place themselves in the same category as a Ruskin, a Henry George, or a Hearst, and the revolutionary proletariat rejects their services because it has had more than enough of would-be saviours.

Nor am I opposed to socialist politics. When socialist parties came into existence, a socialist labor union would have been utterly impossible; but without some kind of organization there could have been no systematic propaganda, and as a political party is especially adapted for propaganda purposes it was but natural that the socialist organization should take that form, and the fact that the party propaganda has many times multiplied the strength of the socialist movement is sufficient vindication for the socialist parties as a means of education.

It is in regard to the purely political work that I differ with the socialist politicians.

From the very nature of capitalist politics, the Socialist Party can never help to make laws that will benefit labor, all it can be expected to do is to prevent the making of laws that would injure labor; it could never use any part of the political machinery to help labor, but it may prevent the capitalists from using that machinery against labor. When a socialist is elected to a political office he becomes, as it were, a defective or misfit part of the capitalistic machinery of oppression—he does not fill the capitalistic requirements. Thus socialist politics is a negative force which, in order to be effective, must be balanced by a positive force, that is, by the positive power of unionism.

The capitalists would never need the political machinery for the purpose of oppressing labor, if it were not for labor's tendency to united action on the industrial field. So long as that tendency is hampered by lack of organization, or, still worse, by an antiquated form of unionism, the capitalists find the now existing laws amply sufficient to keep the workers near the starvation limit of oppression. It is only when labor is so well organized that it can engage in an economic conflict with a good chance of success that the capitalists feel the urgent need for new laws to restrain labor; it is only then they begin to invent new ways of using the political machine; if, at such a time, they should find the political machine out of order, there would be nothing for them to do but fight it out on the economic field, and win or lose, according to their economic strength.

To successfully carry out such a political program requires men who know every move in the political game, and such men are

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few and far between in the ranks of wage-labor; the middle class socialists on the other hand, are especially fitted for that kind of work. As a rule they tried other political parties before they became socialists, they therefore have the political experience; and most of them have that spécial middle class education, that is so useful in parliamentary politics.

The fact that the labor unions in this country are not ready to take their part in the revolutionary program is largely due to the other fact that the Socialist Party has been controlled by middle class men who do not understand the importance of unionism. Even now, when industrial unionism—or Syndicalism as it is called in Europe—is the topic of the day, political socialists discuss it—if they think it worth while to discuss it at all—like they would a new brand of cigarettes or something equally important.

The ridiculous attempt to remain neutral in the struggle between the old form of unionism and the new, is ample proof that the Socialist party is as unprepared to play its part in the class-struggle as the old labor unions are to play their part.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.—Communist Manifesto.

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The Passive Resistance Strike

By Louis Duchez.



HE working class of America has just entered a new period of activity. The reactionary spell which has gripped the workers of this country since the love feast and marriage of the American Federation of Labor and the Civic Federation has been broken. The officials of those two organizations who have been lulling to sleep and dividing the wage slaves of this country in behalf of their own fat positions and their masters' pocketbooks during the last few years, will have harder rows to hoe from now on.

The "ignorant foreigners" at McKees Rocks, whom Frank Morrison thought not worth bothering with, have been the spark in the powder magazine. The wage slaves of America have been taught a lesson—one that will long be remembered and profited by.

The McKees Rocks strike, without doubt, is the most revolutionary event that has transpired in this country. These 6,000 workers at the Pressed Steel Car plant employed tactics against the steel trust and the slugging forces of the state of Pennsylvania behind which the object was to ignore and undermine entirely the political state, making the will of the organization the law of the community, so far as they and the Pressed Steel Car Company were concerned. Further, behind the actions of these McKees Rocks strikers we see the power and experience of a revolutionary union manifesting itself—the Industrial Workers of the World.

In connection with the "second strike" at McKees Rocks, which took place on September 15th, a week after the first strike, there are some things that the capitalist press deliberately misrepresented and which the workers of this country should know about.

When the men at McKees Rocks first went back to work they discovered that many men were actually receiving less pay than before the strike. The company deliberately chose this way of dividing the men. They wished to disrupt the newly organized union. The men also discovered that thugs and hoodlums had been hired as "straw" bosses for the same purpose.

At a meeting held September 14th, they decided to change this state of affairs. A vote was taken by the 2,500 present and it was agreed to return to work the next morning, as usual, and at ten

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o'clock every man was to drop his tools and stand at his place of employment until the committee returned after delivering its orders to the company's officials.

The company at once promised to concede their demands and began firing the scabs and thugs at once.

This "Passive Resistance" strike, to use the European phrase, lasted something like fifteen minutes, when the men returned to their work victorious.

It was also interesting to note how the men enforced their demand for a half holiday Saturday and no work Sunday. They merely quit work at noon Saturday and failed to return until Monday morning.

It is also interesting to note an incident in connection with the taming of the Cossacks. On the night of the big riot near Donovon's bridge three troopers and four strikers were killed. The threat that for every striker killed one trooper would go, bothered the Cossacks terribly. The strikers had one trooper coming to them yet, and, it has since been learned, that the troopers felt sure that the threat would be carried out and that one of them would go. It was the fear of each that he was that man.

The stern methods of the McKees Rocks strikers were "lawless" and "anarchistic," true enough, but what were they to do? Theirs were simply the methods of retaliation. At any rate, the entire military forces of the U. S. could not have brought order and prevented violence as effectively as those strikers did.

In no strike of such proportion in this country at one place has there been less bloodshed than at McKees Rocks. It is the general opinion of the working class citizens in and about Pittsburg that the men did the proper thing. A concrete lesson in "direct action" was taught—and many learned.

The McKees Rocks men are back at work, concessions have been won, an organization of 5,000 members has been built up and branch meetings are being held every night, but the fight with the Pressed Steel Car Company is not over yet, for that firm is but a branch of the steel trust.

And the men realize that. They know that it is war to the knife, and that they are engaged in a struggle in which more than themseves are concerned. The company has promised a raise of 15 per cent at the end of 60 days, but the men know they will have to fight for it, and they are preparing. They realize that their stronghold is their organization.

This is the first time that a revolutionary union has got a foothold in the basic industries. A real labor union has stepped in upon

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the territory of the steel trust and all the means at the command of that giant concern will be used to crush the I. W. W. at McKees Rocks, for if it holds the ground gained there, what will be the outcome in the Pittsburg district in a few months? Already the McKees Rocks victory is stirring the entire district to organization, in what is, without doubt, the industrial center of America.

The United States government is behind the move to crush the I. W. W. for the I. W. W. is attacking the present system at its base. It believes in direct action rather than wrangling in legislative halls with men better acquainted with the game of politics than the working class is. In order to sidetrack the remarkable increasing interest in industrial unionism, Taft is touring the country and praising the American Federation of Labor, advising Post, Van Cleave and that narrow-sighted group to be more tolerant, and, on the other hand, urging working men to join that organization, at the same time pointing to the fact that he is an honorary member of the Steam Shovelers' Union.

Organization in the Industrial Workers of the World is going on at a rapid rate. The places where the greatest progress is made is in the non-union plants. The victory at McKees Rocks has instilled more hope and solidarity into the workers of this country, and in Europe, for that matter, than years of talk and car loads of literature could have done. It is on the firing line against the muzzles of the enemy's guns that the workers learn of the class struggle and the road to economic freedom.

The tin workers who are out against the open shop order of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company are becoming imbued with the principles of industrial unionism and the I. W. W. as the only organization that represents those principles. The old shell, however, is holding them down and it looks at this writing as if the men will lose their strike. In fact, the thing for which they have come out is absurd, anyway. It is based upon the principle that the interests of capital and labor are identical. If this were not so they would realize that the only way to disregard an open shop order is to cast aside written time agreements and enforce their demands through the power of their organization. The open shop would have no fear for them if they were industrially organized, and until they are industrially organized they will be at the mercy of the steel trust, contracts or no contracts.

The odds are tremendously against the tin plate workers. Good union (?) men in the independent (?) mills have signed up and are back at work while those employed by the trust are out on strike. The next time the trust owned mills will sign up and the independent

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(?) mills will go out. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" is forgotten and the masters of both concerns dine and wine together and smile at their wage slaves with divided forces on the economic field. It is no wonder that Taft praises the A. F. of L. The tin workers will have to take on a revolutionary spirit if they expect to win.

Hope! Hope is everywhere. The wage slaves of the world will not wait indefinitely to vote Socialism in. It will come sooner than that. They will organize industrially and establish the working class republic in their own domain—in the industries.

Within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labor are brought about at the cost of the individual laborer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of the producers; they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into a hated toil. * * * They distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labor-process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his life-time into working-time, and drag his wife and child beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of capital.—Karl Marx, in Vol I of Capital.

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"The Problem" Solved

BY ROBIN ERNEST DUNBAR

way to abolish poverty is to get all that's coming
you. Money is the way stored up labor is ex-
essed. It is social-labor solidified. "To get the
ıoney" may be considered as an expression of
titio principii, or **circulus in probando.** The fal-
cy of "begging the question" consists in taking the
conclusion for one of the premises. "Getting the money" is slang

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for stealing, grafting, cheating and robbing, etc. There is something unsavory about it. However it has a favorable meaning as well, and that is; to obtain the fruit of one's toil.

"Easy Money" is derived from Skinning Suckers. It is that portion the Capitalist abstracts from the wage fund for his "responsibility." A laborer produces $10 worth of commodities and gets $2.00 in wages. $8.00 is the Easy Money the boss keeps.

That reminds me of a story. While James Lot was waiting for his son John to finish his lucubrations at the Law School, he took into the office a little fat pompous and ignorant pettifogger, Bob Lance, to write the fire insurance, clean the spittoons and do the other dirty work. Bob was somewhat of an aristocrat—at least he was not strong enough to labor, so James appointed him guardian of several rich insane wards and administrator of one or two juicy estates.

James did all the work and wrote up all the papers. When it came to charging up the fees this is the way it ran:

To services for James.....$200.00
To Bob's bill for "responsibility"..... 800.00

The "responsibility" consisted in Bob's signing his name and swearing to reports he didn't understand. And that is how it is with the capitalist. He charges four-fifths for "responsibility." He has the laborer do the work—he signs the wage scale. The work is worth $2.00; the responsibility $8.00. James died poor but Bob ran for office, got elected, married a wealthy widow and died rich.

Abolish poverty? That looks like a mighty problem, doesn't it? Well, it's not so big after all. If every one who worked got all he made, there would be no poverty among the workers. As wages rise consumption increases. The unemployed are absorbed into industry.

Raising wages abolishes poverty. It's simple. Wages constitute the cost of maintaining and reproducing workers. In a new country wages are high on account of the scarcity of labor; also because pioneers demand equality of condition. But this high market is soon broken down by the importations of foreign pauper labor. As soon as the natives get wise and form a union and shove up wages, their employers likewise get wise and pour in scabs, who break down the union and keep down wages. The employer puts his feet on the rise. He has almost played the game out. He can't ship in many more nationalities. He has gone as far east as he could, and as far west as he dares. So the chances for further importations are rather slim. McKees Rocks threatens to be the Rock on which he splits. The strikers were joined by the strike breakers.

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Machiavelli lost his Prince. Rather than go to work himself Hoffstot has to fatten up the pay envelope. It is tough, I know. After squeezing all the water out of labor and putting it into stocks, he hates to have to reverse himself. Some of the Reformers are shedding tears over his awful predicament. A motherly socialist chap of high standing among the political camps and the religious scamps has written ten volumes the last year to express his indignation at the outrage so basely perpetrated on the shirkers by the workers. When the royalties on his books didn't just pour in, he denounced his fellow revolutionists as a parcel of ungrateful crooks and scoundrels! "Why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" said he. "Like a swift flying meteor," he went on in his best oratorical manner, and wept bitter tears because the working men were such grafters. "Ain't it awful the way they steal! Such terrible thieves ought to be locked up!" said he. But his response was only a heartless horse laugh.

Lately I've been telling the workers to get the money by industrial unionism; by the abolition of race line and national boundaries; by the killing of the stinking old cat of patriotism, and by adopting the new child of proletarian solidarity; by loving brother workers and helping them get higher wages. "The general strike is general nonsense," say the Germans. The Swedes don't think so. They are trying it on the dog. They want the money and we hope they'll obtain it. They think a good man is one who gets all he earns and spends all he gets. At that price, it's not so easy to be good. The general strike, the peaceful strike, the strike-irritant, the walk-out-of-a-factory-to-see-the-circus-parade-and-back-to-work-again-without-the-bosses'-permission; in fact all acts on the part of employes that tend to usurp the authority of employers, are part of the plan of campaign toward the abolition of poverty. Brain and brawn are at the bottom of production and have all the commodities produced at their disposal as soon as they unite in a trust for themselves.

Vice on the part of the hungry, the ill-fed, the poverty-stricken, has some of the elements of real drama in it. Workers have some excuse for crime on account of their environment. But on the part of exploiters, vice reeks of degeneracy, insanity, supineness of will-power. The follies of the idle are unnecessary filths. The follies of the poor are necessary dirts. Both come from lack of system.

Organization is a capitalistic virtue, which when seized by the proletariat accomplishes a revolution. When the workers get together in the shops and stay together, letting nothing divide them; neither religion nor race prejudice; neither politics nor temporary advantage; then they will be on their way to civilization. Capital-

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ism is half good; i. e. in production: there it is rapid, effective, bountiful and more than ample for everyone. But its failure comes in distribution; to ware-houses instead of to individuals, in the first place: to merchants, bankers, middle men, over-men and super-men in the second place instead of to toilers, artificers, workers and craftsmen.

With the producer lies the solution of the problem. By his demanding all he makes he cuts the Gordian knot. He gets the money. If he catches twelve fish, he doesn't need to be told by a professor of political economy that those fish belong to him. But when he earns the price of twelve fish he takes it from anyone that he only earns the price of two. The workers are content with one-fifth of what they earn, and then wonder at the prevalence of poverty! Look what fun they could have with the other four-fifths.

The function of the Socialists is to stir up discontent. Discontent is misdirected at present against politicians instead of against disorganizers, but it's discontent nevertheless and therefore good. The slave has to be kicked out of his lethargy and told to awake and get busy for himself. If not at the pay gate, then at the polls. Voting is silly stuff but it's better than the "Smile, damn you, smile" rot of the feeble bourgeois press. When the worker is finally galvanized into some sort of resistance to **what** is, he may learn to look ahead to **what is becoming,** and even reach out a hand to it and help pull it toward him.

As to the statement frequently made that the middle class is being eliminated, "ground between the upper and the nether mill stones," let us consider that and look for a minute at the Standard Oil Co. This trust is a type of to-day and of the immediate future. The middle men of the oil trust are salaried. That is, they are high wage getters. Not so bad a fate after all! The middle class, instead of continuing its independent mercantile position, goes on salary, just like corner grocers, saloon keepers, butchers, etc., etc. They are already working for the Food, Drink and Meat Trusts for wages.

Lastly, as to the professional classes. They'll have to go join the wage earners, too. With better foods, dentistry will pass away. The teeth of prehistoric skeletons are fine. Primitive peoples ate nuts and roots and other natural foods. With a return to nature, dentists fade away. Doctors, too, will go as curers but remain as preventers. Lawyers' most useful work is in managing industries, forming combinations, etc. The best lawyers are already on retainers, i. e., salary, and the worst ones are seeking jobs in the western fields during hay harvest and writing love songs for Bath-house John during ice harvest.

Instead of the next Stage of Society seeing the elimination of

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the wage system, it will rather witness that system extended until it embraces everyone within its ample folds, and $10 a day for you in 1960 is not so bad!

Actors and artists will probably be entirely wiped out, for when all are on salary all will feel like doing their own singing and dancing. Until then the artists will continue "to work" for the syndicate just as they do now—when the times are good.

The writer, author, poet, playwright, humorist—what will become of him? He is smart enough to look out for himself. So we'll leave his disposition to the high-brows and the serious-minded problem-solvers, who don't want me to cut all the ground from under their feet in one short article, as that would leave them without a job! Hence I'll be merciful to them and leave this question open for their discussion and solution.

One question I want to settle though and that is, that the consumer is not robbed. For commodities sell at their social labor value. "Relief for the buyer" is populist tommyrot. High prices are good for capitalist and for consumer and for laborer; for him high prices are the best of all if they include in the list what he has to sell—brain and brawn!

It is by no means fantastic to conclude that a doubling of the wages and a reduction of labor time to half of the present one is possible at once, and technical science is already sufficiently advanced to expect rapid progress in this field. The further one goes in this direction the more the possibility increases for those who are engaged in material production to give themselves up also to intellectual activity and especially to those forms that bring no material gain, but rather find their reward in themselves and which are the highest forms of intellectual activity.—Kautsky, in "The Social Revolution."

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The Position of the British Labor Party

By Wilfrid Thompson.

British Labor Party is at present in a very critical position. As is well known, the British Liberal Party, representing the interests of the manufactory-owning section of the British capitalist class, has disturbed the traditional complacency of our ruling class by introducing a pettifogging piece of diplomatic and financial bluff, which masquerades under the title of "The Budget."

Thus upper class strife is commanding much attention in England at present. The cause of this strife lies in the proposals of the Liberals to raise taxation from sources hitherto untaxed.

You ask: "What has all this to do with the Labor Party?"

I answer: Everything, which you will see later. Suffice it now to say that the British Labor Party is giving this capitalist Budget its whole-hearted support.

Now what is this Budget about which there is so much to-do? First of all, I would point out that this Budget is no benefit to the British proletarian class. There is no relief of taxation for them. Indeed, it may lower their standard of living.

The Daily News, a capitalist paper, has pointed out that the advance in the price of beer consequent upon the new license duties will bring an extra profit of 15,000,000 pounds more than hitherto into the maw of the capitalist brewers and publicans.

In order to raise the extra taxes for the tax-collector, which amount, roughly speaking, to less than £5,000,000, the brewers and liquor-sellers are increasing the prices of the workers' beer so much that they will extract an extra profit of nearly twenty millions therefrom. Altogether £24,000,000 are to be raised from the luxuries of the working-class.

Let us now see what this Budget proposes to do with the capitalist class. It is an established fact that the income tax payers of Britain are receiving £300,000,000 a year more than they received twelve years ago, while, according to the government, wages have decreased £2,000,000 during the last ten years. And yet, the latter

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class is to bear the burden of paying half of fourteen millions of extra taxation required to meet the exigencies of the state.

Next we come to the taxes which are causing all the hubbub and moving even Labor M. P.'s to ecstacies of unbounded joy.

It is proposed to place a tax of one-half penny in the pound upon undeveloped land, and take twenty per cent of the increased value of land. So, when the industry of the workers has increased the value of land by five pounds, the tax collector will take one pound and leave the landlord the other four. And the worst of it is, this one pound is not to be used for the benefit of the workers, but merely for the maintenance of the capitalist parliament. Therefore, the capitalist class are to also have the benefit of this pound as well as of the other four.

Well, what is all the bother about? Merely this: The landlord section of the master-class is making a sham fight against this new tax in order to gull the working class into believing that the question of taxation affects the working man's position.

Now, as every Socialist worthy of the name knows, taxation does not affect the position of the working class in the least. For the worker's wages necessarily contain the portion that he pays in taxes. If these taxes rise and there is no diminution in the prices of commodities, or no advantage gained to the worker, his wages will necessarily, in the long run, be bound to rise in proportion to the increased taxes. Otherwise he would not be able to sustain life, for his wages would then be below the cost of living. This would not be a desired state, either for the capitalist or the working-class. The former would not be able to purchase labor-power because the latter would starve. So, that being the case, taxation, no matter how or where raised, does not touch the worker's position. He is robbed in the workshop. All "surplus value," according to Karl Marx, is created in the productive process of commodities. It is merely realized during the process of circulation. So the workers cannot hope to elevate their conditions of life until they stop the robbery at its base.

The mere circulation of this surplus value, created by the worker, but retained by the master, from one section of the capitalist class to another, no matter how much it affects the parties engaged in losing or winning it, does not cause intelligent workers to take sides, because they can neither gain nor lose, while every section of the masters win.

But, while that is so, many unenlightened workers are gulled into taking sides upon such issues as "land taxation" and "taxation of imported goods." Clearly, this is what all sections of the master-class want and strive for. Just as a spectator upon a football field

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can suffer neither the physical torture of the unfortunate side, who get kicked the most, and defeated into the bargain, nor fully experience the mental rhapsodies of the inflicters of this torture, the workers cannot hope to share either the defeat of one section of the master-class or the victory of the other. While the victory or loss is real to the parties engaged, it is only a scene in the mind of the spectators.

The workers are merely spectators in the game of taxation and expropriation between the masters.

But, of course, both the warring sections of the master-class will endeavor to convince and will to some extent succeed in convincing the un-class-conscious workers that their positions are directly affected by the outcome of this upper-class strife. This has an extremely bad effect upon us. For the longer the worker pays attention to the struggles for supremacy between sections of the upper-class, the longer will it be ere he concentrates his attention upon his own real struggle with both those sections. These sections of the master-class remind one of an ill-mated couple who are quarreling as to who shall have the bigger share of a stolen half-sovereign, when quite suddenly in pops the rightful owner thereof, who demands the return of the coin. Immediately the couple drop their little squabble and combine against the intruding enemy.

Now, Mr. Worker, you are the so-called intruder, while the landlord and the mill-lord are the couple.

We come now to the position of the parliamentary Labor party. The candidates of this party were elected to look after the interests of the British working class in the capitalist parliament. Yet listen to what it had to say anent the Budget, which we have just discussed:

"It is the greatest scheme of democratic finance ever offered."—(Shackleton).

"The greatest financial reform of modern times."—(Henderson).

"The first systematic attempt to socialize a portion of the national income."—(Keir Hardie).

Still, these men call themselves Socialists when addressing the workers. Here we have the treacherous tactics of the labor fakirs exposed. The spectacle of witnessing these supposed champions of the workers exhausting all words of praise upon a capitalist dodge is disgusting to say the least. But the worst has to come. There are rumors of a general election.

How will these traitors, as Grayson called them, act then?

Clearly, they will either have to eat their own words, so to speak, or support the manufacturing section of the British master-class.

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Truly, they are in a critical position.

In conclusion, I would just like to point out that here, in Britain, as the whole world over, the working class is betrayed by false leaders.

Men who deny the existence of and therefore refuse to recognize the class-struggle are not fit to represent the interests of the working class. In fact, they can't do so.

The sooner the workers realize that they are robbed in the workshop and organize these the better. Of course, combined industrial and political power is necessary to the workers. Industrial without political power is like a man without a wife. One is the complement of the other.

As a class-conscious revolutionist I recognize that, only when the working class bring their organizations up to date and adapt them to the times, will they be able to combat the great and growing strength of concentrated capital.

The British trade unions are out of date. Their methods of warfare are both futile and obsolete.

The basis of their organization is self-help.

Now, with the growing tendency of capital to consolidate the workers must also, if they wish to win, consolidate their forces on the lines of industrial organization, with Socialism as their goal and the class struggle their guiding principle. For in that alone lies the hope of the workers. All else is illusion.

Trades Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system.—Karl Marx, in Value, Price and Profit.

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A Dissertation on "Space of the Fourth Dimension."

By James W. Hughes.

DOUBTLESS the reader, on observing the title of this article, will ask himself the question, "What has Space of the Fourth Dimension to do with the subject of Scientific Socialism or the economic question?" A close consideration of the matter, however, will clearly show that the economic question is related and interrelated, directly or indirectly, to almost every scientific subject known to man.

Especially does this apply to the subject we have here under consideration, and far more so than it would at first appear on the surface of the thing.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the strength of the present Socialist movement lies in the fact that it rests on a **materialistic** basis—that it is a real, and a **materialistic** struggle of the working class to better its **material** conditions. In a word, it is a **material** struggle for a **material** existence where a good understanding of **material** things is of vastly more importance than the gewgaw and gush of the mythical and metaphysical or the spiritual and supernatural. But a good understanding of material things requires a good understanding of matter, and the more we know of force and matter the better we understand the materialistic. In the study of matter man has met with multitudes of enigmas and phenomena from his earliest existence, which he could not at first explain, and when he could not explain them, he immediately drew on his imagination for his facts, and began to dream. And such dreams; of gods and glory to satisfy his personal longings for rest and reward—and such dreams; of hells and horrors, to satisfy his brutal thirst for revenge and retribution, while he neglected his duty to himself and fellow man, in the way of bettering his material existence on earth,—such have been the great stumbling blocks in the paths of progress since the earliest forms of savagery to the present day, and they will continue to be the stumbling blocks as long as we meet phenomena we can't explain. Many are the phenomena to-day that we can not explain, and this is doubtlessly due to our deficiency in perceptive faculties, for that which we cannot **perceive,** we cannot **conceive,** and that which we cannot conceive we cannot explain.

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Some day the human race may, and no doubt will, develop a number of senses of perception, which we do not now possess, i. e., senses other than the senses of seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling and feeling as now ordinarily used. Under such conditions it will be easy to explain many phenomena that now so much bewilder and puzzle us today.

The development of such senses will depend largely upon our pursuance and study of space of a higher order than that in which we really exist.

We exist in, and thoroughly understand, space of three (3) dimensions only, that is, space of length, breadth and thickness, which we can deal with mathematically in every conceivable way.

In higher mathematics it is necessary in order to elucidate certain problems to consider space of four dimensions, that is, space of length, breadth, thickness and something else of which we cannot conceive, yet can demonstrate mathematically to our satisfaction, if not to a certainty. And while we cannot conceive of it clearly, yet it enables us to explain many mathematical and physical phenomena that would otherwise remain as enigmas.

For the benefit of those who wish to give this subject a little serious thought, and perhaps clear up many delusions, I will try to set forth here a short explanation of "Space of the Fourth Dimension," steering as clear of mathematics as I possibly can.

While "Space of the Fourth Dimension" is quite easily explained to a well trained mathematician, it is by no means an easy proposition to write a treatise on this subject, and make it clear to the average lay reader, for as the inventors express it, "It is an easy matter to make an invention for an expert to handle, but simply hell to make it fool-proof for public use."

Before plunging headlong into the subject of "Space of Four Dimensions," had we not better first try to ascertain what space really is? Have you a proper conception of space? Can you conceive of anything in the universe without thinking of space? And the most important of all, can you really define space? In fact can you define it any better than the college student who said: "Space—space—well, I have it in my head all right, Professor, but I just can't quite explain it." If you ask the average man to define space he will most likely answer you by giving you some synonym for the word "space" and think he has given you a definition. "But what he thinks, doesn't alter facts," nor does it make a synonym a definition. He might for instance tell you that space is room and when you ask him what is room he would most likely answer you like a vest pocket dictionary,

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and say that "room is **space**" and thus get himself into a "most vicious circle" that reminds one for all of the story of the eel and the swan.

As a proper understanding of **terms** is an absolute necessity in a scientific discussion, we must here ascertain first of all the difference between a definition and a synonym.

A synonym in the first place is merely a substitution of one word for another, which means exactly the same thing, while a definition is a form of classification, that is to say, when we define a word we point out those characteristics which distinguish a thing from the other things in the class of things to which it belongs.

The greatest care should be exercised, however, in ascertaining the proper characteristics, for science demands that every characterization shall be a known and proven fact.

Hence to assume a characteristic, in defining a word, is most dangerous and unscientific.

Now it will be further seen on close examination that the defining of all words is but a great classification of all the words known to man, in which the words "space" and "matter" are the initial trunk words.

As an illustration of the above, we are asked to define the word "negro", and we say that a negro is a certain kind of a man (giving his peculiar characteristics), and then we are asked: "What is a man?" A man is a certain kind of an animal. And what is an animal? An animal is a certain kind of organism. And what is an organism? An organism is a certain kind of active condition of matter. And what is matter? Matter is anything that occupies space, or more briefly, matter is occupied space. And what is space? And here we are "stuck," because **space** embraces everything, and is not one of a class of things to be characterized, in order to distinguish it from similar things of the same class.

Now, therefore, I hold that while space in general is conceivable to the brain and perceptible to the senses, it is **not** definable by words. Space in general, however, is subdivided into several kinds of spaces, each one having its peculiar characteristics that distinguish it from all the other kinds, and can therefore be defined in words.

Mathematically characterized we have here to deal with the following kinds of space:

1st. Space of no dimensions commonly called a point.
2nd. Space of one dimension commonly called a line.
3rd. Space of two dimensions commonly called a plane.
4th. Space of three dimensions commonly called a solid.

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5th. Space of four dimensions which might be called energy.

For sake of illustration and clearness we will consider all the spaces with which we have to deal, as occupied space, e. g., occupied by matter. In the first place a point is a particle of matter that is infinitely small, or, as the mathematicians would say, "infinitesimal," which means immeasurably small, and of course imperceptible to all our senses. In other words, since a point only occupies space of infinitesimal length, breadth, and thickness, it must be imperceptible to all our senses though conceivable to the brain and definable in words.

In the second instance we may consider space of one dimension (which we call a line) as composed of an infinite number of points placed side by side or tangent, but in the true sense it is better to consider a line as generated by a moving point. For instance, suppose we imagine that the point "A" (in figure 1) is moving or vibrating from A to B with an infinite velocity so that it occupies every point of space between A and B at the same time

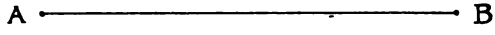


FIG. 1

The result would be a straight line, or a space of one dimension, which is length. But since the point in the first place had neither finite breadth nor thickness a true line would have neither finite breadth nor thickness and would therefore be as imperceptible to our senses as the point which generates it. Hence, space of one dimension, known as a line, which is generated by the movement of space of no dimensions, known as a point, like the point itself is imperceptible to our senses though conceivable to the brain and definable in words.

In the third instance we may consider space of two dimensions (known as the plane) to be composed of an infinite number of lines placed side by side or tangent to each other, but like the line, it is better to consider it as generated by a moving line as follows:

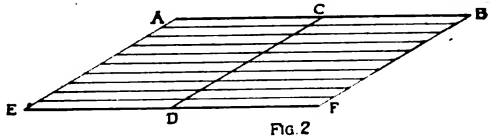


FIG. 2

Suppose the line A-B (in figure 2) to be moving or vibrating at right angles to and along the line C-D from C to D with an infinite velocity or speed, till it occupies every point of space from C to D at the same instant. Then the result would be a plane repre-

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sented by A, B, E, F, or space of two dimensions, viz., length and breadth.

Hence space of two dimensions (known as the plane) is the result of a vibrating line, is conceivable to the brain and definable in words, yet it has neither thickness nor mass.

Next let us consider the fourth case or space of three dimensions, commonly known as the solid, which, like the above cases, in its turn might be considered as made up of an infinite number of planes of infinitesimal thickness, but like the line and the plane, we will consider the solid as a product of generation, being generated by a plane in motion as follows: Let A, B, E, F, (in figure 3) represent a plane vibrating between the points, C and D rising to an infinite speed until the plane A, B, E, F, occupies every position between A, B, E, F, and G, H, J, K at the same instant, then the result would be a **solid** (represented by the outlines A, B, E, F—G, H, J, K), or **space** of three dimensions, viz.: length, breadth and thickness. Hence space of three dimensions (known as the solid) is generated by a moving plane, is perceptible to all the senses, is perfectly conceivable to the brain and quite easily defined in words.

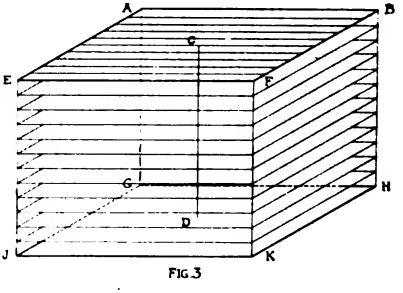


FIG. 3

Next, we will consider the fifth case or space of the "fourth dimensions," and here comes the "rub."

Now we have considered how a certain movement of a point generates a line or space of one dimension, and how a similar movement of a line generates a plane or space of two dimensions, and how a similar movement of a plane generates a solid or space of three dimensions, then will not a similar movement of a solid generate space of the "fourth dimension?" We know if we know anything that any kind of a movement of a solid, generates **energy**, which energy is proportional to the speed times the mass.

Now we have seen how a plane or "space of two dimensions" is the result of a line vibrating at an infinite speed, and how a solid or space of three dimensions, is the result of a plane vibrating at an infinite speed, then why is not "space of the four dimensions" the result of a solid vibrating at an infinite speed, and since energy is equal to mass times the speed, why is not "space of four dimensions" infinite energy itself? "But ah!" you say, "this is inconceivable," because, it does not manifest itself to any of our senses. And why

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does it not manifest itself to any of our senses? Because, unfortunately our senses are only quintuple, that is to say five in number, had we more, then, space of the "fourth dimension" might become perceptible to our senses and in such a case it would also doubtless become very easy to conceive of in the brain.

The question naturally arises, does "space of the 'fourth dimension" manifest itself in any way in nature? To which I would reply, yes, while it does not manifest itself in any way on our senses, directly, yet it manifests itself by its action on various things in every branch of science, and when we meet with one of these manifestations and are unable to explain it, we simply "translate our ignorance into Greek" and call it a "phenomenon."

The space here allotted will not permit us to go as thoroughly into this branch of the discussion as I should like to, while furthermore, a clear presentation of this subject pre-supposes a reader not only well up in mathematics, but also more or less familiar with every branch of science known to man.

Under the circumstances, therefore, we can only, as the French would say, "effleurer la question," touch upon the main points. To illustrate how many actions are taking place all around us, that do not and can not manifest themselves to any of our limited number of senses, two recent and well known discoveries will serve as good examples. I mean the X-rays and the Hertz-rays, both of which result from the passage of a high potential electric spark through a partially vacuumized tube properly constructed for the requirement. In the first instance the X-rays do not manifest themselves in any way to any of our senses, i. e., we can neither see, hear, taste, smell, nor feel them, but when they fall on certain substances, such for instance, as tungstate of calcium, the tungstate will become "fluorescent," that is to say, it is made to glow and give off light, which is visible to the eye. Hence while the X-rays themselves are invisible to the human eye, they do act upon the calcium tungstate as to make the tungstate visible in total darkness.

Likewise the Hertz-rays (which is the basis of wireless telegraphy) are also imperceptible to any of our senses, but may be detected by their manifestation upon the following arrangement: Let an electric circuit be formed, as in Figure 4, in which B represents a battery, T

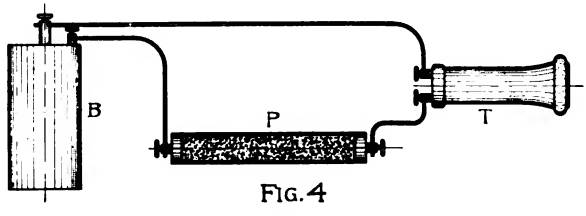


FIG. 4

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is a telephone receiver, and P a glass tube filled with platinum filings, sufficient in number to offer a considerable resistance to the flow of the current, so that under ordinary conditions, the current flowing through the circuit will not be sufficient to exert a strong pull on the diaphragm in the receiver. Now if a small quantity of "Hertz-rays," emanating from any place whatsoever, should strike upon the platinum filings in the glass tube, P, the filings will at once cling together in such a way as to offer less resistance to the passage of the electric current, which will at once "build up" and strengthen the magnet in the receiver, which in its turn will pull down harder on the diaphragm and give a perceptible "click."

The above illustrations are simply described in order to bring out some of the many things in nature that do not manifest themselves on any of our limited number of senses, yet play a most wonderful part in the universe.

There are numerous other things such as "molecular" and "atomic action," gravitation, etc., that might be gone into had we the space here to do so, but being limited in space we will have to omit discussing many interesting phenomena, which on account of their non-tangibility to our five senses, have given rise to the vaguest notions, the wildest theories and the grossest superstitions.

Consequently I will have to conclude by adding a few remarks to the foregoing vibratory theory we have just discussed.

Now I do not wish to be understood as maintaining that a solid of any kind (strictly speaking) is the result of a vibrating plane, or that a plane is the result of a vibrating line, for in the first place a **plane,** as well as a line or a point, is (strictly speaking) a **non-entity,** and was simply used for illustration. It can be readily seen that while the point vibrates to generate a line, the line at the **same time** can be vibrating **to form a plane,** and at the plane at the **same time** can be vibrating to form a solid, etc. Hence a solid is the result of a vibrating point, made up of three component vibrations, which need not be of such perfect rectilinear character as to describe lines, planes, etc., but on the contrary slight variations are necessary to account for the various materials in existence.

That all matter is made up of vibrating points or parts, none can deny. As a matter of fact, who can deny that all matter is composed of vibrating points of **space** itself made up of three component vibrations? And furthermore who is prepared to say that a fourth component vibration, would not produce **matter** or **space** of the "fourth dimension," that would be non-tangible to all our **senses?**

(1) In conclusion we might say that two theories of "space of

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the fourth dimension" stand side by side; one we might call, the "vibratory" theory, the other; the "static" or "geometric" theory. The vibratory theory briefly stated holds this: That all matter tangible to our senses is the result of innumerable vibrating points of space, composed of three component vibrations, while the non-tangible activities that we know are at work are the result of innumerable vibrating points of space composed of four or even more component vibrations.

(2) The "static" or "geometric" theory might be demonstrated by the following example: Figure 5 represents two isometric triangles, A, B, C, and and A', B', C', formed by dividing an isoceles triangle in two equal parts.

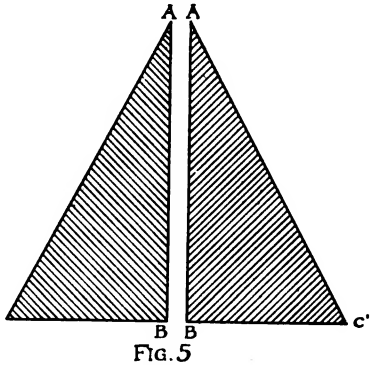


FIG. 5

As long as the two triangles remain in the same plane, that is, space of two dimensions, although they are equal, they cannot be made to coincide, because they are equal and isometrical instead of equal and symmetrical. But if we pick up the triangle A' B' C' and turn it over, by revolving it through space of three dimensions, it will be clearly seen that the triangles will then become symmetrical and can be made to coincide, that is, A' can be placed on A, with B' on B, and C' on C.

Now let us consider two insometric solids, such as one's right hand and left hand; though they are equal in volume and proportion, yet on account of them being insometrical instead of symmetrical, the right hand cannot be put in the same space that the left hand can, and vice versa. But could we only revolve the right through space of four dimensions, the right hand could then be put into the left hand glove and vice versa. To illustrate this, if the right hand glove, which is merely a complex warped plane or space of two dimensions be turned wrong side out, it can then be put on the left hand, or the left hand glove can be turned wrong side out and put on the right hand. This last illustration is merely given to show an application of the theory to solid geometry, where it is very valuable, yet the first, or what I call the "vibratory" theory, is of far more importance to science.

While the theory as a whole cannot be perfectly analyzed on account of our deficiencies in perceptive faculties, it unquestionably offers a most beautiful field of unlimited investigation in every line of science.

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Mickey's Religious Experience

By James H. Brower.



OWN through the long, soot-blackened shops an army of workers dropped their tools and scudded away to seek their dinner pails, the measure of America's prosperity 'tis said, before the noon whistle had ceased its clamor.

Out on the shady side of the casting shop Mickey and Charley found a snug corner and sat down together.

"Well, Mickey," Charley bantered, "have you got that religion we were talking about the other day?"

"Nixie, not fer mine." The cripple looked up scowling, his complement of teeth fastened in a tough hunk of beef. As he pulled, the scowl spread. "You see, Country." he explained, when he had finally swallowed the severed chunk at a gulp, "dem four-flushers out at de meetin' says as how a man kin be good all de time, commencin' 'fore breakfas' an' never lettin' up on de graft till he's sound asleep, an' it stan's t' reason dey's liars."

"Tut, tut, Mickey! You don't know what you are talking about," the other objected, "my mother's a Christian, and a good one."

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"Did de ole lady pass any ov de dope along t' youse?" the boy inquired, scrutinizing his companion gravely.

Charley smiled, and was about to reply, when Mickey broke in with:

"Chuck it, Country. Youse maybe knows a heap more 'bout some things dan I does, but youse don't know how't tip off nothin' in de mertropolis, an' dat's flat. Dem gospel mills out in de country where dey ain't no great sight ov nothin' layin' 'round loose, an' no bulls t' make de game excitin', an' no mollies t' help a feller blow de cush, may be on de level—dat ain't de city, an' de city's differenter, an' don't never let dat git outen yer nut—see?"

"But I don't see how it is different, and besides—"

"Now youse's tellin' it! Youse don't see, an' it's all in usin' dese peepers. Ain't I bin born here? An' ain't I bin up against all de games on de street? Well, den. Say—I jist took t' dem gospel meetin's out t' de mission, as youse so kindly asks me t' attend t', fer a whole week straight. Missed seein' a bang-up ballet an' a hooker ov a Jessy James show, an' passed up de Wild West layout, all t' accommodate me frien' from de country—an' say, I'm a givin' it t' youse straight when I says I'm damned sorry I didn't go t' th' shows an' let dem sky pilots alone. Are youse wise?"

A very lame "No" was all the surprised champion of regeneration could muster. That little "no" served to open the vials of Mickey's long suppressed wrath.

"No, course youse don't. What did them high-collared, baby fingered fellers an' der sister mollies tell me th' first night I goes out t' th' mission?" He paused to gather up the thread of the story.

"Why, dey says cast yer bread on th' waters an' she'll come back t' youse—give yer dollars t' th' Lord—an' dem gents was a leggin' direct fer him fer they took th' coin—an' youse is sure t' git it back ten fold. When I hears that I says, 'I'm in on this here game ef I've got it doped out right;' so I jist nudges a plump old pussy as set by me, an' asks what dat gittin' back ten fold as dey was workin' off means. She says th' Lord pays back ten fer one. That tip suited me t' a T, an' I plumps a dollar in, an' when de dealer sees what I dropped in th' basket, he up an' inquires how much change I wants—youse kin take it frum me, I give him th' glassy eye. 'I hain't no piker,' I tells him, an' he lays his nice baby hand on me nut, an' kind ov slobbers out, 'God bless youse, God bless youse.' Now I calkalate youse hain't a goin' t' b'leve me when I tells youse dat whole darned gospel game is a skin, an' they've got th' bull on de beat fixed, all right, all right. I ain't goin' t' git back nary red cent I put inter de game, an' I dropped three bucks, an' waited till th' last night fer th' drawin' t' come off.

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"Last night that same feller comes around lookin' fer more of th' mazuma—a givin' us his little spiel 'bout castin' bread on th' water, an' a lendin' money t' th' Lord. I'd gone de limit, so I up an' asks dem when th' drawin's t' come off—an' what d' youse 'spose they has th' nerve t' tell me? Me, as thought I'd bin up aginst all de games in de city." Mickey stood before his audience of one deeply interested and somewhat puzzled listener with clinched fists and blazing eyes.

"Well," Charley hesitated, "I hardly know what they could have told you."

"Course youse don't, but I'll tell yer, on th' level, Country, ef youse don't know no more about other games dan youse does 'bout dis gospel business in de mertropolis, I'd advise youse not t' recommend none ov 'em t' any more ov yer city friends, dat's all."

"I won't, Mickey, I won't" Charley promised, and then asked, "What did they tell you?"

"Tell me? Why, dey had de nerve t' tell me—me, Mickey Dougherty, dat I'd git me ten t' one when I got t' heaven. Now what 'd youse think ov dat fer pure gall? I wanted t' have de whole bunch pulled, but de bull's bin fixed all right, all right; fer he says t' me when I tells him as I've bin flim-flammed by some sky pilots as was runnin' a skin game, 'Go chase yerself, me little rooster, 'r I'll run youse in.'" At the close of his speech Mickey sat down and attacked his dinner with renewed vigor, while Charley sat thinking.

Charley Harris liked the cripple, because of his straightforwardness, his avowed friendship, and the many little big-hearted things he was capable of putting through for his friends. If the whole truth must be told he liked him as well for his sturdy defense of his philosophy of life, even if it did hold to the ugly, twisted ethics of the semi-criminal world in which the boy had been chained since birth. On one point his mind was made up quickly. Turning to Mickey he said:

"Mickey, since I recommended the game—guaranteed it, you might say—I feel in duty bound to see that none of my friends lose money." He reached into a pocket and drew out a handful of silver. "Let's see; you put up three dollars," he had to smile at the look of perplexity on Mickey's face, "and while I can't make good that gospel outfit's promise of ten to one, I am willing to put up five dollars to———"

"No youse don't," the cripple interposed, "I ain't no welsher, Country. I took de tip an' played it on me own dope, an' I don't want———"

"Here, you young limb of Satan, take the money, it belongs to you." Charley reached over as he spoke and dumped the silver into Mickey's dinner pail. "Just to hear your experience in your first attempt to get religion is worth that much to me," he added, and as Mickey still showed

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signs of rebellion, he went on, "Mickey, old man, I want you for a friend; between friends a money debt should never stand for a moment longer than is absolutely necessary—and I owed you that five-spot as much as though I had borrowed it from you."

A grimy, greasy hand was held out, and as Charley grasped it Mickey whispered hoarsely, "Country, youse is white, an' I'm goin' t' call youse Charley like th' rest ov th' gang does."

Charley laughed, and Mickey made good in his next speech.

"On de level, Co—Charley, I didn't give up de gospel jist becos dem guys was a runnin' a con game on de money end ov de biz. Youse see, it's dis way: I knows dey's lots ov hold-outs in all de games, an' dey's some dat's square, an' ef de rest ov de gospel game had 'a bin on de level —why shucks! I'd a hunted up a square game an' played me coin, but de whole works is rotten."

"How's that?" Charley asked.

"Why dis way: De main guy says all anybody frum a molly t' a porchclimber has got ter do is t' say, 'I've foun' Jesus,' 'r some sich magic biz as dat, an' to oncet all de sins dey ever did is washed away. Now youse kin take it frum me dat I carried dat aroun' in me nut till de load hurt frightful. Yes, sir, I carried dat fer three days an' nights 'fore I chucked it. Why, tain't reasonable t' 'spose anybody is runnin' sich a bargain counter up to heaven,—an' it ain't no square deal no how. Fer why, here's me—an' I ain't had nobody t' put me wise t' dis bargain counter biz till youse comes an' butts in—an' ef de thing's on de level, an' they ain't no other way ov gettin' inter heaven 'cept I goes through de gospel mill—why, ef I'd a croaked last month, 'r when I was hurt dat time, wouldn't I a gone plump t' hell? An' ef I'd gone t' that bargain sale an' got religion an' hollered 'I've got it! I've got it.' like I hears them a whoopin' it up out dere, an' didn't have t' make good t' all de folks what I swiped things frum, an' lied to, an' so forth, seems t' me de thing wouldn't wash. Jist seems that there way t' me. Seems t' me God 'ud say, 'Youse is a purty cheap skate, son,' seems that there way t' me. But one ov dem singin' fellers made it plain dat all a guy has ter do t' git right in a front row in their heaven is t' fess up. Jist fess up, an' God 'ud let de meanest cuss in 'Chi' crowd right up t' de desk an' begin singin'.'"

"In the name of all the saints, what sort of a crowd did you get into?" Charley demanded, and inwardly resolved to go out and see for himself.

"They was mostly batty, Cou—Charley, an' three of dem old bats jist did deir turn de night I puts in me second buck—why, one ov dem had killed his wife by inches. He says so hisself, an' dey ain't nobody a

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givin' him th' third degree, neither—it was most as good as a play. The next cuss as comes out had blast-feemed, whatever dat is, an' had robbed a sick pard ov hisn ov thousands ov dollars in a minin' deal' an' dem galoots never did have t' make good t' nobody but God. Nixie fer deirs! All any ov dem had t' do was t' say, 'Jesus, I b'leve,' 'r some sich rot as dat, an' all deir cussed doin's was washed away in de twinklin' ov a eye—an' God's eye at dat.

"When dey gits all through a spoutin' an' dem sisters has quit amenin' an' shakin' dem bats' mitts, an' things gits still I up an' asks de one as robbed his pard ef th' pard was alive. He gits up an' says, a-turnin' to them sisters: 'Dear sisters an' brothers, he's alive t' th' flesh but dead t' God. He's still in sin, an' hasn't found th' blood of Christ a balm t' his soul,' 'r some sich flummydiddle as dat.

"Then I asks, fer I was interested, an' besides I had money in de game—I says: 'Mister, when youse got religion in your soul did youse pay dat pard th' money youse stole frum him?' Youse ought t' have seen dem old mollies turn up deir noses at me. An' he says, 'No, me young frien', I didn't need t' do dat, fer God forgived de debt.' 'Say,' I asks him, 'did God really an' truly pass him th' coin?' "

"Say, Mickey, what are you giving me? You didn't butt in on those gospel people like that, did you?" Charley asked, smiling.

"Sure t'ing I did. Ain't I got me money on de game? An' you'd never b'leve it less'n I told youse, dat geezer as robbed his pard tries t' make out he don't know nothin' 'bout what I'm a-tryin' to pass t' him till a old mollie puts it 't him straight, an' den he says to me, 'No, me brother, God does not handle th' filthy lucre, an' so far as me poor sin-cussed pard 's consarned, I'm 'fraid his portion in th' life beyond th' grave'll be in th' lake ov fire,' an' th' dirty welsher begins t' leak somethin' dreadful.

"I up an' asks quick as a wink, 'Say, Mister Whatsyername, don't youse think now dat youse is bin put wise t' de gospel game, ef youse was ter take th' money youse smouched frum yer pard, an' jist handed it t' him, an' den told him 'bout this here new deal, dat he'd take de tip?' "

"He was plum beat out, Charley, an' I'd a had de count on him in no time but some ov dem old hen sisters who's gone soft on his nibs begins t' sing 'Jesus, He Paid it All,' an' th' guy gits his wind an' stands there a-pattin' his hands an' a-smilin' t' dem mollies as fixed it fer him. But I just stood dere a-waitin' fer th' next round, even ef dey did try t' call me down.

"When dem old hens quits a-cacklin' long 'nuff t' give him a chanst he hes his story all fixed, an' turns t' me an' says, 'Th' song tells th' whole story, me young frien'—Jesus paid it all—all t' him I owes—sin had left

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a grimy stain but she's washed witer'n snow,' an' a lot ov slush like dat.

"When I goes fer him hard an' wants t' know things, he says it don't make no kind ov diff'rence what a bloke has done—murder, steal, lie—any ole thing goes. He don't have t' square himself with nobody fer nothin'. An' jist as soon as he's got deir kind ov religion he's good fer a scalper's ticket straight t' heaven. Den ef th' poor cuss he stole frum an' lied to 'r did anything like a thousan' other devlish, low-down, mean things to, still stays mad an' wants a square deal, wants this here religious bloke t' do th' square thing by him on this here earth—why, it's th' feller as wants de square deal as goes plump t' hell, an' th' welsher goes t' heaven. An' th' times dey has up dere! Nuttin' t' do but prance round in circus close, an' eat an' sing, an' drink milk outen a river dat flows right by de captain's desk—say, dey's got a warm pipe, all right, all right." Mickey got up, carefully, placed a battered lid on an equally battered dinner pail and looked off into the blue as he added:

"Dem gosple folks takes dope, an' I wouldn't be s'prised ef dey was pulled fer hittin' th' pipe one ov dese here days—dey's nuttin' to it. Youse may hev nuther kind ov religion in de country, but it stan's t' reason dat dey hain't no God whose goin' t' send the feller as has bin robbed an' had other things done t' him t' hell, an' give th' robber, an' murderer a nice easy graft in heaven, jist 'cause he blubbers a few minutes an' saddles all his cussedness off onto Jesus Christ—why, I ain't God, an' I'll be damned ef Mickey Dougherty 'ud put up with sich a gummy mess ov welshers an' four-flushers as dem people is. Bet yer life, I wouldn't! Ef I was God I'd say, 'Here, youse reprobates, 'fore youse gits t' prancin' 'round a-tellin' what all I'm a-goin' t' do for youse, youse git out an' square up with dem as youse robbed, an' murdered an' things.' Bet yer life I'd make 'em hit de grit, an' as they went down th' line I'd give 'em me toe an' tell 'em I wasn't runnin' no bargain counters fer blokes ov deir kidney; dem is things Mickey Dougherty'd do ef he was God."

Then the whistle blew.

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The New Revisionism in Germany

By William English Walling.

world's most important Socialist conference after
ıe International Congress at Amsterdam—such will
e the judgment of the historian of the Socialist
ıovement on the German Parteitag that has just
een brought to a close in Leipzig.

It is to be compared with the Congress of Dresden at which the German Party declared by an overwhelming majority against the revisionists, that revolutionary tactics must go with revolutionary principles and that Socialists were not to lend their political support to capitalistic governments. And just as the International Congress held the next year at Amsterdam decided against Jaurès and the participation of Millerand in a non-Socialist ministry, so the International Congress at Copenhagen next year may be expected to take a stand against the new revisionism or laborism which is now threatening to lead the movement in many countries away from the path of Socialism.

For, as Kautsky has made clear in his writings and speeches, the new danger comes not from Bernstein or the intellectuals, but from among conservative and opportunist leaders of the trade unions. Theoretical revisionism, Kautsky maintains, is dead. Political revisionism is at the danger point. That this is true is shown by the fact that the revisionists refused to take any position on the question of reaffirming the Dresden resolution, which therefore stands as the party's principle. Like true opportunists they were ready to throw Bernstein and the revisionist theory overboard if only left in control of the political machine.

On the principal matter at issue to be sure, whether the Socialist members of the Reichstag should have voted in favor of or against the inheritance tax proposed by the late Bülow government, the revisionists seemed to win a victory by the declaration of Bebel, that, had he been well at the time, he would have opposed voting against the tax. However it was just the kind of victory that will do the revisionists the least good, now that they have given up hope of moderating the fundamental principles of the party, namely, a mere moral victory.

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For the conduct of the party in this matter was left at Leipzig as before in the hands of the Reichstag members. Evenly divided at the present moment, the new successes the Party is winning in every bye-election must soon give the revolutionists a clear majority in the Reichstag. For there is not a single revisionist on the party executive, the editors of the Vorwärts are all revolutionists and the overwhelming majority of the party membership stands with Singer, Kautsky and Ledebour against the South Germans, the conservative trade union leaders, and the relatively small group of revisionist intellectuals.

The importance of the new tendency lies not in the fact that it has captured or is about to capture the German party, but that its tenets are almost identically the same as those which are as powerful as ever in France, have recently gained the upper hand in Italy, and are the only "Socialist" principles to which the British Trade Unionists have ever paid the slightest heed. Not only this but all the main questions, including the bone of contention in Leipzig, are equally under discussion in every modern country.

Whether in Germany or England, France, Italy, Austria or the United States the most violent and aggressive anti-Socialist forces are those of Imperialism. In all these countries it is the necessity of finding new means for military and naval expenditures that alone shakes one or another section of the middle-class out of its lethargy, persuades it to throw over some sacred principle of private property and to put some new and revolutionary tax on some other section of its class. Is it possible that income and corporation taxes and constitutional amendments would now be discussed in the United States if the military and naval expenditures of this last decade were not four-fold those of the previous decade?

So too in England and Germany the new taxes have led straight to a constitutional crisis. If in England it is a question of abolishing the House of Lords, in Germany it is proposed by the Socialists to utilize the need of the government for new taxes, to demand for the nation the basis of true constitutional government, the control of the army and navy and foreign affairs by the people's Parliament, the Reichstag.

It is just such crises as have arisen at the present moment in every country of the world that enable the Socialist Parties for the first time to play a great historic role in weakening militarism and establishing the basis of at least a political democracy. As reformers Socialists will always be overshadowed by opportunist bourgeois reformers who can and will sell out everything to obtain the reform in question. But in these great constitutional crises it is necessary

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to fight, which requires the backbone and principle to be found only among Socialists in these days.

Already in England the Liberals have begun to compromise with the House of Lords, while their German counterparts have abandoned all pretense to make use of the great crisis of a year ago, when (as the world knows) the whole nation was up in arms against the Emperor, in order to demand a constitutional government. Only the most aggressive tactics on the part of English and German Socialists can force the people of either country to take advantage of the financial difficulties caused by Imperialism to forge a weapon by which the latter may finally be overthrown.

But this is the very moment when British Laborites and German revisionists come forward with a plan to strengthen the Liberals by a political alliance. The situation in Germany and the arguments used are almost exactly those of the other countries.

The arguments for and against the proposal of the Revisionists to vote in favor of granting the proposed Inheritance Tax were summed up in the shortest possible form by Karski in "Vorwärts":

"On the one side it is argued that we stand under all circumstances in favor of the increase of the Inheritance Tax because it is a direct tax. In the second place, we follow the tactics of choosing the lesser evil and grant direct taxes in order to avoid indirect taxes. In the third place we grant direct taxes to spoil the inclination of the bourgeoisie for militarism; which they will favor no longer if they must bear the burden themselves.

"On the other side it is argued that we might grant direct taxes but that it is by no means necessary that we should do so. If it is a mere question of replacing indirect by direct taxes, then we are of course in favor of doing so. But if it is a question of creating new sources of income for the State, then we must ask first of all, to what purposes are these new sources of income to be used. If they are to serve the general aims of civilization, then we grant them. If they are to serve purposes hostile to civilization and the people's welfare, like militarism, colonialism and the big navy craze, then we refuse them under all circumstances, according to the good old principle, 'Not a single penny or a single man for the present system.' The argument of the lesser evil can find no application here, since it leads to laughable conclusions; it would only be necessary for the Government to demand as many indirect taxes as possible to be used against the people in order to get the Social Democrats to grant direct taxes in large amounts (to be used for the same purpose). Also the argument that the bourgeoisie would lose its taste for militarism if its cost had to be covered by direct taxes falls to the ground because

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the maintenance of militarism is for the bourgeoisie of to-day a life and death question; it is the only means they have of defending their domination against the proletariat and they will gladly trade direct taxes for this purpose, especially when these direct taxes are so ridiculously small as they are in the Government's Inheritance Tax proposal."

With the change of a dozen words this whole resumé could be applied equally well to the English situation; there also the cause of the new revolution in taxation is not that money is needed for social reform but that the Government has decided to build more Dreadnoughts and that the Liberals have become as imperialistic as the Conservatives themselves. Similarly the principles of the argument could be extended to the situation in nearly every other country.

In Germany, fortunately, the voters seem inclined to take the revolutionary view, as was pointed out by Ledebour in his report to the Leipzig Congress on behalf of the party executive. He said:

"All our experience proves that the best thing for us to do is to oppose the **whole system** in the sharpest possible manner. The colossal successes in the recent bye-elections show this. If this increase of votes could be traced back to our declaration in favor of the **principle** of the Inheritance Tax, the Radical and Liberal parties would also show an increase of votes since they were on our side in this question. But these parties have everywhere fared as badly and in some places even worse than the Centre (Catholic) and Conservative parties. The confidence of the people in our party grows, not on account of our attitude to any side issue in which we find ourselves **in agreement** with the bourgeois parties, but on account of the basic principles which **separate** us from all other parties."

Chairman Singer expressed a similar opinion and seemed to receive the approval of a majority of the Congress when he said:

"What has made the Social Democratic party great and strong? Why, only the open and firm way in which we have stood for our principles, both in regard to our final goal and in the politics of the day. . . . . Since the question of choosing the lesser evil has been brought up here, I must say that I hold it to be a lesser evil, if difficulties arise in our electoral agitation on account of a vote (in the Reichstag) which was justified by our principles, than if we finally take a path in which there is no possibility of stopping, in order to avoid these difficulties. . . . . Of course we will vote for direct taxes, if the purpose for which the taxes are to be used corresponds with our convictions, but to decide this question beforehand for each individual case, is impossible."

This clearly is the true Socialist position. But what then is

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the basic principle on which the revisionist opposition rests? The long controversy between Kautsky and his revisionist and trade union opponents, just before the Congress shows the heart of the situation. Kautsky argued that English, German and especially American experience in the past ten years has shown that the trade unions cannot expect the same success as they could ten years ago, before the era of Trusts and Employers' Associations, that therefore they must seek the aid and co-operation everywhere of the Socialist Party. The trade union revisionists answered that the prospects of the trade unions are satisfactory in all these countries without any new and radical political action, and that on the contrary it is better for the political party to give its chief attention to such everyday political matters as may be of immediate benefit to the unions. In other words, the party plays a secondary role. If the political reformers in the party will satisfy the immediate needs of the unions, the latter will be glad to drop all larger questions and to leave the party management in their hands.

This is the very root of the strength of latter day revisionism and it is the basis of opportunism in the Socialist parties of every country in the world. It is an alliance between ambitious climbers who want to use the Socialist Party, consciously or unconsciously, to increase their own power or prestige or even to get into office and a form of labor organization, the trade union on a commercial basis, that has nothing more social in its outlook than the ancient guild.

But how does it come about that the Socialist parties tolerate and foster such an element and admit a Labor Party to the International Bureau, even though this is done expressly on probation?

The explanation can only be suggested in conclusion. The labor unions are not **the** economic arm of the socialist movement as many platforms suggest but, according to the best Socialist traditions, merely **an** economic arm of the movement. Though the labor unions have always received a place of equal **dignity** and **rights** to that of the political party in the Socialist literature describing the class struggle, they are not and can not be of equal **importance.** In the party are to be gathered all true proletarian or anti-capitalist elements of the population—those who live rather by their own labor than through property or any other privilege. In the unions are only such proletarian elements as can be successfully organized to strike. But this is never more than a mere fraction of the proletariat.

Even the whole industrial and manual working-class is only a minority of the proletariat. The labor unions can embrace only

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a minority of the industrial and manual working-class. They are a minority of a minority.

The labor unions are **an** economic arm of the proletariat, the Socialist Party is **the** political arm of the movement.

The strike of producers is the only economic weapon used **exclusively** by the unions. The strike of consumers, or boycott, while less important, is more social, since it can be used by all the proletariat, by all those who purchase even approximately the same articles. Also the large and growing class of government employees, postmen, teachers and the like can strike only at supreme moments and this is becoming more true of railway employees as they are gradually taken under state control. Yet to get good work from these classes their good will is essential and limitation of output or "passive resistance" has often proved a successful means of combat.

So, altogether aside from the question of the relative importance of the political and economic struggles, aside from the probability that governmental arbitration, and pension and promotion schemes of the Trusts may still further limit the field of the Unions, it is seen that the party has a far broader task.

In France the Unions are conceded to have an equally important role with the party because, while maintaining their independence, they have announced that they propose to use the economic power for the purposes of Socialism. Such Unions are not only a necessary and useful business proposition for workingmen. They are a militant wing (not **the** militant wing, however) of the Socialist movement. In Austria and many other countries the Unions are directly under the influence of the party. In Germany and England, the Unions, while willing to make use of a Socialist or Labor Party, offer Socialism nothing in return.

When revolutionary Socialists call such an organization **the economic arm** of the Socialist movement they are jumping out of the frying-pan of the revisionism of the intellectuals into the fire of the revisionism of pure and simple unionists.

For even after a pure and simple Union has entered "politics," who can say how many years or decades may be needed before it sees the light of revolutionary Socialism?

Kautsky is right, the new revisionsm is more dangerous than the old.

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The Relation of Socialism to the Woman Question

By Lida Parce.

HERE is a reason why woman suffrage should have a place in the Socialist platform, but the platform doesn't mention what it is. The platform gives the reason for the faith that is in it on every other question, but not on this one. By this silence an obvious and excellent opportunity for propaganda is missed.

Only a few of our very best speakers have anything vital to say on the woman question. Usually, when you hear a Socialist speech, if the speaker is really conscientious, he will approach the woman question with fear and trembling toward the end of the performance. He will gather up all his nerve and say something violently dogmatic about the slavery of woman; but it is utterly unconvincing, because he has not given his reasons. And in his heart he does not believe there is a reason. If he did, the platform would have something to say about it. The speaker closes "these few remarks" in confusion and haste, with a pious feeling that, at any rate, he has done his best. He has, poor man, but his best was not good enough. He has not connected up his thoughts on the subject, because his interest was only perfunctory.

A Socialist recently said to me that he worked for woman suffrage all the time and hoped it would come as soon as possible, though he knew perfectly well that woman's conservatism would delay Socialism. The reflection with which he closed is frequently heard among party members, but it is based on a false application of the word "conservatism." Now this is precisely the point. That wrong application of the word is a fallacy that has had a wide acceptance, which is readily accounted for by the fact that it requires a little analysis to detect it. We speak of the conservation of anything that has become established, no matter how ephemeral or how unrelated to the well-being of the race. But a woman's conservatism is not that kind; it relates to the species. It was developed by the disci-

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pline of being the protector and the provider for the young. The only thing that can be called female conservatism is that fundamental, ineradical, dominating interest in the preservation and well-being of the race, either as individuals or as a whole. What is so often called woman's conservatism is that timidity and caution which arise from the double uncertainty and perils of her doubly enslaved condition.

The present egotistic system is built on the male psychology. The subjection of woman had to be accomplished before the foundations of the present system could be laid in the private ownership of land. It was necessary to do this first, because women were dominated by the mother-spirit of altruism and had always worked co-operatively for the benefit of the whole group. So that, both historically and logically, the question of the status of woman is prior to the question of economic organization. I have not said "more important;" I have said "prior." But if it is prior it can not be less important. To suppose that the male psychology, unaided, will become so altruistic as to re-establish the co-operative system, while it remains so egotistic as to keep woman in sexual and political subordination is to imagine a vain thing.

The comrade who made the reflection quoted, referred to the suffrage states, to show that women wish to maintain the present state of things, and that revolution does not follow on woman suffrage. The obvious reply is that men who have had the ballot for generations are at present unable to control economic affairs by means of it. Political liberty with economic dependence is utterly meaningless.

For ages women have been kept in a position where they were dependent upon the performance of sex functions for a chance to work. A woman had to look to a man, who had access to land, for a chance to produce the necessities of life for herself and her children. Under these abject and withering conditions, women were perverted from the normal exercise of their dominant traits. The access to that land was a terribly important thing; and a woman was obliged to compete with other women for a chance to thus prostitute her faculties. In time she came, like man, to see the economic consideration too large, the human consideration too small. She was, for the time, psychologically unsexed. The average woman now depends upon her husband for the money with which to care for her family. And he depends upon a complex of political and economic conditions for a chance to earn that money. She is not in personal touch with these conditions, and she is powerless to remedy them, however bad they are. Again, it is, he is making some kind of a living, and if there were to be a change she cannot tell how it would end. He is timid

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and uncertain about it himself, though he is a free citizen. Then how much more timid must she be, in her restricted position and with the living of her children at stake. But this timidity and caution are not female conservativeness. They are the reasonable traits of a slave psychology.

Individually, women have no power to affect conditions. But the juvenile courts, the libraries, the parks and play-grounds, the civic improvements of every kind, and literally thousands in number, that have been established by the women's clubs in America, prove what kind of thing it is that women do when, by association, they gain some power to act. The question raised by women in their club work is not: "Will it pay us?" But: "Will the condition of the people be improved?" They do not get together and say: "We will buy some books for **our** children to read; we will make a park for **our** children to play in." Their work is communal, just as it was before the "dawn of civilization." It is for all the people. This is the true female conservatism. This is the mother psychology. Woman is not only the mother of individuals; when she acts collectively, she is the mother of the race.

There is not an ill arising from the present competitive organization of society that would not have been modified or avoided altogether if woman had not been bound and gagged. And yet many Socialist speakers can with difficulty find anything to say on the woman question. The platform sets forth no reason for its woman suffrage plank.

There is endless material for argument on the woman question, all of which hies back to the place of the female in every animal species, and to the sex-psychology of woman, as the great conservator—not of dollars, but of human beings.

The dominant mental attitude of man is that of acquisition and personal control. History tells its own story on that point, and so does the present social system. Whether the male mind in general will ever adopt feminine standards and aims sufficiently to establish society on the feminine principle may be doubted. But if the normal feminine mind were freed and in a position to express itself there can be no doubt what the result would be.

The Socialist agitation of the woman question, therefore, should take the form of spreading a knowledge of the true psychological sex-character of woman. This can not fail to appeal strongly to every woman who comes to understand it; for it is the basis of her diginity, the justification of her destiny as a free human being. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the feminine mode of life has been forcibly perverted, and it will take time for woman to

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readjust herself to the expression of her normal character. Any one who is a true Socialist will welcome this understanding of female conservatism with enthusiasm, when he is convinced of its truth; and he will not allow his traditional sex-attitude to interfere with his comprehension.

Socialists should not allow the capitalist imputation of radicalism to stand for an instant. It is capitalism that is radical. Socialism is the very essence of conservatism. And if woman can be educated in the principles of Socialism and then freed for action, it is a foregone conclusion how she will respond.

It is a cheerful capitalist custom to "view with alarm" the remotest suggestion of feminism, and to get gay over the special attributes of the feminine mind. But the time for that sort of thing is nearly past. The masculine psychology, unbridled and unhindered, has about tried itself out. And though it has many achievements to its credit, its record does not justify any lofty or disdainful attitude toward woman. On the contrary that record shows cause why man should, with patience and humility undertake the task of freeing woman, not for the sake of her deliverance; but for delivering the race from the penalties of his folly.

It is to the Socialist Party alone that we can look for any adequate or dignified treatment of the woman question. It is only on the basis of the materialist interpretation of life that the really ideal reasons for woman suffrage can be advanced. But even the Socialist Party needs to be admonished from time to time "lest we forget."

Yes, savagery, barbarism, civilization called upon woman and child to share in life's struggles; but it remained for the age of machinery, the age of "society," the age of the billionaire, the age of general suffrage and democratic governments, the age of triumphant science and free public schools, the age of marvelous inventions—marvelous means of production—to enslave them body and soul. It remained for this age of progress to reduce millions of them to a servitude in which they may well envy the condition of the mediaeval serf or the black slave of the southland.—From Industrial Problems, by N. A. Richardson.

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Forces Making for Industrial Unionism in Australia

H. Scott Bennett.

friends of Industrial Unionism in America will be eased to hear that there is a decided tendency on the art of several of the most important unions in Ausalia to discard the principles of craft unionism in favor f unionism industrial! For some time Industrial nionism, or the principle thereof, have been advocated by the S. L. P., I. W. W. Clubs and the various organizations affiliated with the Socialist Federation of Australia! The persistent advocacy of the only form of economic organization compatible with 20th century conditions, together with certain sharp shocks recently experienced by several large craft unions in one or two struggles with the master class, has brought about the pleasing state of affairs that I am about to relate.

Let us take the case of the Sydney (New South Wales) Trades and Labor Council first!

Some time ago the Tramway employes of Sydney (the trams are run by the government) went on strike. Thanks to some fine work put in by certain labor politicians, together with a remarkable display of organized scabbery, the strike collapsed. Naturally, there was a vast amount of dissatisfacion shown by the men, and so the Trades and Labor Council eventually appointed a sub-committee to go into the whole matter and present a report upon the causes that led to the defeat of the men. Let me say here that the Sydney Labor Council represents roughly forty thousand unionists, and that a few months ago a number of the delegates in the Council were wont to make merry over the subject of Industrial Unionism. But a marked difference is observable today, as the following excerpts from the sub-committees report, since adopted by the whole Council will show: ,

"The Tramway strike amply demonstrates THE FUTILITY OF SECTIONAL STRIKES."

"The whole blame is on our own shoulders BECAUSE WE TRADES UNIONISTS ARE NOT ORGANIZED ON RIGHT LINES, VIZ., INDUSTRIAL LINES" We should be so organized that when a strike takes place, "the whole industry should stop at the same time."

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That, I think, is a fairly frank confession of the impotency of craft unionism in its every day fights with the master class!

Here is another instance of the tendency shown by the unions to move toward Industrialism. In Broken Hill a great struggle has just terminated between the "Brothers," Labor and Capital! Much has occurred there to turn the eyes of the workers in the direction of Industrial Unionism! Persistent advocacy by the local Socialists, the able advocacy with tongue and pen by Tom Mann, who took a prominent part in the strike proceedings, together with many a vivid illustration of the weakness of craft unionism, accounts for the issuing of the following circular. The circular comes from the Barrier Labor Federation several thousand strong. It opens with an appeal for "one central head" elected by the unions of Australia. The desire is "to bring about the unity of the workers of the country," because we see the masters everywhere united, irrespective OF THE BUSINESS THEY ARE ENGAGED IN, fighting "one common battle against us, while we are too often split into sections."

The circular concludes with an appeal for a conference for the purpose of forming an Industrial Union. Now, here is another interesting circular sent out some time ago and which ultimately produced a fairly tangible result. It is issued by the union of Port Pirie, and runs as follows: "The committee has come TO A DEFINITE AND UNANIMOUS CONCLUSION THAT CRAFT UNIONISM HAS OUTLIVED ITS USEFULNESS, and that 20th Century industrial development demands a more perfect form of organization. As the outcome of this letter a conference was held at Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, where the following unions were represented: S. A. Government General Workers' Association; The Commonwealth Public Service Electric Telegraph and Telephone Construction Branch Union; Federated Iron, Brass and Steel Moulders' Union of Australia, Port Pirie Branch; Australian Boot Trade Federation, Adelaide Branch; General Division Association of S. A., Federal Public Service; Adelaide Hairdressers Employes; Cast Iron Pipe Makers and Iron Workers Assistants; The Typographical Society; Moonta Mines Trades and Labor Association; The Journeymen Plasterers; Glass Bottle Blowers; Bookbinders and Paper Rulers; Wallaroo Mines Workers' Association; South Australian United Laborers; Brickyard Employes' Association; Tobacco Twisters; Third Class Marine Engineers; Australian Workers' Union; Timber Yard and Wood Workers; The Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners; Drivers Association of S. A.; The A. M. A. Port Pirie and The Engine Drivers' and Firemen." After an interesting discussion the unions represented decided to form a "Workers' Federation of South Australia," having for its object complete industrial organization for the effective handling of industrial disputes and the abolition of capitalism. It will be seen, I think, from the

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illustrations given, that there is anything but a marked feeling of hostility shown towards Industrial Unionism on the part of the unions in Australia. Truly, the whole movement is still in the making, but let me again remind "REVIEW" readers that the organization named were either entirely ignorant as to the meaning and significance of Industrial Unionism or, where it was known, no great desire was manifested to pay any great attention to it. Now, however, that the tide has set in in the right direction, it will be the duty of all Socialists and Industrialists to assist in every way this remarkable development in Trades Union circles. That they will do so I have no doubt. Without exception every SOCIALIST organization in Australia endorses Industrial Unionism, and they, in conjunction with other agencies, must see to it that the principles of this all-important movement are kept well before the eyes of Australia's wage slaves.

Sydney, Australia, Sept. 8, 1909.

In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere the workers, enlightened, understanding their self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial and economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes, they will be prepared to take possession and assume control of every industry. With the education they will have received in the Industrial Workers, they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.—Eugene V. Debs, in Revolutionary Unionism.

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What Is the Matter with the Socialist Party?

Socialism, the proletarian revolt against the ruling class, was never so much alive as today. The ruthless march of organized capital is daily recruiting the proletariat with new wage workers and making rebels out of both the old and the new proletarians by grinding down wages to the point of bare subsistence. As a consequence the laborers are becoming more revolutionary than ever before. All over the world the ruling classes are busy devising measures to stem the rising tide. Here in the United States the "conspiracy of silence" is broken and socialism is being discussed from pulpit, press and platform. Our own correspondence from all over the United States is day by day more optimistic, showing an ever-growing enthusiasm for our proletarian propaganda.

Meanwhile the Socialist Party as an organization has failed to make a corresponding growth. Its vote in 1908 was but slightly larger than in 1904. It has during the last five years enrolled probably over 150,000 members, including those who held membership cards in 1904, but the present total membership as shown by the monthly dues is about 45,000, and the number who took the trouble to attend meetings and vote on a recent referendum was only about 8,500. The action taken at this referendum was a surprise. Two decidedly reactionary propositions were adopted. One was to drop from our "immediate demands," in the list of social utilities the collective ownership of which is demanded, the words "and all land." This carried by 5,382 to 3,117. The other was to insert into the Declaration of Principles the following paragraph:

"There can be no absolute private title to land. All private titles, whether called fee simple or otherwise, are and must be subordinate to the public title. The Socialist Party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation AND POSSESSION of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation."

It was adopted by a vote of 5,936 to 2,565. We have given these details since they are necessary to the understanding of the following

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official communication lately received from the Third Ward Branch of Local Denver, which we regard as being important enough to deserve full consideration and discussion:

TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES:

Whereas, It has for some time been apparent that The Socialist Party of the United States is not a revolutionary organization of the working class, based on the principles of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, but is merely a stamping ground for faddists, careerists and notoriety seekers bent upon obtaining pelf and power at the expense of an already overburdened class; and

Whereas, Practically all of the official positions in this organization have been usurped by as conscienceless a crew of bourgeois buccaneers as ever practiced piracy on the high seas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; and

Whereas, This cockroach element, composed of preachers without pulpits, lawyers without clients, doctors without patients, storekeepers without customers disgruntled political coyotes and other riff-raff, through its self-appointed leadership, has relegated the real proletarians to the rear; and

Whereas, In their mad scramble for votes, these muddle-headed marauders of the middle class have seen fit to foist upon the Socialist Party, in the name of the working class, such infamies as "Craft Unionism," "Anti-Immigration," "State Autonomy," and a series of ludicrous and illogical "Immediate Demands"; and

Whereas, The final act, the climax, the culmination of these and other prostitutions came when the Socialist Party by referendum vote decided to drop Socialism from its platform and adopt in its stead an emasculated form of the late lamented Single Tax; be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the fifty-five proletarians members in good standing of the Third Ward Branch of Local Denver, Socialist Party of Colorado, do reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM and to the cause of OUR class, and do hereby withdraw from the organization falsely called "The Socialist Party of the United States"; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the State and National officials of the party and to the Socialist and Labor Press of the United States.

Third Ward Branch of Local Denver, Socialist Party of Colorado,

HERBERT GRAHAM, 1762 Champa Street,
WALTER C. SMITH, 715 W. 11th Avenue,
PHILIP ENGLE, 1830 Champa Street,
Committee.

Dated at Denver, Colorado, September 23, 1909.

In publishing these resolutions, we do not endorse the view of the Denver comrades that proletarians should desert the Socialist Party as hopelessly middle-class. We believe there is some measure of truth in the indictment, but we can see a definite economic cause for the predominance of the middle class in the party up to this time, and economic reasons also why we should hope for a radical change to proletarian tactics on the part of the Socialist Party in the near future. Craft unionism is a survival from conditions of but yesterday, conditions under which it was the logical form of working-class organization. True, the rapid march of industrial progress has made it as obsolete as the spinning-wheel and the stage-coach, but it always takes people some time to adjust

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their ideas and institutions to new conditions. Most of the proletarian members of the Socialist Party thus far have been members of craft unions for the very good reason that such membership was for them a necessary condition for holding their jobs. This membership naturally made them reluctant to antagonize craft unions, and this reluctance is reflected in the platforms and resolutions of the Socialist Party. Apart from trade unionists, our membership thus far has been mainly recruited from the small producers and professional men, who, as B. E. Nilsson points out on another page of this month's REVIEW, are not in daily touch with the great industrial processes as proletarians are, and can exercise control over these processes only through the political state. Thus it is not in the least surprising that the Socialist Party in the past has placed undue emphasis on voting and law-making. Nor on the other hand is it surprising that with these tactics we have scarcely touched the great mass of the proletariat.

But forces stronger than ourselves are pushing us on. The great capitalists have built up a system of organized industry beside which the political state is a pigmy. In the course of this process they have been systematically crushing out the old conservative trade unions. On their ruins is already rising a new type of union, revolutionary as Marx himself, ruthless as capitalism, strong in the thought, learned not from Marx but from grim experience, that the workers have nothing to lose but their chains, and all the world to gain. It is in these unions, not the aristocracy of labor but its *democracy*, that the Socialist Party of the future must find its strength.

Long enough we have cringed before the aristocracy of labor begging for votes that we did not get. Long enough we have experimented with "immediate demands" that might swell our apparent strength by winning the votes of people opposed to revolution. The time has come for the proletarians of the party and those who believe the party should be proletarian in its tactics to bring about a revolution inside the party. Let us not withdraw like the Denver comrades but take possession. Let us put wage-workers on the National Executive Committee. Let us cut the "immediate demands" out of our platform and leave reformers to wrangle over reforms. Let us make it our chief task to spread the propaganda of revolution and of the new industrial unionism, and when we elect members of our own class to office, let us instruct them that their most important work is to hamper the ruling class in the war it will be waging on the revolutionary unions. With tactics like these, apathy will disappear, and the Socialist Party will for the first time become a vital force in the struggle between capitalists and wage-workers.

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SPAIN. Another Martyr. As the Review goes to press this month the world is all on fire with the story of a new martyrdom. Francisco Ferrer has been added to the long list of those who died for freedom's sake. On September thirteenth he was shot to death in a prison yard. His last act was to refuse the ministrations of priests and his last words, "Long live the Modern Schools!"

There is no need of repeating here the story of his life and death. During the past few days it has been burned into the consciousness of the civilized world. But I cannot refrain from pointing out that the dramatic events which have centered our gaze on far-away Barcelona uncover the play of forces in our society as few things have ever done.

Francisco Ferrer was not a socialist. In the ordinary sense of the word he was not a revolutionist. He was an educator; his life and fortune were devoted to the foundings of schools and the publishing of books. At the time of his death he was the administrator of a school system which included more than a hundred institutions of learning; his publishing house had supplied the Spanish nation with its first system of modern text-books. This was his life-work, this the revoution which he stood for.

For a long time the clerical powers of Spain had been seeking his life. In 1907 he eluded their bloody grasp. The riots of last July gave them another opportunity. The Archbishop of Barcelona sent to Señor Maura a protest against the uprising and "the individuals who are responsible therefor; that is to say, the partisan of godless schools, the radical press, and the anarchist groups." Then it was suddenly discovered that the founder of the Modern Schools was the chief aider and abettor of the riots. It is true that until shortly before the trouble he had been in England and that the day of the riot he spent working in his office. But had he not some months previously lent a small sum to one of the wicked labor unions? At any rate he was an enemy of the church; so he was sentenced to death.

If the sound of the shot that ended his life could have been kept within the boundaries of Spain one would say that this was just the old story over again. Religious bigotry had found another victim: what of that? But the sound of that shot re-echoed till our whole civilization shook with the vibration. And then an interesting thing appeared. The news of this latest martyrdom acted like the acid in the retort: it separated the powers of light from those of darkness. Who was it that rose in protest? Was it the statesmen, the clergy or our vaunted capitalist press? No—it was a few scientists on the one hand and the great body of toilers on the other. The scientists express their horror in proclamations and letters; the toilers gather in a score of cities, they march, they riot, they go out on strike. No better evidence could there be to show which are the forces of progress, the representatives of enlightenment. The thousands of dollars that are pouring into Sweden show that the proletariat of the world is awake to its common economic interests; the instant response to the awful news from Spain shows that it is no less awake to its great need of intellectual enlightenment.

SWEDEN. The Fight Goes On. The great struggle of the Swedish workers continues unabated. Approximately 150,000 men are preparing for an all-winter campaign. Early in September the government, at the instigation of the Employers' Association, appointed an arbitration committee. For weeks it examined the statements submitted to it by the two contestants, and finally gave up in despair. The peculiar thing about the situation is that the employers are increasing their demands as time goes on. They are attempting, e. g., to force upon the tailors' union a reduction of more than a dollar a week. In other industries they demand that the workers

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sign individual long-time contracts. Through the government's committee, in fact, they tried to force upon the national federation a general arbitration agreement for the settlement of all future differences. Evidently the employers do not want peace; they are attempting to break the back of the proletarian revolt once for all. They recognize the supreme importance of the fight. It will be interesting to see what their next move will be. The national convention of the federated unions is to meet late in November. Probably the employers' association will try to force matters before that time.

There is little to be said about a splendid fight like this that our Swedish comrades are making. On the one hand it shows what perfect organization can do. So thoroughly do the Swedish workers keep themselves in hand, so steady is their temper, that any of them, after they have gone back to work, can be called off their jobs at a moment's notice. Every employer has to keep his promises to the letter. There is no excitement, but neither is there the least negligence, the least lethargy, the least giving way.

On the other hand the international solidarity of the workers has never been so triumphantly exhibited. Denmark, Norway, Germany are pouring money into Sweden in unprecedented amounts. Except England all the nations of the civilized world seem to be doing their utmost. This struggle is teaching the world's toilers to think and act together. These are proud days for "the masses." They sense their kinship with comrades over seas; they feel as never before the overmastering power that is in them.

GERMANY. Social Democrats Still Revolutionists. Again our capitalist papers have made the old discovery. The annual convention of the German Social Democracy met at Leipzig September 13-18. Within a day or two thereafter practically every American daily—the Daily Socialist and the New York Call excepted—displayed the news that our German comrades had at last consented to listen to reason. The Socialist party over there, where it is large enough to feel the weight of public responsibility, had become meek as a sucking dove. The lesson to unreasonable American socialists was obvious.

What is the truth of the matter? The very last thing done by the convention, and the thing best advertised abroad, was to accept unanimously a resolution reaffirming the party's revolutionary principles. At an early session a resolution against any sort of compromise with the Liberals had been carried by a good majority. Later it was discovered that this resolution was so worded as to prevent the party from pursuing its ordinary course in the matter of the very complex election arrangements made necessary by German law. Therefore the resolution was reconsidered and voted down. During the last session Comrade Dittman introduced the resolution mentioned above. This resolution stated that so far as compromise with other parties is concerned the party reaffirms its adherence to the principle laid down last year at Dresden. At Dresden, it will be remembered, the following declaration was made: "The convention condemns most emphatically the revisionistic attempt to alter our hitherto victorious policy, a policy based upon the class-struggle; just as in the past we shall go on to achieve power by conquering our enemies, not by compromising with the existing order of things." The only opposition to the reaffirmation of this statement was on the ground of its superfluity. Why reaffirm, certain comrades asked, what we are all agreed upon and what everybody knows? But for the enlightenment of the capitalist press the resolution was unanimously accepted.

There is reason enough, from the capitalist point of view, for minimizing the German movement. Three by-elections held recently show that it has made most astounding gains. In the district of Landau-Neustadt, e. g., the socialist vote has more than doubled in two years; the socialist candidate received 6,340 votes in 1907 and 12,718 in 1909. In this case it was the Liberals who lost. At an election just held at Coblenz a similar gain was made at the expense of the Catholic party. The immediate cause for revolutionary flood tide is, of course, the government's new tax law. Pursuing their regular policy, building Dreadnoughts faster than England, the rulers of Germany have at last got to the end of their string; the people are up in rebellion.

But election returns are not the only signs which alarm the bourgeois authorities. The annual party report presented at Leipzig indicates a solid growth that should prove an inspiration to socialists of other lands. In spite of the prevailing unemployment the membership of the party grew during the past year from 587,336 to 633,309.

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The number of women in the party more than doubled. The number of daily papers controlled by the party grew from seventy-one to seventy-four. The regular receipts for the year amounted to about $300,000. No wonder the reactionists are concerned about the doings of so tremendous an organization.

Aside from its reaffirmation of revolutionary principles two features of the convention proceedings are of interest to the international movement. For months past German papers have been filled with discussion of the party's attitude toward the tax measure recently put through by the government. The official party program directs socialist legislators to oppose indirect, and support direct, tax measures. In principle, of course, this is correct; direct taxes are theoretically just, or at least may be. It will be remembered that a scheme of inheritance taxes formed part of the government measure. It reached its second reading, and received the undivided support of the socialist fraction that far. At the second reading it happened to be defeated. Some of the leaders of the fraction declared, however, that had it come up for its final reading they would have voted against it. This opened up the whole question of the party's attitude toward capitalist taxation. It was declared on all sides that the party program was inadequate. In the case under discussion, for example, adherence to it would lead to a preposterous result. The inheritance tax was introduced to make the proletariat swallow a long list of indirect taxes; the rich were to contribute to the government 100,000,000 marks and the poor 400,000,000. And at any rate the money was all to be expended by the capitalists for capitalist purposes. Could the socialists logically vote money into the hands of their enemies?

This problem was long and warmly discussed, but no conclusion was reached. The discussion of it continues in the papers and magazines. Very likely it will appear on the program of the international congress next year. It is one of the great issues which must be met in every land as soon as the socialist movement reaches maturity. Sooner or later the international movement must take a definite stand with regard to it.

Another matter was discussed with more definite results. Among the taxes forced into the government's recently adopted measure by the defeat of the inheritance tax was one on whisky. It happens that the manufacturers of whisky are the very land-owners who objected to every form of tax which would affect the rich. As a means of striking at these wealthy parasites and at the same time defeating the purposes of the government, the socialists decided upon the use of an unusual weapon. After carefully canvassing all the possiblities they voted a national boycott on whisky. In a country where the indulgence in alcoholic liquors is so much a part of daily life as in Germany the effective enforcement of such a boycott would seem to demand the strongest organization and most extraordinary devotion to the cause. But so far the move seems to have been entirely successful. The organs of the land-owning capitalists are fairly beside themselves with rage. One would think, to read their editorials, that a large consumption of whisky were part of the duty of every patriotic German.

ENGLAND. The "Socialist Budget." Our English comrades face a problem exactly like the one which has aroused so much discussion in Germany. No end of nonsense has been written about the budget recently introduced by the English government. Lord Roseberry and the London Times pronounce it socialistic; Keir Hardie and other Labor Party men are supporting it; even our brilliant French leader, Jean Jaurés, has called it a great social measure, a sign of the rapid advancement of the English people and the discerning, modern spirit of English statesmen. All this has aroused the wrath of the Social Democratic Party spokesmen. In the columns of Justice they denounce the budget and all its sponsors.

As a revolutionary socialist I have little interest in the doings of capitalist parliaments, but the matter of the English budget has a significance which makes it worth discussing. What is the significance of the introduction of such a measure? How does it happen that our European comrades are so divided with regard to it?

So far as the sources of government income are concerned, the incidence of taxation, the new budget does appear revolutionary. It provides for a progressive tax on all incomes above £3,000 and, most surprising of all, a tax on the unearned increment of land values. Society in this case really proposes to

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step in and take a small part of the value which it alone creates.

It is easy to see how this may appear, even to some socialists, a step in the direction of justice. The English leaders, Premier Asquith, Loyd-George and others, profess an ardent hatred of the lords and an equally ardent love of the working class. Even as keen a Frenchman as Comrade Jaurés may easily be deceived by the pious professions of the Anglo-Saxon in politics. As to the Labor Party leaders, their case is different.

How did a Liberal government come to introduce such a budget? What is the meaning of it? The rulers of England, like those of Germany, have been for a long time on the verge of bankruptcy. This is not so much due to the pitiful old-age pension bill passed a year ago as to the constantly increasing demand for army and navy. It is absolutely necessary to increase the national income.

But this is not the whole story. When the present government went into power it was pledged to introduce reform measures. Months wore into years and nothing happened. The education bill was lost, and the old-age pension bill, when it was finally passed, was little better than a farce. The popularity of the government rapidly waned. Every by-election indicated that the Tories were gaining.

Something had to be done. The present budget was the thing. It would raise the necessary revenue and restore the party to its pristine popularity. The tide set in motion by years of socialist propaganda might be made to turn the Liberal mill.

The outcome shows that the government leaders have reckoned shrewdly. The proposal to tax the rich has won immediate support. If an election is forced in the near future the Liberals will be the gainers by it.

As I remarked above, even many of our comrades have been deceived by the talk about "fitting the burden to the back," etc. It sounds so "socialistic." But this measure, purely political in its origin and purpose, can lay no valid claim to socialist support. Suppose the rich are forced to turn over a little of their wealth; for what will it be expended? A small fraction, at most some £30,000,000, will go for old-age pensions. And the rest? For Dreadnoughts and rifles—which latter, in case of need, will be turned on the workers. Suppose the rich do pay; they will be purchasing what they themselves need and want. Is that "socialistic?"

In this case, as in so many others, not only the labor members of Parliament, but the chief part of the laboring class has been led astray. For in their recent convention at Ipswich they voted almost unanimously to support the new budget.

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There is another great strike looming up on the industrial horizon. Officers of the miners are making ready for a possible national suspension in all the bituminous coal fields. The issue is being forced by the operators of central Pennsylvania. They have been holding secret meetings and discussed the matter of enforcing a reduction of wages when the present scale expires next April. The operators wants a cut of at least 10 per cent, some demanding as high as a 25 per cent reduction. They claim they are unable to compete with non-union mines in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, and that the union miners will have to come down to the level of the scabs or they must close their mines.

On the other hand the members of the United Mine Workers declare with emphasis that they will not only not accede to a reduction, but must have a raise in wages. They point out the fact that at the present scale and averaging but two or three days' work per week in many of the districts it is difficult to keep body and soul together. In many places the miners have been pressed to the border line of starvation and something must be done to make their conditions more bearable.

"These operators talk very glibly about enforcing a reduction in wages," said a national officer to me, in discussing the situation, "but as they are far removed from the pauper level and have no hungry stomachs to feed with the miserable pittance that the miners average the year around, they cannot or do not appreciate the conditions of our people. We will not stand to be driven back one farthing. Some other scheme besides a reduction in the wage scale will have to be found by the operators if they are dissatisfied with their profits. If our members were not called upon to pay dividends on stock watered to the limit by mine operators, railway barons and hordes of middle men we would probably be living as comfortably and decently as many other people employed in less hazardous occupations. We furnish the fuel that keeps the world's industries in motion and mankind from freezing and starving, and yet we in turn for performing this useful service to society are compelled to continually battle for the meanest measure of subsistence.

"Talk about a robber system! When the cost of distributing coal is from 100 to 400 per cent greater than the cost of production what business has any one got to call this profit-mongering capitalistic system an ideal one? The trouble has been that our membership has tabooed the study of economics, placed blind faith in equally blind leaders while labor-saving machines, corporations and trusts have grown up all about us to intensify our struggle for existence. But, thank God! the miners are waking up and beginning to appreciate the problems that confront, and I make the prediction that they will be in the vanguard in the march of labor toward emancipation from capitalistic exploitation."

That the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers will form some sort of an alliance the coming year that will in all probability develop into a powerful industrial organization is almost a foregone conclusion. Wherever the proposition is discussed, especially among the rank and file, it is meeting with enthusiastic endorsement. As far as I am able to learn the officers, with possibly here and there an exception, are also warmly in favor of the proposed federation, which will virtually include all organized underground workers on this continent and probably result in bringing many thousands of non-union men into the fold.

John M. O'Neill, editor of the Miners' Magazine, official organ of the W. F.

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of M., printed in Denver, has been making a speaking tour through the Middle West during the past month and his time been largely spent in coal mining districts. Wherever he has gone he declares that the miners are of but one opinion, namely, that an industrial federation to comprise every worker in and about the mines should be arranged without delay.

"The industrial form of organization is now going to have its day," said O'Neill, in speaking of the matter to the writer. "This thing of one craft scabbing on another craft when in trouble in some industry is worse than lunacy; it is a crime against the working class as a whole. What the workers want and are going to have is organization by industry, in which labor's shibboleth of 'an injury to one is the concern of all' will not be mere lip service, but will be given practical demonstration. All the miner's should be under one head, all the iron and steel workers should be in one organization, the clothing workers the same, ditto the building crafts, the printers and all down the line, then have one grand federation constructed and conducted on democratic lines, and then labor will be feared and respected by the capitalists and their politicians, and not before."

To make preliminary arrangements to establish an alliance a delegation from the W. F. of M. will meet with the United Mine Workers' convention in Indianapolis next January. If a joint committee can agree upon plans the memberships will undoubtedly ratify them.

Excepting probably the United Hatters, no organization has been battered so hard as the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers. The United States Steel Corporation has been absolutely merciless in its efforts to smash that organization to pieces, and it is only too true that the trust has partially succeeded in its unholy campaign. It is safe to say that no class of organized workers has made a more heroic stand against such overwhelming odds as the little band of tinplate men—almost the last remnant of the once powerful Amalgamated Association—who have been on the firing line for months pitting their empty stomachs against the billions of capital controlled by the trust.

If this contest, which has extended over a period of years, has served no other purpose, it has at least demonstrated the fact that the days of old craft unionism are numbered and educated the iron and steel workers to a clear understanding of the advantages of of complete industrial organization. Llewellyn Lewis, vice-president of the A. A., informed me a few days ago that the one subject most generally discussed among the iron and steel workers is that of industrialism. Lewis was on the ground at McKees Rocks and watched the struggle at the Pressed Steel Car plant and he speaks in the highest admiration of the manner in which that memorable contest was conducted.

"The old policies of the American Federation of Labor, probably good in their day, have outlived their usefulness," said Lewis. "New conditions have arisen while we have been asleep, and the time has come to adopt new methods to meet the problems that are before us. It makes me heartsick when I think of the selfish manner in which some of our crafts have had only a single eye to the betterment of the conditions of the skilled men and utterly neglected the under dog. The result has been that we are being pulled down to the level of the worker who has been forgotten and neglected. Now we have got to begin at the bottom and build up and lift up. And I am glad of it. We are going to organize all workers in the iron and steel industry, from the cheapest unskilled laborer to the highest priced mechanic. Nor will we stop with mere industrial organization. Henceforth we intend to also lay stress upon the necessity of labor becoming united politically. In every civilized country under the sun labor has a voice in legislative bodies, except here in America, where we have been accustomed to indulge in big talk and that's about all to the great satisfaction of the plutocrats. Our men are beginning to learn that talk is cheap, but it is takes money to support their families, and so the time is ripe for a forward movement. Our plans have not yet fully matured, but we will probably be prepared to introduce some innovations in the near future."

Vice-President Lewis is a brother of Tom Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, and next to President McArdle has been the most active official in the field in the struggle against the United States Steel Corporation. He never hesitates to pay the highest compliments to the Socialist organizers and speakers who have lent their assitance to the iron and steel workers throughout the strike.

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The United States Steel Corporation's agents are making the boast that they have not only defeated the tinplate strikers and are operating their mills satisfactorily in filling orders, but they are also claiming that they have come close to the record-breaking season in hauling down ore despite the strike of the seamen, engineers and other marine workers on the Great Lakes. They declare that the open shop has been firmly established so far as their ships are concerned, and that next year they will have little or no trouble in operating on a normal basis.

On the other hand, the union officials say that the cost to the trust in its shipping branch has been enormous and that the claims of tonnage carried are exaggerated. Moreover the marine men assert that they intend to prosecute a vigorous campaign of organization and education during the winter months, and that they will be in a position to make an aggressive fight upon the trust and its allies when navigation opens next spring and surprise the octopus with the virility of the organized forces.

Meanwhile the international union officers have sent an inquiry to the organizations in other countries with regard to holding a world's congress in Copenhagen, Denmark, next August, for the purpose of arranging plans to extend mutual assistance during such struggles as are now in progress in this country.

No definite steps have been taken to bring the seamen and longshoremen into an alliance, as has been frequently suggested. More's the pity, as those workers are closely related and ought to be united and in harmony. Owing to the industrial depression the longshoremen became badly crippled, but lately they have been gaining considerable strength. The independent unions along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts have returned to the international organization and the outlook is favorable for the recovery of the ground lost along the Great Lakes.

About the time that this number of the Review is issued the American Federation of Labor will be in session in Toronto. The reader can watch the proceedings through the daily papers, but it is unlikely that much will be found therein to encourage those who hope for a radical departure from old lines. Of course, Sam Gompers will be there in all his glory to tell us about his European pilgrimage, but it would be too much to expect that he will recommend the adoption of the political methods that are practical across the pond—not even the British plan. Sam has reached that age where it becomes difficult for him to forget his own individuality long enough to absorb new ideas, and the best that he will offer will in all likelihood be the threadbare policy of punish our friends (especially the Socialists) and reward capitalistic politicians who promise to take an anti-injunction position and engage in every form of political jugglery known to those shrewd and wideawake wire-pullers. I hope I am mistaken—but no such luck.

The Industrial Workers of the World supplemented their victory at the Pressed Steel Car plant at McKees Rocks by winning a strike at a big box factory in the same place. Instead of one craft striking everybody walked out and the men returned in four days, having secured an increase of 51 cents a day in their wages. The I. W. W. is making many friends among the unorganized workers in the Pittsburg district.

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PENNSYLVANIA UNDESIRABLES

LOCAL NEWCASTLE, PA., is alive 365 days in the year. They own, edit and print a red-hot local Socialist weekly. The Free Press, which is distributed to every home in town, on Sunday mornings.

This Local is composed of wage-working men and women who solve their own problems and keep busy doing things.

They backed up the McKees Rocks strikers with hard coin and, having helped win the fight with industrial union tactics, they will enlarge their field of action by starting a new weekly paper, named *Solidarity*, edited by Comrade A. M. Stirton, which will enthusiastically advocate revolutionary industrial unionism.

The first issue will appear Nov. 4th, price $1.00 per year, and will receive the support of the revolutionary comrades everywhere. Six hundred Reviews were ordered from New Castle last month—more power to them. L. H. M.

DIAZ METHODS IN THE U. S. John Murray, who wrote several articles for the Review on Mexico last spring, was arrested in San Antonio, Texas, by U. S. Marshal Lancaster (it is reported), under instruction of Chief Wilke of the Secret Service, during the Taft-Diaz love feast. The arrest was made secretly and Comrade Murray's friends did not know what had become of him. The local organization of the Socialist Party delegated a committee to go to police headquarters for information concerning Murray's disappearance. But they were able to learn nothing. Many of his friends feared he had been kidnapped. Some time later Murray was released by Commissioner Scott on the request of District Attorney Boynton, who denied all responsibility for the arrest. Comrade Murray was charged with violating the neutrality laws and was kept incommunicado in the county jail for two nights. He was also refused speech with a law-

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yer. Guiterrez de Lara, a Mexican attorney and author and a national organizer for the Socialist Party, was arrested in Los Angeles by the immigration inspectors acting under orders from the Department of Commerce and Labor. De Lara became widely known as the man who accompanied Turner of the American Magazine into Mexico, where he obtained information for a series of articles on "slavery." The friends of de Lara declare an attempt is being made to railroad him into Mexico. Evidently the U. S. Government is determined, at any cost, to suppress the discussion of the butcheries and atrocities perpetrated in Mexico by the arch-fiend—Diaz.

MOTHER JONES was in to see us a few days ago. We asked if she had any message to send the readers of the Review and she replied:

"FIRST, last and ALWAYS, of, for and BY the wage-workers."

Paste this motto in your hat. There never was any other one-half so good as this. Mother Jones infused this office with enough courage and ginger to keep us going till the next time she comes to see us.

NEXT MONTH we hope to give our readers a chapter from the new book by May Beals-Hoffpauir, now in press, "Wampun Sal's Champion." We believe this book is going to be better than any of the other excellent works Comrade May has done. Advance orders for the book will be taken at 25 cents each; five copies to one address for $1.00. Orders may be sent to May Beals-Hoffpauir, New Castle, Pa., care of Free Press. Profits on the book are to be used in propaganda work.

TO BE USED IN THE SCHOOLS. Comrade William McDevitt, Socialist candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, writes us that when he is elected he means to have the Review used in every school room. He made us feel very good when we received a post card from him which bore the words:

"The September International Socialist Review is a regular revolutionary seamark. It's the farthest North of socialist magazining. Will you ever equal it again?"

The November issue speaks for itself. We believe its reply is in the affirmative.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SAN FRANCISCO. Between the employing class and the working class there is nothing in common. One class owns the means of life and reaps the benefit of the toil of the other class. There can be no harmony on the political field as long as the struggle rages on the industrial field between the owners of wealth and the propertyless working class. The fact of the class struggle is the most important fact in society and all issues, industrial or political, are a manifestation of this tempestuously raging conflict. At this time in the city of San Francisco we are in the midst of a political campaign that has, as it must have, its base in the industrial life of the city. The capitalist parties, Republican, Union Labor and Democratic, have presented programs and given reasons outside of their programs why the political possession of the city should be turned over to the servile tools of the respective groups of capitalists that are behind each of the three aforementioned parties.

Workingmen, you have your own political party. It is a fearless party. It stands for the working class and the class struggle. It stands for fight both industrially and politically as long as capitalism lasts. Vote for Socialism. That is the only way to force concessions from the capitalist class. As long as the employers see you can be hoodwinked by fake labor parties it is little they care for you, but show them your awakening class consciousness and they will begin to take notice. Arise, ye slaves! Learn to know your own strength and to have faith in your own class!

SELIG SCHULBERG.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF. By the recently amended city charter of San Diego all political party action and party tickets are eliminated. There are two elections. In the first, a nominating election, candidates secure a place on the official ballot, by filing with the city clerk their several personal verified notices of candidacy, supported by a verified petition signed by at least fifty electors. The official ballot in the final election contains only the names of the two candidates of any given office, who received the highest vote at the preceding primary election, regardless of their party affiliations.

The labor organizations of San Diego have never engaged in politics, as in San Francisco. There has never been a

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Labor Party here. They are as non-political as the fraternal societies.

The Socialists put up a full list of candidates in the primary election, all of whom were and for more than a year had been members in good standing. Through the influence of union men who were really Socialists or Socialistic, the Socialist candidates received a liberal support from the labor unions. This support came voluntarily without compromise, pledge or promise of any kind. This list failed to be nominated except one for the Board of Education.

In the final election the Socialist ticket being excluded from the ballot, the local voted to support its one candidate for the Board of Education and take no further part or action in the election.

F. B. MERIAM.

HISTORY OF A PROLETARIAN FAMILY by Eugene Sue, translated by Daniel DeLeon, is one of the most valuable recent contributions to English socialist literature. Already twelve of the nineteen historic novels that comprise the original work of Sue have been translated and published in English by the New York Labor News Co., New York, N. Y. "Although Sue's 'Mysteries of the People; or History of a Proletarian Family,' is a work of fiction, yet it is the best universal history extant; better than any work avowedly on history. It graphically traces the special features of the several systems of class-rule as they have succeeded each other from epoch to epoch, together with the nature of the struggle between the contending class. The 'Law,' 'Order,' 'Patriotism,' 'Religion,' etc., etc., that each successive tyrant class, despite its change of form, hysterically sought refuge in to justify its * * * existence whenever threatened; the varying economic causes of the oppression of the toilers; the mistakes incurred by these in their struggles for redress; the varying fortunes of the conflict;—all these social dramas are therein reproduced in a majestic series of 'historic novels,' covering leading and successive episodes in the history of the race." The general unity of action displayed by the oppressor classes, despite their hostile politico-material interests and clashing creed tenets; the oneness of fundamental purpose that animated pulpit, professional chair, or public office in possession of a plundering class, are delineated as we find them in no so-called historical work. "Page after page holds the mirror up to the modern ruling class—its orators, pulpiteers, politicians, lawyers, together with its long train of menials of high and low degree—and, by the reflection cast, enlightens and warns."

This work follows the struggles of the successively ruled and successively ruling classes from the Roman Invasion down through the ages to the French Revolution. Every socialist and student should read them.

We have arranged with the publishers to supply these books at the regular retail price, but we can make no discounts on them.

The Gold Sickle	50c
The Brass Bell	50c
The Iron Collar	50c
The Silver Cross	75c
The Casque's Lark	75c
The Poniard's Hilt	75c
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The Abbatial Crosier	50c
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The Pilgrim's Shell	75c
The Iron Trevet	75c

BOOKS FOR THINKERS.

Lay Sermon. By R. G. Ingersoll.

One of the finest addresses in favor of the working men of the world ever delivered. Price 5c (1c and 2c stamps). 40-page catalog for stamp. **The Liberty Co.**, Sta. D, Box 4, Cleveland, Ohio.

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COLLEGE CRITICISM. The following letter was received in our office a few days ago. We print it only because it affords an excellent sample of the attitude of the college professor who knows nothing whatever about the proletarian revolutionary movement:

Editor The International Socialist Review:

About half a year ago there was published an attack on socialism which I deemed so unjust and unfair that I took occasion in a somewhat public way to express my emphatic dissent from the general positions maintained therein. I hold that it is wrong to brand a great movement with the immoralities of act or doctrine of a limited number of men who choose to adopt the name connected with that movement. Socialism is not an attack on the family, religion or morality, unless the bulk of the socialist group choose to make it so. It has been my pleasure to maintain, although I am not a socialist, that the principles of social solidarity, of devotion to human welfare and uplift, of democracy and brotherhood —that these altruistic principles almost entitle socialism to a place among the religions of the world, and are worthy of the heroism and self-sacrifice which have so justly hallowed the names of many of its advocates. Of course this attitude of mine has exposed me to some criticism, for there are intolerant non-socialists as well as intolerant people who claim (perhaps falsely) that they are socialists.

You will readily see that it is no easy matter to maintain perfect balance when intolerance breaks out on either side. I have tried to believe that, while much that is ignorant and much that is ignoble might appear in the news sheets of the socialist press, the International Review could be counted on to maintain higher standards and a fairer tone. Of course I realized that a general magazine can not be expected to subscribe to every position taken by the various contributing writers, but surely there are limits beyond which the responsible editors will not let a contributor go without at least making clear that they do not sanction such ideas as in any wise entitled to a place in the philosophy to which the publication is attached.

It is therefore as a critic who would be friendly that I presume to write this letter and to say that, in my opinion, you do human society and the cause of socialism, particularly the latter, very grave harm, unless you publicly and expressly repudiate certain things in your October number.

In the article on "Victory at McKees Rocks," with every expression of approval, attention is called to the fact that the Unknown Committee "issued orders to the Cossacks in black and white, * * * stating that for every striker killed or injured a trooper would go and they meant what they said, as is proved by the death of Deputy Sheriff Harry Exley and two troopers who went down in a riot on August 22nd with several strike breakers and some of the strikers, also." This is the preaching and the practice of murder. It is no excuse to say that it is retaliation. The public very generally was very emphatic in its condemnation of the methods and tactics of the Pressed Steel Car Company. But murder is murder on whichever side of the fence it occurs, and a socialist regime attained by murder will prove a very hell on earth to discredit and ruin whatever of value there may be in the socialistic doctrine. It is no excuse and no credit to hide behind a quotation of the words, "Whatever line of conduct advances the interests of the working class is right." Socialism—the only socialism worthy of respect—is the endeavor to make the state an embodiment of love, not hatred. It holds with Lassalle that it is the unity of interest of all classes. Its criterion of righteousness is the welfare of all, certainly not the anarchist's idea that the judgment of the individual or the small group affords a sufficient sanction for action, and most emphatically not the terrorist's hallucination that the pursuit of private conceptions of justice will justify sneaking assassination and wholesale slaughter. Surely the International Review can not afford to fail to make clear the sharp distinctions between socialism, anarchism and terrorism.

Very truly yours,

F. A. McKenzie.

Ohio State University.

October 8, 1909.

My Dear Dr. McKenzie:

Replying to your letter, we still find nothing but the very highest praise for the strikers at McKees Rocks. You understand this battle was a fight for LIFE between the workingmen and their bosses—at least a fight for their lives by the workers. As in all war times, they could not argue ethics while the foe

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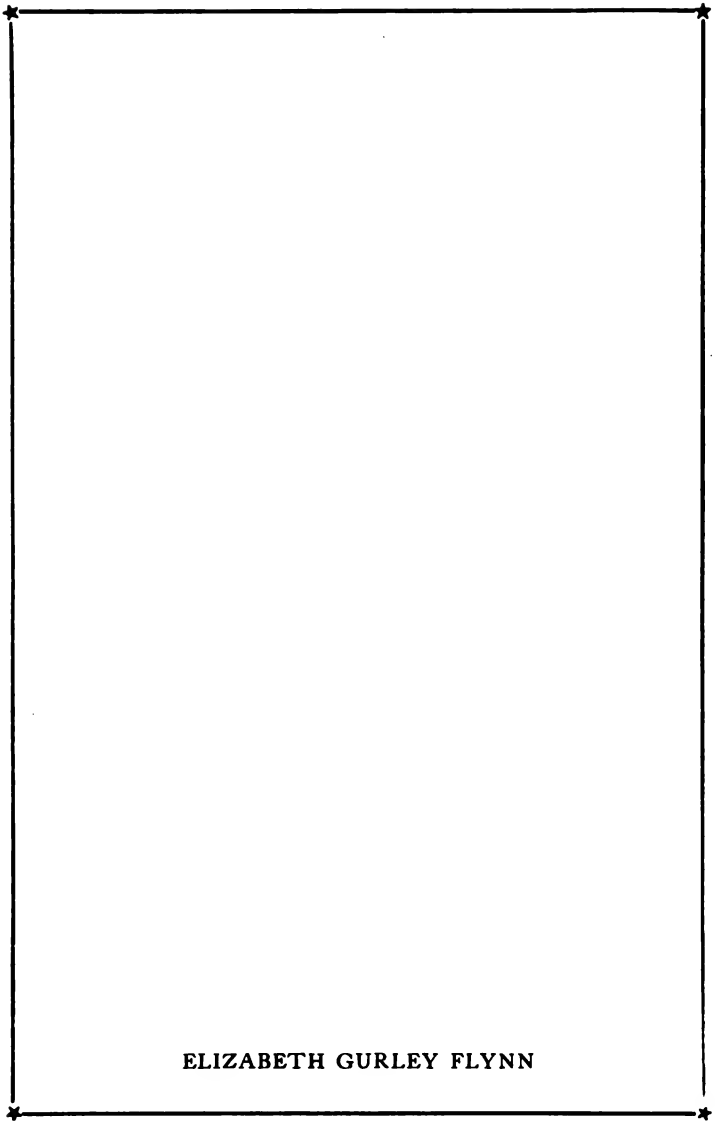
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ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FREE SPEECH FIGHT. Missoula, Mont., Oct. 3.—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World, was arrested here tonight for persistently attempting to hold an advertised open-air meeting in the business section.

The plan of action outlined by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was to select leaders of small squads and distribute them about town, giving each a chance to gather a crowd before the police might become cognizant of the movements of the I. W. W.

At the police station Mrs. Flynn said the I. W. W. could not be suppressed and that the work would be carried on as outlined if 10 men are jailed every day.

Oct. 6.—Attempts on the part of the police to quell the incendiary speeches of the members of the I. W. W. on the

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public streets have thus far proven utterly unavailing and the situation becomes daily more tense, with the authorities seemingly unable to cope successfully with the conditions.

Tonight the police were kept busy for two hours arresting and escorting I. W. W. orators to jail and when the 35th man had been taken in charge the multitude surrounded the authorities and jostled them all the way to the jail.

Mrs. Charles Fernette, a Spokane woman member of the I. W. W. and a member of the advisory board, was arrested last night and while being escorted to the station the multitude which followed, threw stones at the police, severely injuring Officer Hoel about the body.

Oct. 8th—From Spokane.—The Industrial Workers of the World, who went from this city to Missoula to assist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in the street speaking contest, are returning in large numbers. A large delegation arrived early this morning via the "limited."

The men report that they have won a complete victory at Missoula, and that they now have the privilege of the streets. J. P. Thompson, who has been serving as a local organizer for some time, returned from Missoula yesterday.

C. L. Filingo, the secretary of the local I. W. W. organization, stated yesterday that the membership of the new union at Missoula had been increasing rapidly during the street speaking controversy.

"Sixteen new members joined on Saturday night and eight on the next day," said Mr. Filingo. "The membership there has been increasing rapidly."

At the trial the cases were all dismissed.

FROM JUSTICE. The following extract is from a very able article written by Comrade Charles Terry, which appeared in a recent issue of Justice:

"The materialistic conception of history is an attempt to explain the actions or movements of large masses of people or the evolution of societies on a more satisfactory basis than is offered by the ideological systems of great men. It holds that the changes in our social relations are the results of our changing methods of production and are not imposed upon society as the outcome of the idea of some great man; that Socialism is not only desirable but economically necessary. It does not say that every action of every man is determined by his economic condition. The Socialist philosophy calls upon the most necessary and politically most powerful class to recognize its mission in the evolution of the human race, to become conscious of its power, and instead of leaving events to happen by chance to take a co-operative and controlling part in the development of social evolution. In this way to rise out of animalism into truly human relations, consciously becoming co-partner with the forces of nature."

THE TWO BULLS. Once there was a bull who broke into a china shop. He raised future punishment generally and impressed the tyrant man with the fact that the spirit of rebellion had by no means died out in the bovine race. The next place where that bull figured was in the slaughter-house. Him, his fellows called an Impossibilist and his fate was often cited as an example to young radicals against taking measures that were too revolutionary.

His brother was an Opportunist. Because he lacked the spirit of rebellion they dehorned him and made an ox of him and compelled him to drag the plow. Year after year he toiled, always expecting better things to come about some time and in some way. How, or by what means, he knew not, and he was too scientific to predict. After he had borne the yoke in summer's heat and in winter's cold, and was blear-eyed, and wind broken, and knock-kneed, and bog-spavined, he went to the slaughter-house, too.—A. M. Stirton, Editor of Solidarity.

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM.

A great speech by Eugene V. Debs, newly revised by him and just published. A hundred copies mailed for $1.50; 60 for $1.00; 10 for 20c.

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But the main reason why you should send a deposit to us is that by so doing you can help along the work **you want done,** without any expense to yourself.

Our publishing house has now reached a point where it pays expenses out of current receipts. We are **not** obliged to appeal to wage-workers for **gifts.** Nearly enough capital has been subscribed in sums of $10 each to pay off all to whom we owed money except our own stockholders.

Two thousand shares of stock are still for sale at ten dollars each. No dividends are paid, but each stockholder is entitled to buy any of the books published by us at **forty per cent discount** from retail prices; in other words, a stockholder buys our dollar books at 60c postpaid, and other books in proportion.

If you do not already know us, write for business references and fuller particulars. When you have satisfied yourself that we are doing our part, do yours!

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New Books and New Editions

We are preparing for the winter season with the largest stock of Socialist books in the English language ever offered by any one house. A revised catalog will soon be ready and we will mail it free on request. Here we shall have room to mention only the new books and the new editions.

History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Cloth, illustrated, three volumes, $1.50 each.

Volume I, dealing with the Colonial period and the Great Land Fortunes, is now electrotyped, and we expect to have the printing and binding completed by November 15. The author, however, desires to arrange for simultaneous publication in England in order to preserve his foreign copyrights, and we shall, therefore, be unable to fill orders until about December 1st. We will, therefore, extend until that time the special advance price of $3.50 for the three volumes to be mailed on publication. We now expect to have Volume II ready about January 15 and Volume III about March 15.

Industrial Problems. By N. A. Richardson. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 25c. Now ready.

We do not hesitate to recommend this book as the best popular argument for socialism in the form of a systematic treatise that has yet been written. It has the great merit of keeping clearly before the reader the futility of all middle-class reforms and the necessity for revolution.

The Marx He Knew. By John Spargo. Half cloth, illustrated, 50c. Now ready.

A brief life-sketch of Marx in the form of a dialogue between the Old Comrade who had known him from boyhood and the Young Comrade, full of boyish enthusiasm. Contains excellent portraits of Marx, Engels, Lassalle and Marx's wife, together with photographs of Marx's birth-place and grave. Altogether a charming gift-book.

The Poverty of Philosophy. By Karl Marx. Translated by H. Quelch. Cloth, $1.00. Ready December 1.

This is the most important of Marx's works that has not already been published in the United States. While it was written as a reply to Proudhon's voluminous work, "The Philisophy of Poverty," one need not toil

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through the Proudhon volume to enjoy and profit by Marx's book, for Proudhon's dreams of a heaven on earth to be established through the voluntary co-operation of small producers are dreamed over again even now by American reformers. This book may help make some of the more intelligent of them into revolutionists.

Socialism for Students. By Joseph E. Cohen. Cloth, 50 cents. Ready December 1.

This handy little volume will contain, with some revision, the lessons which appeared in the Review from November to July, inclusive. The list of books recommended for reference and study are consolidated into one list, topically arranged, at the end of the volume.

The Evolution of Property. By Paul Lafargue. Cloth, 50 cents. Ready December 1.

We have for years had a steady sale for the imported edition of this valuable work at $1.00, and have concluded that it should be brought within the reach of proletarian readers. The new edition will be in uniform style with the author's "Social and Philosophical Studies" and "The Right to Be Lazy," and it should quickly find a place in every socialist library.

The Ancient Lowly. A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. Cloth, 2 volumes, $4.00. New edition just ready.

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Our Record for September

The **Review** and the book publishing house are alike the property of over 2,100 socialists who have subscribed each $10.00 or more, in most cases just $10.00, for the purpose of circulating the literature of revolutionary socialism. We publish each month an accurate statement of receipts and expenditures, that each stockholder may see for what purpose his money is being used. The figures for September are as follows:

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
Cash balance September 1	$ 474.27	Manufacture of books	$ 582.15
Book sales	1,869.62	Books purchased	152.94
Review subscriptions and sales.	893.88	Printing September Review	509.22
Review advertising	68.28	Review articles, drawings, etc.	124.50
Sales of stock	172.83	Wages of office clerks	348.85
Donations—Mrs. H. L. Luscomb	4.00	Charles H. Kerr, on salary	100.00
O. E. Samuelson	5.00	Mary E. Marcy, on salary	60.00
H. R. Kearns	2.00	Postage and expressage	457.12
Loans from stockholders	325.00	Interest	29.50
Loan from Henry Murray	250.00	Rent	70.00
Mrs. H. P. Luscomb, for McKees Rocks strikers	10.00	Miscellaneous expenses	74.36
M. P. Guard, do	1.00	Advertising	564.40
J. L. Donithorne, for Swedish strikers	7.50	Royalties	25.00
		Loans repaid	502.11
		Strikers' relief, Pennsylvania.	11.00
		Landssekretariatet, Sweden	7.50
		Cash balance, September 30	464.73
Total	$4,083.38	Total	$4,083.38

It will be observed that the cash receipts of the **Review** for September, 1909, were $962.16, as compared with $233.49 for the month of September, 1908. The secret of the difference is in the fact that we are just learning how to make the sort of magazine that the revolutionary wage workers of the United States want to read. It used to be hard to get subscriptions, now it is easy. The **Review** is WORTH a dollar a year, and we offer no premiums on renewals, nor to a new subscriber sending in his OWN subscription alone. But,

To any one who is already a subscriber, and sends us one or more NEW yearly subscriptions at $1.00 each, we will send by mail or express prepaid any book or books published by us to the amount of $1.00 for each subscription. The books sent on this offer are to be figured at RETAIL prices, no matter whether ordered by a stockholder or not. Foreign postage on subscriptions outside the United States is 20c a year to Canada and 36c to other countries.

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Please note that hereafter if you want to get the **Review** regularly, it will be necessary either to subscribe by the year, or have a newsdealer order it for you in advance of publication. For the past year, in order to introduce the **Review,** we have at a heavy loss been supplying it to dealers through the news companies with the privilege of returning unsold copies. We shall cut off the return privilege beginning with the January number, and shall use the money thus saved to improve the **Review.** We have no dividends to pay, no fancy salaries, low rent and very little interest. If you are with us, send in more subscriptions, buy more books, deposit with us what money you can spare for the next few months, and watch us grow. Every dollar will be used in a way to bring the biggest possible returns in the way of improving the **Review,** increasing its circulation, and printing and distributing the books most needed by the revolutionary movement. Write us today; now is the time that your help will count doubly.



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Perhaps the most startling of his conclusions is that Christianity was originally a movement of organized labor. The persecution of the early Christians is shown to have arisen from the age-long class struggle between exploiters and exploited. And the most dangerous thing about the book from the capitalist view-point is that the author does not merely make assertions; he proves them.

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FRANCISCO FERRER

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Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, etc.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.—Communist Manifesto.

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THE INTERNATIONAL
Socialist Review

Vol. X. DECEMBER, 1909 No. 6

The Free Speech Fight at Spokane

working class of Spokane are engaged in a terrific onflict, one of the most vital of the local class strug-es. It is a fight for more than free speech. It is to revent the free press and labor's right to organize om being throttled. The writers of the associated ress newspapers have lied about us systematically and unscrupulously. It is only through the medium of the Socialist and labor press that we can hope to reach the ear of the public.

The struggle was precipitated by the I. W. W. and it is still doing the active fighting, namely, going to jail. But the principles for which we are fighting have been endorsed by the Socialist Party and the Central Labor Council of the A. F. of L.

The I. W. W. in Spokane is composed of "floaters," men who drift from harvest fields to lumber camps from east to west. They are men without families and are fearless in defense of their rights but as they are not the "home guard" with permanent jobs, they are the type upon whom the employment agents prey. With alluring signs detailing what short hours and high wages men can get in various sections, usually far away, these leeches induce the floater to buy a job, paying exorbitant rates, after

JAMES P. THOMPSON.

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which they are shipped out a thousand miles from nowhere. The working man finds no such job as he expected but one of a few days' duration until he is fired to make way for the next "easy mark."

The I. W. W. since its inception in the northwest has carried on a determined, relentless fight on the employment sharks and as a result the business of the latter has been seriously impaired. Judge Mann in the court a few days ago remarked: "I believe all this trouble is due to the employment agencies," and he certainly struck the nail on the head. **"The I. W. W. must go,"** the sharks decreed last winter and a willing city council passed an ordinance forbidding all street meetings within the fire limits. This was practically a suppression of free speech because it stopped the I. W. W. from holding street meetings in the only districts where working men congregate. In August the Council modified their decision to allow religious bodies to speak on the streets, thus frankly admitting their discrimination against the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. decided that fall was the most advantageous time for the final conflict because the members of the organization drift back into town with their "stake" to tide them over the winter.

A test case was made about three weeks ago when Fellow Worker Thompson spoke on the street. At his trial on November 2nd the ordinance of August was declared unconstitutional by Judge Mann. He made a flowery speech in which he said that the right of free speech was "God given" and "inalienable," but with the consistency common to legal lights ruled that the *first ordinance* was now in vogue. Members of the Industrial Workers of the World thereupon went out on the street and spoke. They were all arrested and to our surprise the next morning were charged with disorderly conduct, which came under an-

A. E. COUSINS.

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other ordinance. It looked as if the authorities hardly dared to fight it out on the ordinance forbidding free speech. From that time on, every day has witnessed the arrests of many members of the Industrial Workers of the World, Socialists and W. F. of M. men.

On the third of November the headquarters of the I. W. W. was raided by Chief of Police Sullivan and his gang. They arrested James Wilson, editor of the Industrial Worker, James P. Thompson, local organizer, C. L. Filigno, local secretary, and A. E. Cousins, associate editor, on a charge of criminal conspiracy. E. J. Foote, acting editor of the Industrial Worker, was arrested out of the lawyer's office on the next day. The idea of the police was presumably to get "the leaders," as they are ignorant enough to suppose that by taking a few men they can cripple a great organization. The arrest of these men is serious, however, as they are charged with a state offense and are liable to be railroaded to the penitentiary for five years.

The condition of the city jail is such that it cannot be described in decent language. Sufficient to say, that the boys have been herded twenty-eight to thirty at a time in a 6 x 8 cell known as the sweat box. The steam has been turned on full blast until the men were ready to drop from exhaustion. Several have been known to faint before being removed. Then they were placed in an ice-cold cell and as a result of this inhuman treatment several are now in so precarious a condition that we fear they will die. After this preliminary punishment they were ordered to work on the rock pile and when they refused were placed on a diet of bread and water. Many of the boys, with a courage that is remarkable, refused even that. This is what the capitalist press sneeringly alluded to as a "hunger strike." The majority has been sentenced to thirty days. Those who repeated the terrible crime of saying "Fellow Workers" on

JAMES WILSON.

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the street corner were given thirty days, one hundred dollars' fine and costs. The trials have given additional proof to our much-disputed charge that justice in the United States is a farce. Fellow Worker Little was asked by the Judge what he was doing when arrested. He answered "reading the Declaration of Independence." "Thirty days," said the Judge. The next fellow worker had been reading extracts from the Industrial Worker and it was thirty days for him. We are a "classy" paper ranked with the Declaration of Independence as too incendiary for Spokane.

A case in point illustrates how "impartial" the court is. A woman from a notorious resort in this city which is across the street from the city hall and presumably operated under police protection appeared and complained against a colored soldier charged with disorderly conduct. The case was continued. The next case was an I. W. W. speaker. The Judge without any preliminaries asked "were you speaking on the street?" When the defendant replied "Yes" the Judge sternly ordered thirty days, one hundred dollars' fine and costs.

Fellow Worker Knust, one of our best speakers, was brutally beaten by an officer and he is at present in the hospital. Mrs. Frenette, one of our women members, was also struck by an officer. Some of the men inside the jail have b l a c k eyes and bruised faces. One man has a broken jaw, yet these men were not in such a condition when they were arrested.

Those serving sentence have been divided into three groups, one in the city jail, another in an old abandoned and partly wrecked schoolhouse and the third at Fort Wright, guarded by negro soldiers. These outrages are never featured in the local leading papers. It might be detrimental to the Washington Water Power-owned government. The usual lies about the agitators being ignorant foreigners, hoboes and vags

E. J. FOOTE.

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are current. Assuming that most of those arrested were foreigners, which is not the case, there are 115 foreigners and 136 Americans, it would certainly reflect little credit on American citizens that outsiders have to do the fighting for what is guaranteed in the American constitution. Most of the boys have money. They are not what could be called "vags," although that would not be to their discredit, but they do not take their money to jail with them. They believe in leading a policeman not into temptation. They are intelligent, level-headed working men fighting for the rights of their class.

The situation assumed such serious proportions that a committee of the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party and the I. W. W. went before the City Council requesting the repeal of the present ordinance and the passage of one providing for orderly meetings at reasonable hours. All of these committees, without qualification, endorsed free speech and made splendid talks before the Council. Two gentlemen appeared against us. One was an old soldier over 70 years of age with strong prejudices against the I. W. W. and the other president of the Fidelity National Bank of Spokane; yet these two presumably carried more weight than the twelve thousand five hundred citizens the three committees collectively represented. We were turned down absolutely and a motion was passed that no further action would be taken upon the present ordinance until requests came from the Mayor and Chief of Police. The Mayor, on the strength of this indorsement by a body of old fogies who made up all the mind they possess years ago, called upon the acting governor for the militia. His request was refused, however, and the acting governor is quoted as saying that he saw no disturbance.

The "Industrial Worker" appeared on time yesterday much to the chagrin and amazement of the authorities. Perhaps they now understand that every member in turn

C. L. FILIGNO.

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will take their place in the editorial chair before our paper will be suppressed.

The organization is growing by leaps and bounds. Men are coming in from all directions daily to go to jail that their organization may live.

The fight is on to the finish and we rely upon the active co-operation of our fellow-workers everywhere. We must have funds. The legal defense of the men who are charged with penitentiary offenses will be an expensive one. Resolutions of sympathy are very encouraging but they will not pay expenses or fill jails. Our plan is to make this difficulty as expensive for the taxpayers of Spokane as possible. Let them cry quits to their Mayor and police force if they do not relish it. We can keep up the fight all winter.

Coeur D'Alene district of the W. F. of M. has passed splendid resolutions boycotting Spokane as a scab city. Pressure brought to bear upon the pocket book of the average small business man is the only plea that will ever touch him.

I hope that the readers of the International Socialist Review will realize the seriousness of the situation. It is a fight for life as far as the I. W. W. is concerned. Men and women here are willing to sacrifice everything. Surely it is not asking too much if you endorse our stand, to dig up part of your daily earnings. "An injury to one is an injury to all."

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

* * * * * * * * *

And now, from almost every state in the union, socialists are on the way to help their comrades in Spokane. Comrade Tom Lewis writes us from Portland, Oregon, that in response to the telegrams sent out by the I. W. W. and Socialist Party headquarters calling for men, the Portland friends arranged a meeting to call for volunteers.

"At that meeting forty men lined up. A collection was taken and handed to the little band to be used for 'Coffee-and-' while the men were en route. At this time the rainy season is on and it requires men of the real stuff to volunteer to go, especially since nearly all of them will have to make their way jumping freights. Where would we be without such material!

"As the time for the men to depart approached, those who were unable to go, gave up their sweaters and overcoats to their comrades. It was an inspiring sight. Finally the word was given. 'Boys, forward,' and the little army of proletarians made their way through the streets of Portland in silence, while the rain splashed in the gutters. The passers-by looked and wondered where the determined-looking marchers were going and the police followed them. Doubtless they expected the men to jump the freights in Portland, but we decided it would be better for

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them to walk to the ferry, cross to Vancouver, Wash., and at 12:30 midnight, board the 'Workingmen's Flyer'—the freight. These are the men we need in our organization, men who are not afraid of the truth, men who will fight, men who have nothing to lose, but a world to gain. Strange as it may seem none of our 'reformer' friends joined the band

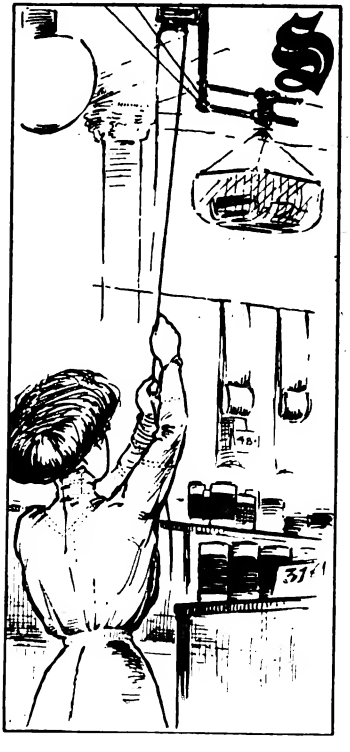
ON THE ROAD TO SPOKANE.

going to Spokane. But—as I have said—the night was a rainy one, and the reformers care only to lead and be looked up to. It would be well if these would-be saviors of the party got out and allowed it to become a wage-workers' organization."

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The Night Before Christmas

A MONOLOGUE
by
MARY·E·MARCY



CENE: The ribbon counter of a large department store in Chicago. It is eight o'clock of the night before Christmas. The store is thronged with people and a crowd continues to edge its way to the ribbon counter to purchase ribbons with which to tie up Christmas packages. The speaker is a neatly dressed young saleswoman aged about twenty-five years. Her pleasing face is stamped with the marks of excessive weariness.

Cora (replying to the inquiry of a disheveled shopper):

"Furs? Third floor, madam; take elevator to your right.

(To prospective customer):

"Mam? The Exchange Department? We don't exchange goods during the holidays. No, mam. Mam? No, mam.

"Have you been waited on? (to a woman waving a sample of cherry ribbon). Same color? Yes, mam.

(Digs around in show case for bolt to match sample. Aside to next saleswoman):

"Gee! I'm dead to the world. I'd

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give ten dollars for a chance to sit down for five minutes. (Showing bolt of ribbon to customer):

"How many yards, mam?

"Mam? You only want it HALF the width of the sample? Yes, mam. I'm afraid we're all out of that width. (Digs around in show case.) (Aside to next saleswoman):

"Have you had your supper check yet? You HAVE? Gee, I wish I'd a had you bring me a sandwich. I haven't had a bite since eleven o'clock. (Emerging from show case with a bolt of ribbon a hair's breath more narrow than specifications):

"This is the nearest thing we have, madam. Mam? No, mam. We're all out of it. (To next saleswoman):

"Kate, are you sure there's no more of this 234? What? He DID? (To customer):

"We're all out, madam. (To question, aside):

"Ladies' handkerchiefs? Mam? Yes, mam. Seventeenth aisle; third to your right. (To customer debating over the cherry ribbon):

"Would you like some of that, madam? (To another questioner):

"This Alice blue? Five cents a yard. Ten yards?. Yes, mam. (Measures off ten yards; makes out check.) (Aside to next saleswoman):

Gee, I guess Mr. Nesbit's forgotten me. Has Sadie been out to supper? She HAS? Well, ain't that the limit? I'm the first one to go to lunch at eleven and last to get my supper check. It's eight hours since I ate anything. Wonder what he thinks I'm made of. (To customer):

"Fifty cents, mam. (As she sends parcel to be wrapped, she turns to the red ribbon customer):

"Would you like some of that, mam? (But the prospective customer decides not to take the plunge and disappears in the crowd.) (Cora, speaking to the woman who has just purchased the blue ribbon):

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"Mam? Yes, mam, it IS hard. I've worked fourteen hours every day for the last three weeks. Seats? No, mam. They don't have them. Mam? No, mam. We wouldn't have time to sit down in them anyway. (To new inquirer):

"Children's toys? Fifth floor; elevator to your left, sir. (Handing parcel to customer and counting out change):

"Fifty an' fifty and one—two dollars. Mam? O yes, mam. Merry Christmas! Mam? Same to you. (Aside to next saleswoman):

"Merry Christmas NOTHING! Every time I hear any Christmas talk, I feel like slapping somebody in the face. I HATE Christmas. It's nothing but work, work, extra work, without extra pay and keep-a-going till you DROP during the holi— (to a questioner):

"Mam? Kimonas? Fifth aisle to your right; fourth aisle down. (To new customer):

"Hollyberry ribbon? Yes, mam. No, mam. It's something NEW. Twenty cents a yard. You saw the same thing at Hillman's for twelve cents? Is that so? No'm, I suppose not. (Aside to next saleswoman):

"Gee, if I don't get something in my stomach soon, I'll keel over. I'm so weak I can hardly stand up. I— (to prospective customer):

"White? Yes, mam. Same width? Yes, mam. Mam? (To new inquirer):

"Candy? Six aisles up; three to your left. (To customer again):

"How many yards? Half a yard? Mam? Yes, mam. (To a perplexed man):

"Umbrellas? Straight down to the State street side (pointing): "Yes, sir. That way.

(Measures off ribbon and makes out check—aside to next saleswoman):

"Gee, I'm so hungry I'm dizzy. Maybe I won't be glad when the holidays are over and I shan't stir out of my bed all day tomorrow. What? A DULL way to spend Christmas? Well, the

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best present anybody could give ME would be a REST. (To customer, holding out hand for change):

"Seven cents, mam.. (To last inquirer):

"No'm, they've been moved to the basement. Mam? The elevator to your left. (To next inquirer):

"This hollyberry ribbon? Twenty cents a yard. Mam? Yes, mam, I think it would wash. Mam? No, mam. I've never washed any of it myself. (To somebody who has called a question over the heads of the customers):

"The collars are right behind you, madam. (To new customer):

"This black satin, mam? Thirty cents. Two yards? Sixty cents, mam. (Aside to next saleswoman as she measures off the ribbon):

"O dear, I'm so faint I can hardly see. The lights are kinda dancing—it seems to me. (To customer):

"Mam? THREE yards? I thought you said TWO. Mam? No'm, my hearing is not bad. Tend to my work? Well, I've been putting in fourteen hours a day at it—for three weeks. Mam? Yes, mam. (Cuts off three yards):

"Ninety cents, mam.

"You thought I said SIXTY cents? Well, I SAID sixty cents for TWO yards. Three yards would be NINETY cents. (Customer goes off grumbling without taking the ribbon.) (Aside to next saleswoman):

"Well, wasn't she the worst ever? O dear! How I wish I could sit down for five minutes! My feet feel as if I were standing on BOILS. (To new questioner):

"Mam? The linings? No'm, they used to be here, but they're on the fifth floor now. Elevator to your left. (Aside to next saleswoman):

"My, but I'm dizzy. Things look kinda darkish." (Leans weakly against the counter and drops noiselessly to the floor in a faint.)



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The Same Old Spain

By James Edwards.

WHEN Americans think of Spain, we call to mind all the old methods of repression and bloodshed with which the short-sighted rulers of that country have been wont to seek to stifle the spread of science and democracy. But the recent judicial murder of Francisco Ferrer proves that the present rulers still refuse to profit by past experiences. It is not true, as many papers and periodicals have claimed, that the teachings of Ferrer bore no menace to the government of Spain. As a matter of fact Ferrer was primarily a teacher, an educator, who sought only to permeate the country with modern evolutionary ideas, but these ideas in themselves, once accepted and become general, could not fail to awaken in the working people of Spain a spirit of intelligent revolt against the despotism and repression of the church and state.

But the charge against Ferrer was not based upon the work he had accomplished in the anti-clerical schools he had founded. He was accused with instigating the uprising in Barcelona, when the workingmen refused to go to Melilla to kill and be killed in a war of conquest. An ex-liberal minister of the government claimed at the beginning of the Moroccan war, that the Spanish and French mining companies operating at Melilla ordered the assassination of four workingmen in order to attribute the assassinations to the Moors and make a pretext to start a war of conquest. The ambitious directors of the Melilla mining companies obtained an intervention from Spain. These are the bare facts about the origin of the working class uprising in Barcelona.

From the time of his arrest to the day of his judicial assassination Ferrer claimed that he was "absolutely ignorant of the plan for a general strike on April 26th in protest against the Moroccan war. I therefore do not know why they should spread the report that I was the promoter of same. I paid no attention to the rumor, feeling safe in the knowledge that I in no way had participated in that movement and thinking that I would soon be left in peace.

"But along came a member of my family from Alella, frightened to death, saying that he heard a young girl state that I was in Premia at

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the head of a band of incendiaries, about to burn a convent. That gave me food for thought.

"Note that no convent was burned at Premia and that up to that moment I never was in the town. * * * * * *

"On Aug. 29th I read in the papers that the public prosecutor who had gone to Barcelona to make his inquiry, had just said, on leaving the palace, where he had read his report to the king, that I was the organizer of the revolutionary movement in Barcelona and the neighboring towns.

"Then I could no longer remain under cover and, despite the counsels of my friends, I decided to appear before the authorities. * * *

"But I had counted without the rural police agents of my town, who arrested me and, despite my supplications, instead of leading me to the judge, conducted me to the Governor of Barcelona." (From the New York Call.)

Ferrer was secretly tried before a military tribunal strongly prejudiced against him, and found guilty. At nine o'clock of the evening before the day of his assassination, he received his sentence of death. To add to the horror and barbarism of the night, he was compelled to enter the chapel and to spend the weary hours among the men who had fought him all his life.

Candles burned continually before the Virgin and two monks clung to his side, offering spiritual help, which Ferrer refused firmly.

It is these Jesuits who now rule at Madrid, as well as at Rome. Everywhere in Spain the Church reigns. Priests and monks are the real kings. It was these Jesuits who dissuaded Alphonso from signing the pardon for Ferrer, and it was by the orders of the Great Jesuit, that the greatest educator of Spain lies dead.

All through that last night the candles before the Virgin were kept burning and every little while the priests approached Ferrer again offering "spiritual aid." They clung to him, despite his protestations, and just before his execution urged him to take the last rites. Vainly they bothered him to the very end.

* * * * * * * * *

Already the judicial murder of Ferrer is bearing fruit. The storm of protest, horror and indignation that has swelled around the world, at his barbarous assassination, has resulted in adding to the angry din in Spain. And Maura, the brute, who refused to advise Alphonso to pardon Ferrer, has been borne down in the storm of indignation in his home country.

The new Spanish cabinet is a liberal one, but the church, which rules Spain under any government, is still at work. The inquisitorial Castle of Montjuich is full of anti-clericals. Nearly 2,500 men, women and children are awaiting trial there for their lives.

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The reporters and editors of liberal newspapers are being arrested, The press is crushed beneath an absolute censorship. The court martial is still at work.

But the teachings of modern science have been given an impetus through the death of Ferrer, that nothing else could arouse. The anti-clericals are growing in strength and power. New recruits are joining them every day in the great educational struggle they are waging against the violent and cruel, the ferocious and brutal sway of the Catholic Church.

The sixty Modern Schools founded by Ferrer have already been closed. These schools had become very popular among the youths of Spain. Arts, science, economics and history were among the most popular branches of study. These schools were secular—the only sources of education in all Spain free from the stagnating and retrogressive clericalism of the day.

The following is an extract from the writings of Ferrer. From this it will be seen that he was not a man altogether free from ideas inimical to the brutal Spanish regimé:

> "War is the most criminal aberration of men, and militarism is the union of those who fall in that criminal error. Both support privilege and monopoly in present society."

The economic and political organizations of the working class are completely uninterested as to any doctrinal discussion of religious and spiritual dogmas, although they combat the priests of all cults because they are the lackeys of the capitalist class.—Paul Lafargue in the Socialist Ideal.

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'S C PION

By

MAY BEALS-HOFFPAUIR

Illustrations By H. Jones

THE square, lonesome-looking orphanage stands at the edge of a big southern town that already calls itself a city; and ranged on either hand are the small buildings in which, with the aid of the childrens unpaid labor, the various industries are carried on that enable the orphanage to call itself an industrial school. Good christians are always at the heads of these departments, with one exception. The laundry, the store, the school, all have exemplary men and women in charge of them; but printers are notoriously pagan and so for a while the small print shop, in which are printed the "Orphan's Guide," and the job work gleaned from the faithful, was the most popular of all among the children.

"We can hardly keep the children out of the printing office," the matron, known as Miss Sally, said to the printer's wife. "Since your husband has charge of that department all the children want to study printing."

To the preacher at the head of the institution Miss Sally said: "I don't see how that ungodly man gets such an influence over the children. We must keep our eyes open for a good christian printer."

Meanwhile the printer's wife had gone on to the shop with her husband's lunch. An undersized boy of twelve, who had been picked up by the preacher in a Texas city, lingered in the room while they ate.

"Would you rather work in the printshop than in the store?" she asked him.

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"Gee, yes."

"How come?"

"O, 'cause."

She offered him some small cakes, which he regarded suspiciously.

"Did you bake 'em?" he asked.

"No," she lied, reassuringly, "my mother baked 'em."

The boy helped himself to three.

"Why do you think I can't bake?"

"'Cause you ain't old enuf," he explained between generous mouthfuls. "De goils in dis j'int is learnin' how to cook. See?"

"WE MUST KEEP OUR EYES OPEN FOR A GOOD CHRISTIAN PRINTER."

"But I'm a heap older than these schoolgirls."

"No, you ain't," retorted the boy with his street gamin air of preternatural wisdom. "You don't come dat racket on us."

She laughed. It is always gratifying to a woman in the late twenties to be mistaken for an early 'teen. Only a philosopher can tell why.

"Do you go to school?" asked the boy.

"Yes," said the woman. "I'm in the fourth grade."

"Bet you'd oughter be in de foist."

"I used to teach school," she said truthfully, though with no ex-

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pectation of being believed. "Honest I did." But her words were drowned in a shout of incredulous glee.

"Say," said the boy, "*he* says he married you when he took dat day off last week."

"Don't you believe it. I'm going to have a better looking man."

"Huh!" said the boy scornfully. "I knowed he was just coddin' me. He wouldn't have you."

"Why not?"

"'Cause you ain't a woman. He's too smart ter git took in by no kid like you."

At this the printer joined in his wife's laughter so heartily that the boy eyed them with deep suspicion, which was only in part dispelled by an offering of more cakes.

"You're a shrewd one," the girl said. She glanced at the young printer, about her own age, and rose to further heights of mendacity. "I did try to catch him, but he married my ma. That's how come I bring him his lunch."

"Den's he's yer stepdaddy."

"Right again."

"Gee, I wisht he was mine."

"How come?"

"O, 'cause."

After a moment the boy added: "I bet he don't let your ma lick you young uns like Miss Sally does."

"Does Miss Sally lick you much?"

"Gee, yes. She licked Norman yisteddy till he was plum crazy, an' he broke loose an' run t'roo de hall, an' t'roo de school room, and den back in de dinin' room where Miss Sally was. He was dat crazy he don't know where he's going an' Miss Sally nailed him an' finished lickin' him."

The printer's wife turned to the window to hide indignant tears.

"I don't like good folks," the boy said. "Gimme toughs fer mine."

"Same here," said the printer, dividing the last of the lunch with the boy, who said gravely:

"I won't tell 'em you said so."

While his mouth was yet full the boy went on.

"I knowed another Miss Sally out in Texas—dey called her Wampum Sal." He looked at the printer's wife, who was examining some cardboard in a distant corner, and lowered his voice. "She was one o' de goils, all right, Wampum Sal was, but gee—dat's a easy way ter make a livin'. I don't blame her none, do you?"

The printer glanced at his wife's back and shook his head.

"But she was on de square wit' de kids, see? Any woman wot had

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kids could get Wampum Sal's last nickel. An' she had a lot of stories in her head 'bout kings an' castles an' fairies. Gee, but she was bully.

"An' talk about noive," the boy went on excitedly. "Say, Wampum Sal was braver'n a heap o' men. My ma kep' a little fruit stand till she got sick an' t'ought she was goin' ter croak an' den she sells out an'

WAMPUM SAL.

gives de money ter Wampum Sal. 'Keep it all fer de kids,' she says jis' dat way. 'I'm done.'

"An' so Wampum Sal took us home ter her room, me an' Annie, an' kep' us hid so de charity guys couldn't ketch us. Dey had a j'int

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out dere fer de kids dat she says is sump'n fierce—wuss'n dis here j'int is. When my ma's croaked Wampum Sal takes us out in de country so Annie could have milk an' things and air. Wampum Sal's sister lives in de country an' Sal fixed it fer us ter board wit' her mighty cheap. We don't like her so much as Sal 'cause she makes us quit playin' on Sundays an' go ter church, but say! she tells us some bully yarns 'bout a whale swallerin' a man an' keepin' him down 'tree days an' nights an' den spittin' him out all whole an' in one piece. An' alive. I t'ought she was kiddin' but de preacher at dis j'int says it straight goods. How you reckon dat man could breathe? Did dey have divin' bells in dem days?"

"No," said the printer, with a mute warning to his wife who had giggled irrepressibly at this novel effort to harmonize theology and science.

"An' she tells us," went on the boy, too absorbed in his subject to notice anything else, "dat a king t'rowed t'ree Sheeny kids inter a fiery furnace an' dey walked straight t'roo de fire an' never singed a hair. Norman says de Lord must a had 'em soaked in liquid air ter keep 'em cool. An' she said de Lord come down from heaven an' brought paper an' ink an' wrote de bible an' other folks copied it. But the preacher says dat ain't so. But he says it's true dat Daniel was t'rowed in de lions' den an' dey never tetched him. I reckon de lions had lockjaw.

"But de rummest yarn dey spins is 'bout dat 'Lige dat went up ter de moon in a fiery balloon. An' was fed by ravens an' et grass an' locusts an' wild honey an' loaves an' fishes. An' stole a vineyard an' made it a potter's field an' fell down in de midst an' his stummick gushed out an' dey took up twelve baskets of scraps.

"But, say! dat jail woman was a awnery cuss—de one dat drove a nail in a man's forehead when he's asleep. Wampum Sal's sister says dat was right 'cause it's in the bible. But I calls it a snide trick Donchu?"

"Sure," said the printer, as the boy paused for breath, rather than for a reply.

"She tells us too 'bout t'ree wise men follerin' a star dat moved like a willow-wisp an' dey spoke wit' de tongues of men an' angels an' de jawbone of an ass. Say, did dey hand you dat bunch o' spiels in yer Sunday school days?"

"Yes," said the printer, laughing aloud as he saw unmistakably that the boy's humor was not of the unconscious sort.

"But she said, Wampum Sal's sister said, 'dat our ma was t'rown inter outer darkness in a lake of fire an' brimstone. An' Annie blubbers 'bout it an' so did I—some. An' he says—Sal's sister's husband says—dat it's a damn lie. So we quits blubberin' an' asks Wampum Sal 'bout it when she comes out dere ter see us an' she says it's a damn lie too, so we knows it is.

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"We stays in de country while de dough lasts, 'cause Annie'd been gettin' peaky an' slanky like ma,' but de milk an' de peaches fixed her up all right. When de spuds is gone we goes back ter town an' I can't git no job, so Wampum Sal sets us up in de paper biz. When I gits flush I wants ter pay back her money, but Wampum Sal won't listen. 'Keep it, kid,' says she, 'keep it an' help out some poor devil sometime dat's down on his luck.'

"An' I did." The boy lowered his voice so the printer's wife could not hear. "Dere's a poor devil run off from dis j'int a little while 'fore you come. Say he was havin' tough luck fer fair. Miss Sally had got a grouch on an' licked him an' he sassed her, an' she kep' on a lickin' him an' den he cussed. An' she kep' a lickin' him harder an' sayin', 'Shet yer mouth, now! Shet your mouth!' But she couldn't lick him enough to make him quit sassin' her, so she took a hammer an' a tack an' tacked his tongue ter de table. I don't know how come he stuck out his tongue. I reckon he t'ought she wouldn't dare. An' so me an—me an' another feller—we give him all the money what we got an' he cleared out. Don't tell nobody we helped him. Don't tell dat step-kid of yourn. Goils can't keep no secrets. No, dey ain't never ketched him.

"But I' started tellin' 'bout Wampum Sal," the boy added.

"You were telling about her nerve," the printer reminded him.

"Yes, she sure was all noive," exclaimed the boy. "Jis' de night 'fore we went ter de country de guy what bought my ma's fruit stand climbed in at Wampum Sal's winder, knowin' she's got de dough an' meanin' ter pinch it. Say, Wampum Sal speaks out like a shot, 'You son of a ——!'" the boy checked himself and glanced round anxiously at the printer's wife, but she was perched on a high stool conspicuously absorbed in the latest "Orphan's Guide."

"Wampum Sal she hollers out like dat an' jumps out of bed an' chases him t'roo de winder an' down de street an' catches him an' holds him an' sings out fer de cop. She hain't got no gun on her neither. Say, but she was great!

"An' after we come back from de country Wampum Sal goes with us out on de trolley lines most every Sunday, way out where it's cool an' nice an' Annie keeps on lookin' fat an' right. But one Sunday we goes out on de bayou in a boat, an' dat's what made de trouble, fer little Annie she reaches out fer a flower—a big white flower in de water, an' gits hold of it an' falls out, an' Wampum Sal goes in after her head foist, an' so does I. But Sal sings out to me when we comes up from a dive, 'You stay by de boat.' An' sure I needed to, fer we was pretty far from shore. Sal dives six times 'fore she finds Anne an' when she hands her into de boat—still a holdin' her white flower—I sees she's croaked.

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"Sal says, 'It's my fault. I oughtn't to've brought her out. It's all my fault.' And I says: 'Shut up! Tain't neither.'

"We takes her back ter Sal's house. She'd got a house down clost ter de bayou wit' two rooms instid o' rentin' a room up in town like she done before. Dat's 'cause she wanted ter keep house wit' us kids. She hadn't got acquainted none down dere an' some of 'em was church folks, so I don't know which ones ter go ter, an' Wampum Sal she jis' cries an' says she killed Annie, so I hikes up town an' two of de goils come down an' sees us t'rough. Dey says Sal has took cold an' puts her in bed. An' she stays in bed a long while an' her cough gits worse—she's been coughin' some before, like ma uster. An' everywhere she spits on de floor dere's a red spot.

"One night she takes ter cryin' an' groanin', an' I comes ter de bed ter see what's hurtin' her, an' she says she's been a wicked woman an' she's goin' ter die an' de Lord'll give her hell, an' won't I git a preacher ter come an' see her termorrer.

"I says, 'Sure I will, but y' ain't goin' ter croak. Shut up an' git yer beauty sleep.'

"An' nex' day I starts out ter git a preacher. Dere's a church on de nex' street an' when I gits along by it dere's de sky pilot setin' on de porch o' his house clost by. So I takes off my hat an' says ter him, 'Kin yer go ter see a dyin' lady?' And he says 'Cert,' or sump'n like it, an' we starts.

"When we gits on de back street he begins ter look scart, an' when we stops at Wampum Sal's gate he says, 'Is dis—er—hem—er—am I called ter visit de sinful woman who has recently pulluted dis kimmunity?'

"An' I spits out a sinful word or two an' says, 'She's adyin', an' she wants ter see a preacher. I don't b'lieve yer spiels'll do her no good, but she does.'

"An' he gits up courage enough ter go as far as de door an' den he sees a grocer's boy a drivin' past an' de boy grins, an' de preacher gits cold feet. I wouldn't felt so bad 'bout it, but Wampum Sal she hears us jis' right den, an' she raises up on her elbow an' sees de preacher. Gee, but she looks glad.

"'Come in, sir,' she says.

"An' dat son of——" the boy bit his lip and choked back the epithet. "Dat preacher stood in de door an' says, "I can not enter. We ministers of de gospel must keep ourselves unspotted frum de woild, see?'

"An' Sal laid down lookin' white like she'd croaked. An' I hit de preacher one in de ribs an' says, 'You ——,' I says—well, I handed him a bunch of pet names I wouldn't call no common awnery nigger. An' I tells him any spots he could rub off'n Wampum Sal would look mighty white on his darn black hide.

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"I says some more an' puts on fancy trimmin's, an' he goes off an' sets de officers on my trail an' dey takes me off an' puts me in de house o' krection. An' leaves Sal alone an' her dyin'.

"When I breaks out Sal's croaked an' de preacher dat runs dis j'int finds me blubberin' 'bout her an' tells me he'll take me where dere's a better

"SAY, IF WAMPUM SAL IS WENT TER HELL——"

Sally. So he fixes it up wit' de officers somewhow an' bring me here. Gee, but dis Sally's no tough. She's a saint, Miss Sally is.

"Say, if Wampum Sal is went ter hell an' Miss Sally goes ter heaven I knows which o' dem two j'ints 'll be de hottest fer us—me an' de rest o' de kids. It's hell fer mine. See?"

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Industrial Unionism

By Eugene V. Debs.

The term Industrial Unionism is used to express a modern form of labor organization whose jurisdiction is not confined to any particular trade or craft, but is co-extensive with the industrial development, and embraces the entire working class. Industrial unionism is the outgrowth of trade unionism and expresses the highest form of industrial organization the working class has yet attained. As its name implies this form of unionism contemplates the organization of industries in their entirety, uniting all employes within the same economic body, subdivided into a number of departments equal to and corresponding with the several trades or general occupations in which they are engaged.

In organizing the workers along the lines of their general industrial interests rather than their particular craft interests, it is claimed that the friction due to overlapping craft jurisdictions is obviated, and that a higher degree of solidarity and efficiency is thus secured in the interest of all.

The industrial union in its present form came but recently into existence, the trade union having preceded it, the latter dating back to a time near the beginning of industrial life in Great Britain, about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The earlier unions were confined principally to the skilled trades, and hence were called trade unions. These unions were built up on the basis of the skilled use of the tools used in the several trades dur-

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ing the period of handicraft in industry, and later on were loosely joined together in a federation of trades, without, however, abridging their autonomy or invading their separate jurisdictions.

Organized upon this basis each craft was left free to negotiate its own wage scale, and enter into agreement with the employer upon terms most advantageous to itself regardless of other crafts that might be employed in the same industry. The results that followed in the way of disastrous strikes resorted to by one or more crafts because of having failed to obtain a satisfactory agreement, while others employed in the same industry, perhaps in the identical factory, remained at their tasks, in co-operation with the non-union element which had displaced their own fellow-workers, paved the way for industrial organization.

The trade union rose with the modern trade and flourished with it, the foundation of both being the skilled use of certain tools in the making of certain commodities for market use. This stage of the industrial development prevailed for many years, but has now been largely superseded, and is rapidly declining before the march of industrial evolution, made manifest in the concentration of capital, the displacement of the small shop by the great factory, the handicraft tools by steam-driven machinery, the segregated trade by associated industry and competitive effort by co-operative labor. Along the same line the trade union of the past is now expressing itself more and more in industrial unionism.

Industrial unionism, having evolved from the lower primal forms of trade unionism through the successive stages of the industrial development, and adapting itself to present industrial conditions and their tendencies, has encountered serious opposition on the part of trade unionists as well as the employing class, the former tenaciously adhering to the craft form of organization and resisting all attempts to materially change it, and the latter opposing it on account of its aggressive and revolutionary character; but, notwithstanding this, the new unionism has made rapid advance during the past two or three years, and its principles have now come to be generally recognized by the progressive elements of the labor movement.

Greatly as the industrial union differs from the trade union structurally, the difference in their tendencies and ultimate objects is still more radical and far reaching. Whereas, the trade union occupied itself mainly with establishing and maintaining satisfactory wage scales, hours of labor and working class conditions, industrial unionism, based upon the mutual economic interests of all workers and the solidarity arising therefrom, aims not only at the amelioration of the industrial condition of the workers, but at the ultimate abolition of

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the existing productive system, and the total extinction of wage-servitude.

It is in this fundamental principle that industrial unionism is most radical and revolutionary in contrast with the earlier trade union forms of industrial organization.

The concentration of capital and the highly complex productive mode of the present day, grouping in vast industrial establishments thousands of workers engaged in scores of different trades, and forcing them into closer and closer co-operation, based upon the minutest division of labor, have tended to obscure, or perhaps totally obliterate, the lines that once so sharply defined the skilled trades, and in this interweaving of the trades the jurisdictions of the several unions based upon them have overlapped each other, and this has been the prolific source of the increasing friction between many of the larger unions which have approximately reached their maximum of growth and are jealous of maintaining the prestige of an expanding membership regardless of the effect upon a rival union which may lay claim to jurisdiction over the same craft, or division thereof. Following the lines of least resistance the tendency of these unions, so far as external forms are concerned, is toward industrial unionism, and this is undoubtedly the form that will ultimately supersede the trade union of the present and past.

Not only in the matter of organic form and fundamental aim does industrial unionsm differ from trade unionism, but also in the matter of tactics and methods. Quite as revolutionary as the ultimate end of industrial unionism, are the tactics its adherents have adopted for its realization.

The trade unions of the present and past have with rare exceptions eschewed political action in any independent capacity as an organized body; have accepted, in the aggregate, the prevailing industrial system as a finality, subject only to such modifications as might be effected through the power of organized effort in the amelioration of conditions, and have uniformly affirmed, in express terms or by clear implication, an identity of economic interests between the employing and employed classes.

In contradistinction to this conciliatory and non-political attitude of the trade unions toward the existing wage-system and the capitalist class, it is the declared principle of industrial unionism that the wage-workers have no interests in common with capitalists; that, in fact, their material interests are in conflict, and it is its declared purpose to abolish the wage-system, and supplant it by a system of industrial co-operation in which the workers themeslves shall have full control for their own benefit, and to this end they recognize the necessity

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of organizing the political as well as the economic power of the working class, and of the harmonious exercise of both by such means as will make industrial unionism the medium of attaining industrial democracy.

> In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere the workers, enlightened, understanding their self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial and economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes they will be prepared to take possession and assume control of every industry. With the education they will have received in the Industrial Workers they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.—Eugene V. Debs, in Revolutionary Unionism.

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Capitalism International.

The Case of De Lara.

By Cy O. Brown.



AY by day the capitalists of the world are growing more class conscious. Month by month the "great" men in the more highly capitalized countries are breaking down the barriers between nations and securing industrial control of those nations. And year by year new alliances are being formed between the dummy rulers and the new economic kings who are slowly but surely becoming the dictators of the world.

And still the little kings and presidents cumber their thrones and presidential chairs, while the silent revolution goes on. For my Lord Economic does not announce his triumphs with the blare of trumpets. Quietly and secretly he secures the industrial and economic vantage until the ostensible rulers are compelled to become his servants.

So it is that President Porfirio Diaz and William Howard Taft are only executing the orders of those Higher Up. Nothing must be permitted to interfere with the plans of American Capital to secure further control of the bases of industrial and economic supplies in Mexico.

For gold braid, tinsel trappings, visible retinues, brass bands and empty titles the industrial capitalist cares not one whit. He desires economic control and the power it brings to dictate to the guady figure-heads that sometimes flatter themselves into believing they are the rulers of nations.

Year by year Porfirio Diaz has sold out one economic vantage point after another to the American capitalists, and the American capitalists are eager for still more. They are willing to pay handsomely and Diaz has already found their money good. They desire a Mexican government friendly to American capital. Diaz requires customers for his economic wares. So the United States Government has entered into a friendly alliance with Mexico and we find American capitalists dictating the policy of the Mexican government and the methods of the Diaz regimé being introduced into the United States.

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The great body of liberty-loving people all over the United States who have been voicing their protests at the institution of Diaz policies in our home country, were dumbfounded to learn of the arrest of L. Gutierres De Lara, in Los Angeles, California, a few weeks ago by the U. S. Commission of Immigration. De Lara was charged with being an alien anarchist and subject to deportation back to Mexico. We believe that his only crime lies in the fact that he has helped to place in the limelight proofs of the infamous cruelties practiced in bloody Mexico.

Those of us who are reading the articles now running in the American Magazine by John Kenneth Turner, on Barbarous Mexico, recall his words:

> Such dangers as the journey held in store for me were clearly overshadowed by the dangers for the man whom I selected for a traveling companion, L. Gutierrez De Lara, himself a Mexican, not one of the revolutionists, but a man who, for voicing sympathy for the revolutionists, had incurred the enmity of his government.
>
> "If they know me they hang me," De Lara told me in his slightly imperfect English, "but I will go with you all the same."
>
> And De Lara went. A highly educated man of famous family, yet he had studied the common people of Mexico as few have studied them. Mexican character and Mexican history were his long suits, and to me he was at once companion, guide, friend, and an easy bridge across the chasm of reserve which naturally separates the people of one race from those of another.
>
> Though we left Los Angeles disguised as tramps, the agents of Diaz learned of the departure of De Lara, and though he crossed the line in disguise and continued to mask his identity under old clothes and unbarbered face, before we had been in Mexico ten days secret police surrounded the house in which we were stopping. De Lara escaped by jumping through a back window, scrambling over housetops and descending into another street, and when we left Mexico City for Yucatan soon afterward, both of us got out of town singly and by means of the cab and suburban car. Sure enough they were after De Lara. Weeks later we learned that an important Mexican government official had offered money to both American and Mexican friends of my companion in an effort to learn where he had gone.

De Lara is a member of the Socialist Party of the United States and at the time of his arrest was National Organizer for the state of California. In an interview given a writer on the New York Call, Comrade De Lara says:

> At the time of the strike at Cananea, state of Sonora, against the Cananea Copper Company, I was the only intellectual among the striking Cananeans, speaking for them and assisting them in their efforts to get better working conditions.
>
> From that time on the Mexican government, at the behest of the company, started to hound me until later I was sentenced to be shot, and through the shrewd manipulation of friends and comrades of the liberal movement I succeeded in making my escape and fled to the United States.

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In August, 1907, when the arrest of Magom, Vilerreal and Rivera took place, I immediately reported to the Socialist party of Los Angeles, Cal., immediately after I was arrested and a charge of stealing wood to the extent of $4 was put against me. The charge was based on a case I defended in Mexico of a poor woman who had a claim on a piece of land which the Cananea Copper Company tried to rob her of. I told her to ignore the claim of the company, cut some wood on said property and sell the same. The local court of Cananea found me guilty of stealing the wood, the Superior Court sustained the lower court; it was carried to the Supreme Court of Mexico and it reversed the decision.

After three years had elapsed the Mexican government tried to extradite me from the United States on the above charge; they reappraised the wood at $56 in Mexican money, thinking it would be sufficient for a grand larceny charge on which they could extradite me. A charge of theft to the extent of $25 in American money means grand larceny; silver being at its lowest at that time, 46 cents to the dollar, the appraisement only amounted to $23.65, so you see my life was saved by a mistake in appraisement of the wood of $1.35. I was discharged by the Federal government of the United States.

* * * * * * * * *

Not very many years ago, when a political refugee sought escape from a home despot, America held out her arms to him, and press, courts and pulpits held forth in his favor. This was when more workers were needed in the United States—before capitalism had become international and the jeopardy of an existing government meant the jeopardy of invested capital.

But the working class of the world is becoming class conscious also. We socialists of the United States do not say, "Our Comrade, Mr. Taft," "Comrade Rockefeller" or "Comrade Diaz." It is for the kings and emperors to dine together and to entertain Messrs. Morgan and Carnegie, while the working class of the whole world is taking up collections to help their striking comrades in Sweden, or raising money for the Refugees' Defense League in its fight for the lives of their working class comrades who seek to escape a fate similar to that of Francisco Ferrer.

Month by month, with the great revolution in the industrial machinery of the world, and the rise of the economic dictators, the press, the pulpit and the courts are assuming a more hostile attitude toward the workers of the world, and a more open subserviency toward the new industrial kings.

But the press of the working class along with a mighty spirit of international working class solidarity, is growing also. This press will reveal the economic reasons for the change in the governmental front and will be one of the great factors in educating the workers in their great and glorious struggle for the ultimate abolition of wage-slavery.

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A BOY MINE WORKER.

By permission from "The Surrey," New York. This is a photograph taken at a Pennsylvania mine, where conditions are not unlike those in Illinois. The disaster at Cherry, commented on in our editorial, occurs just as the last forms of the Review go to press. Next month we hope to publish an illustrated article throwing more light on the subject.

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The Value of Woman's Work

By Maud Thompson.

Marxian principles of value deal with social products and their application to woman's work has, therefore, been limited to woman's work in the factory and the shop. But the majority of women are not engaged in industrial production; at least three-fifths of them are engaged in home production. Yet more and more home products are being replaced by factory products, more and more the work of the housewife has to compete with the work of organized business.

FRENCH WOMEN WASHING ON THE ROCKS.

Through the use of steam-heated flats and steam laundries, by the purchase of prepared foods and by the hiring of house-cleaning machines, the needs of a small family may now be supplied with-

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out demanding a full day's work from the housekeeper. But these methods of lessening labor are as yet more expensive than woman's unskilled labor performed at home, and they will not replace the latter in the average family until it costs more to keep a working wife than to buy the products of the factory girl's labor. In the wage-earner's family the work of cleaning, serving, cooking and repairing which is still left to the housekeeper is quite enough to fill more than an eight-hour working-day.

Much has been written about the value of woman's work in the days when she "fed and clothed the world." Is it not worth while to examine the value of the housekeeper's work under modern conditions? If it is to be compared at all with other work, it must be considered with reference to some common standard, must be measured as all labor is by its usefulness, its exchange value and its market price.

THIS MACHINE WASHES 1,000 SHIRTS IN A 9-HOUR DAY.
(Loaned by courtesy of American Laundry Machine Manufacturing Co.)

The worth of a thing lies in its usefulness to some person. If one person in the world desires a thing, it is useful to that person, but if no one else wants it, it cannot be exchanged and therefore has no social value. When a thing becomes exchangeable, it must be measured by some common social standard, and that standard is labor, for labor is the only thing which makes the material furnished by nature useful to man. Since the standard is a social one, the value of any one commodity does not depend on the amount of individual labor that object may happen to contain. If a cobbler makes a pair of shoes a day and a man at a machine turns out a hundred pairs a day, the cobbler's shoes, if of the same quality, will not be worth a hun-

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dred machine-made pairs. In the words of Marx: "The labor-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time." It is the average labor-time with average skill and the average tools which determines the value of a product. So the use or worth of work and its products is a very different thing from its exchange-value, and its price, the exchange-value expressed in money, is yet another matter.

In valuing a commodity its use-value may be the hardest thing to determine, for it depends on the people who use it. In reference to woman's work this happens to be the easiest part of the problem. In the individual household the housekeeper is not merely useful but necessary. Men have been known to marry solely to replace her. From an industrial point of view woman's usefulness as a housekeeper has probably been overrated. Men stand in the bread-line because they can get no work while inexperienced girls are sought as houseworkers. Yet in the family as now constituted the use-value of the housekeeper can hardly be overestimated. Only in the slum family, when death or the factory claims the mother, is the housekeeper dispensed with. A home without a woman worker is looked upon as the last misery of humanity.

Woman's work in the family is productive in character and absolutely essential to the existence of the family. Its use-value is comparable only to that part of man's work which designs, makes and distributes things; none of it is of that non-productive class of labor upon which so much of man's labor is expended, such as advertising, gambling and law-suits. Woman's work in the household is the repairing of the daily waste by transforming the man's wages into a thousand material things that satisfy the family needs. Psychologically her work is nearer to the primitive forces of production than is man's, for in modern industry the man who tends a wheel in the big machine of production can get very little sense of the real producing force of his work; a woman's work is all before her eyes.

But while in quality woman's work has exceptionally high use-value to the family, its primitive and unspecialized methods render it a most wasteful social product. Under the present constitution of society woman's work as housekeeper is absolutely essential, but the total productiveness of the race, and that means civilization, is held back by the low degree of producing power in the feminine part of the workers. The team of humanity is not pulling even from the economical viewpoint. Machinery has done little for housework because most labor-saving devices are too expensive to be owned by

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the individual family. While man's industrial world has been revolutionized, woman's has been merely modified.

It is because of its failure as a social product that the exchange-value of woman's home-work has remained so slight and so indefinite. Although women have been working in a primitive world of their own, with simple tools and at occupations unskilled because so diversified, that world has been within another world where production is skillful and rapid. It is inevitable that the standards of value in the industrial world should affect the valuation of woman's work in the household. Yet "the labor socially necessary" to measure man's contributions to production cannot fairly be compared with that socially necessary in woman's field, for the one is expended in a world of specialization and machinery, the other in a world of hand-work and unspecialized labor. Industrially they are three centuries apart.

Under the old system of household production some of woman's work done in the home had a real exchange-value. In Crete six hundred years before Christ every woman had her own capital and income from "what she spun." But the household work remaining to women has absolutely no definite exchange-value. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine how much labor is socially necessary to run a household, what is the average skill, what the average equipment.

The difficulty of fixing the value of the housekeeper's work is seen in the confusion and helplessness of those well-meaning couples who try to solve the problem by coming to some working agreement. Some of those who are striving to give the wife a dignified, economic position claim that the husband's income should be equally divided between husband and wife; others would make the income a family fund from which expenditures could be made only by mutual agreement, while others would put the wife on wages, making the husband the employer. The difficulty with the family partnership is that it is a very delicately balanced equality. The sole control is apt to go over to one partner or the other, and which way the power falls is determined not so much by the value of the contribution of each partner as by his or her personal power. So difficult is it for the reformers to make woman's present economic position rational.

But in the real world where philosophers and the just are few, woman's work goes into a market where values are even more confused. Like the wage-slaves woman sells her labor-power, not her product; but unlike others, she does not sell it by the week, the day or the year, but for life. Moreover in the initial bargain the economic conditions are disguised by the fact that the woman's person is

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given with her labor-power and that over the whole is thrown a mist of sentiment and tradition. But economically, it is not only a bargain but, especially on the woman's side, a speculation. She gambles on the chance that some particular man may turn out a "good provider" and stakes her whole life on his probable "rise" in the world. She throws her own unskilled and unspecialized labor into the family service as the price of a home. The nature of a home she is able to procure is determined, however, not by her productive power, but by her personality and her social position.

FIELD WORKERS.

After marriage a woman rates, as a worker, as a member of the family she has chosen and not as a member of society. She gets such a "living" as the family has, sometimes worse, rarely better, but never in proportion to her own productiveness. Among the proletariat the reward of her labor is the same as that of the man, subsistence. Sometimes, with the man's, it sinks below the level of subsistence and often below the level where normal reproduction is possible. The higher the man's wage becomes or the more property

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he acquires, the more reward, as a rule, the wife receives for her labor. The use-value of her labor has not altered in the least, however, and her skill has not greatly increased. Her reward is evidently quite arbitrary according to any individual standard. As a worker she is not a productive unit but a necessary part of a wage-earning machine. As the machine increases in value she is better cared for, though her own working value is stationary or decreasing. Her own productiveness she is unable to increase to any extent becase she cannot improve even her tools unless the man's wage-earning power increases. As a matter of fact, as her wage-earning machine increases in productiveness she usually becomes less and lesss useful until, like any useless part, she atrophies and drops off from the working body. She is no longer even the feeder of a wage-earning machine, she has entered the class of idle women. In that class her labor power is almost zero, her price depends wholly on her personal and social worth.

REVOLVING TABLE SHIRT BOSOM IRONER, WITH SIX SHIRT BOARDS SUPPORTED BY SPIRAL SPRINGS.

One, two, three or four operators can work to advantage at the same time, and the machine run fast or slow to suit the operators. The bosom ironer will iron six shirts a minute; 3,600 in 10 hours.

(Loaned by courtesy of Chicago Addition Mangle Co.)

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It is by the working out of this system that the parasitic class of women is produced. Men perform manual labor to secure food, clothing and shelter; when these are provided, the energies relax or turn to a more attractive kind of labor. In the rise of the wage-earner the wife usually contributes at the beginning far more than the value of her own living. As the family prospers, she receives at some point value equal to the full value of her labor. But as the family acquires property, the housekeeper works less and less until she has passed the point where she is worth her "keep" and has become a parasite. Relieved from the necessity of earning their bread, the weaker relax into idleness varied by eating and dressing and some oversight of hired labor. The women with vitality enough to create for themselves new occupations go into study, philanthropy or the professions.

The class of parasites is larger among women than among men, for men who acquire enongh to live on rarely enter a new occupation. The reason is obvious. By the time a man reaches the point where he does not have to work he has escaped from manual labor into the attractive game of business. A woman who manages an elaborate and luxurious household is comparable superficially to a man who directs a business, but the difference between their spheres of action is an important one. In the modern business world the opportunities for the expenditure of a man's energies are almost unlimited, the field of a "lady housekeeper" is a single family. However she may elaborate the scheme of daily life, she can scarcely find room for her energies in directing the labor of others. It is true that by entering the world of social pleasure she may extend the sphere of her activities and find an opportunity for playing as good a game as business, but she enters then upon a wholly non-productive occupation which has no relation to her function as housekeeper.

It follows from this shifting scale of reward and from its curious relation to the producing power of another that the woman houseworker really has no notion of the value of her subsistence. In one class she thinks of herself as "supported" whatever the value of her work, and in another class she considers herself as worthy of any subsistence however slight her contributions to the family service. This haziness of woman as to her own worth extends to the atmosphere of the wage-earning woman. She cuts her subsistence down to the necessity line by cooking her own food and making her own clothing. Thus she makes herself a less expensive machine for an employer and enables him to replace expensively fed men by cheaply fed women.

Another condition which makes it difficult to estimate the value

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of woman's work is the elimination of the time-element. Her labor bargain was for life; her labor day is limited only by her own endurance. Her labor cannot be regulated by law; it is not regulated by efficiency. Woman's is the typical "free labor," free to contract for life, selling labor-power for subsistence, the household slave of a wage-slave.

The economic link between the wife who works for board and clothes and the factory "hand" who works for wages is the hired houseworker, the so-called "servant." The "servant" is a remnant of the old household system of labor, as is seen in the "residence requirement," the condition of employment under which part of the wage is paid in board and lodging. The board varies with the financial status of the employer but does not, except in a general way, represent the value of the work. The higher the wage and the easier the work, the better usually the board, but over that part of the bargain the "servant" usually has no control. Her skill as a worker may enable her to get a job in a family where the standard of living is high but her share of the luxuries of the family life is arbitrarily determined by her employer. Thus her situation, as far as her "living" goes, exactly duplicates that of the working wife.

THRESHING GRAIN.

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But in the case of a "servant" a new element enters in, wages. It is a curious feature of our marriage system that a woman will sell her labor-power plus her person for less than her labor alone. It is true that for the wife there is always the hope of a "rise" in the social scale, a prospect denied to the "servant."

Except for the one important fact that the houseworker is evidently worth more than her mere "living," the paid houseworker's wage does not help us much in determining the value of the woman's household work. The "servant" works usually under the direction and with the help of another woman, her employer, who is partly emancipated from labor and gives to the housework what time she can spare from other occupations. But for various obvious reasons there is no overcrowding in the trade of house-service and, as a consequence of the unusual demand, the houseworker fares as well or better than the average woman wage-earner. Exploitation of the houseworker through machinery is impossible and so far in the progress of capitalism, exploitation of servants through the use of the reserve army of the unemployed has been blocked by the inexorable family and social sentiment. To "go into service" means not only to lower the worker's social status, but to surrender her family life. Factory toil or any kind of a marriage has been preferable to the average American woman. But the shifting class of the unemployed grows and the end of the capitalistic regimé is not yet in sight. If the wall of social pride and family solidarity is battered down by hunger, we may expect to see the same exploitation of houseworkers that we now find practiced on factory workers.

The present housework system under which in one class the housework is done by overworked, unpaid wives, and in another class by hired "servants" who are in the family but not of it, is an essential part of the bourgeois capitalistic system. Every bourgeois family is struggling to emerge into the servant-employing class; every proletarian family is trying to keep its girls out of the servant class. Under this system of domestic economy the increase of the servant-class means not so much a specialization of the trade of housework as an increase in the class of parasitic women. Where a paid houseworker takes the place of the unpaid wife in order to release the latter for productive, paid labor elsewhere, that is a step in the specialization of labor and the emancipation of women. But at present in only one family in ten in the United States is the housework done by hired labor; in other families it is paid for by "living" only. In spite of the increase of the number of servants and the rise in their wages, the method of paying the other nine-tenths of the houseworkers has not been affected. On the other hand the economic con-

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dition of the "servant" depends on the economic status of the women in the industrial world, rather than those in the household. The paid houseworker and the unpaid wife live under the same conditions of family labor, their board and lodging being regulated by their employer, but the wage of the "servant" is measured not by the value of the wife's work, but by the value of the girl in the factory or shop.

It is obvious that to speculate on the value of woman's work in terms of wages is idle, for she is not living under the wage system. The work of running a household involves the practice of a number of skilled trades, requires the use of much unskilled labor and demands some administrative power. To rate this combination of trades and effort with its undetermined labor-time would be an appalling task. But it is a task we need not undertake, for the work of the housekeeper who is also the wife is not exchangeable and, therefore, can have no real money value.

What is clear is that the work of women under this system is socially wasteful and individually unfair. The industrial revolution with its increased production and labor-saving devices must remake the home too. It has already entered there and modified a hundred processes used in providing for the family needs. That revolution must go on. When woman's task in the home is one of oversight only, she will be free to work in any form of labor which is marketable and will receive the actual product of her labor in the form of exchange that is socially recognized. Many a woman would live less well than she does, were her work the measure of her living. Many a woman who now works fourteen hours a day, seven days in the week for board and clothing would have a larger share in the social product, if her work ever came into the market.

Woman's work must eventually conform to modern industrial methods and be measured by a common social standard. What the method of valuation is to be will be determined by the economic structure of society as a whole. If the capitalistic system survives, there is no reason to suppose that the present tendency to divide women into the toilers and the idle will be checked. Women of the proletariat will be forced more and more into the wage system and employed outside the home. Women of the bourgeoisie will come nearer to the bourgeois ideal for women, idleness with power to direct the hired labor of the proletarian women.

The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution would not necessarily mean any economic rating of the work done in the individual home. In other words, state ownership of industries would not make married women economically independent. But social evolution is working toward larger ends than

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the mere owning of machinery by all the people, important though that change be; it tends always toward socialized production. Bit by bit the stupid, primitive, unproductive ways by which housework is done are giving way to scientific, co-operative production of food and clothing. Every invention in this realm strikes one more chain from the housebound, unpaid wife. Under the banner of industrial democracy all women will be free to spend their energies either in motherhood or in specialized, paid, productive labor. Socialism works to give every individual full opportunity to live, and its very existence will ultimately depend on its freeing humanity not by sexes, nor by races, but universally.

The bourgeois has thought and still thinks that woman ought to remain at home and devote her activity to supervising and directing the housekeeping, caring for her husband, and manufacturing and nourishing children. Even Xenophon, at the time when the bourgeoisie was newly born and was taking its shape in ancient society, traced the main outlines of this ideal of woman. But if through the course of centuries, this ideal may have appeared reasonable, because it corresponded to economic conditions which prevailed, it is no longer anything more than an ideological survival, since these conditions have ceased to exist.—From Paul Lafargue in The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies.

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Moving a River

By J. A. Phillips.

HE feats of the giants we read about in Grimm's Fairy Tales and the deeds of Hercules pale into insignificance beside the every day labors of the modern railroad engineers, who pierce and tear away mountains, move rivers and force great waterfalls to furnish power for running their trains.

The names of these humble wonder-workers in blue shirts and leggings do not get into the newspapers and we rarely hear about their accomplishments in the modern magazines. John Shanahan was division engineer on the mountain division of the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake railroad company, the road that ex-United States Senator William A. Clark planned. Later Harriman joined forces with Clark and the road was built.

It was John Shanahan's task to see that the division running through the southeast corner of Nevada was located properly, built and kept in good condition. To any man except a modern engineer, this would have been a most discouraging country. It contained few villages and fewer towns, but many high mountains and sandy deserts. Searching for an opening among these mountains, the engineers found the canyon of the Meadow Valley River. To the west lie the Meadow Valley Mountains. The Mormon range lies eastward.

The canyon is from one to ten miles in width, running from northeast to southwest. Meadow Valley creek lies at the bottom of this valley. Normally it is only six or eight feet in width and half a foot deep. For much of the distance the canyon is walled in by steep rocky cliffs.

Through this canyon the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake railroad wound its way down into Southern California. The track twisted about like the creek, for Shanahan sought always the lowest and most even road bed. It was necessary for this reason, to cross the Meadow Valley creek eighteen times in a distance of one hundred miles.

In the spring of 1907, the road was ready for business. Through freight and passenger trains began to run from Salt Lake City to the Pacific Coast. But one night in March, 1907, there was a huge cloudburst in the Meadow Valley Mountains. In a few moments the creek began to widen out over a mile. It soon became a raging flood. The

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deluge tore loose great boulders from the mountain sides and hurled them crashing into the canyon below. So narrow was the bed of the creek that the torrent swept them on down the swelling stream.

In the morning, for a distance of about one hundred miles, there was no railroad. All of the eighteen bridges that spanned the creek were totally destroyed. The whole right of way was jammed with boulders, trees and sand. Part of a freight train that had raced through the valley trying to outrun the flood, was caught and crushed like an egg-shell. The hard work of many months was wiped out in a single night.

Shanahan was near at hand when the storm broke. At once he plunged down the canyon, in the darkness and chaos. Through the raging waters and debris he fought his way. When at last he had staggered back to safety, he said the road was a total ruin.

Speedily the swollen torrent fell to normal size and once more the sparkling Meadow Valley creek wound itself through the valley, this time through the chaos wrought by the cloud-burst.

But Shanahan knew that what had happened that night might occur again at any time. Whenever the tall peaks of the mountains ripped open the rain clouds the first outlet that invited the flood was the canyon. There was no other way for the water to escape. Neither was there any other way to build the railroad through the mountains. The railroad could be moved nowhere else. Therefore John Shanahan decided to move the river.

The problem was to make for the river a new bed, deep and broad enough to carry off any floods that might come, leaving the railroad safe in the valley. So John Shanahan and his little band of workers, armed with a pack of blue prints and a few tons of dynamite, undertook the work.

And wonderful were their tools. Clam shell steam shovels they used, clam shell shovels that nip out four tons of sand or gravel at a single bite; huge steam plows that cut furrows two hundred feet in width and traveling cranes that pick up locomotives and carry them as easily as a man carries a basket of eggs. It was big work. First the valley had to be cleared, for until temporary tracks had been laid nothing could be done.

Nine great sections were cut out for the wild river. The steam plow and shovel gangs went ahead. They removed more than 100,000 cubic yards of sand and gravel and left the bed-rock bare. All the stone, gravel and sand was carefully saved and was used later in building up the new roadbed for the railroad.

After the shovels, came the blasting gangs. In the solid rocks they drilled deep holes, into which they poured dynamite. More than

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120,000 cubic yards of solid rock was blasted out of the bottom of the canyon.

When the creek ran into a projecting rock, or peak, and was turned from its course, the dynamite was again used; the obstruction was blown out and carted away.

At one point in their labors, Shanahan and his little army of workers were forced to attack and tear out over a third of a good sized mountain. Nothing was left to obstruct the Meadow Valley creek in its new and straight course to the Muddy River.

But Shanahan knew it was not enough to make a new bed for the old river. He determined to make the road bed of the railroad as firm as the great mountains themselves. With the dirt, stone and gravel taken from the new river channel, they piled up the roadbed. Over 230,000 cubic yards of picked stones they laid with their bare hands, constructing to protect its sides, a solid breastwork. And so tightly were these rocks fitted into each other that one might well judge they had been cut for just this purpose.

In the spring of 1909, the last rock was laid. The work was done. John Shanahan and his army of men—rough men, hard-handed and hard-headed workingmen—had picked up a river and laid it down in a new bed—to stay.

And the tourists traveling in their Pullmans, look out into the canyon in the spring time and watch the river draining two great mountain ranges. Far below the safe, high roadbed—the workingman's new roadbed, the river tears through the new channel, the workingman's channel. All is safe; all is comfortable, but the modern tourist has ceased to wonder.

As Henry M. Hyde said in a recent article about John Shanahan and his work:

"Dragon-taming is an infantile amusement compared with the every day work of making floods and mountains, avalanches and cloudbursts—all the titanic forces of nature—obey orders and never interfere with railroad schedules."

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem

Fifty Years of the Negro's Progress.

By I. M. Robbins.



N the preceding installment of this chapter a lengthy excursion into the domain of statistics was undertaken. But such excursions are so tedious and discouraging to the untrained, that it would be suicidal for any writer to resort too frequently to it. The main facts necessary for the understanding of the problem were elucidated. And details, however interesting to the specialist, would only prove cumbersome to the general reader. Notwithstanding the general title of this series of articles, which aim to look upon the entire negro problem from the point of view of economic evolution, we must abstain from such details concerning the economic conditions of the negro population, as of comparatively little import for the proper understanding of our problem. The wealth of descriptive material concerning such details is overwhelming. But, strange as it may seem, it is mostly irrelevant from our point of view. For once the nature and occupational composition of this population is understood, the detailed problems of the economic life of the negro are self-evident, and have little that is peculiar. Farmers with little land, farmers with insufficient education, laborers with small wages—these are all old problems, which must be dealt with separately. Only the legal and social position of the negro and his peculiar racial characteristics, if any there be, interfering with his normal development along the same lines as would a white man (if they do so interfere)—these are the factors which make for a negro problem—and they must be studied.

In the study of the development of the negro race in the United States for the last fifty years this is the most important question for us just at present: Does that development indicate the existence of evidence of such racial inferiority, does it disprove the theory, or, finally, does it leave the question still open?

Now, what are the main tendencies as they have been elucidated by an analysis of the statistical evidence brought together?

The negro population grows rapidly. Its growth is a little slower than that of the white population, because of absence of negro immigration, and also because of the high mortality of negro children, but

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this is evidently a result of the social forms of existence, and cannot be considered a racial characteristic. The negro is, therefore, amply able to hold his own in the midst of a white population and is in no danger of dying out.

The negro population is gradually spreading out throughout the country, thus showing an appreciation of the comparative advantages of various localities and extending the negro problem throughout the breadth of the United States.

It is moving towards the cities from the rural district. Again this is as it should have been expected. Economically, socially, from the point of view of anything that makes life worth living the American city is preferable to the country, and no race or nationality fails to show this tendency in this or any country.

Occupationally, the working negro population belongs to the lowest groups of farm or other unskilled labor, the labor they were made to perform while in slavery. But gradually a drifting into other occupations is noticeable, into trade, transportation, artisan and factory work and even professions. Negroes are found in dozens of various occupations within these large groups.

In the agricultural field an interesting, steady though not a very rapid transition from share and cash tenantry to farm ownership, one-fourth of the farms operated by the negroes being owned by them.

Thus there is even a steady accumulation of property in agricultural pursuits as well as other occupations, though of necessity it is very slow. This is in the line of economic progress of the negro population in this country; and it is only the line of progress that is important, because the actual data are subject to rapid changes and at best are ten years old, referring to 1900.

Now is there any one feature of this process of economic progress that is distinctly negro rather than universally human? Could the progress of several million slaves suddenly liberated under such circumstances as the negroes received their emancipation—could it have been on any different lines?

It would be preposterous to derive any evidence of racial inferiority from these general data. Yet the economic status and development of the negro is often claimed to be the strongest proof of such inferiority. To defend this position, only little details and never the general tendencies as indicated in the preceding pages, are usually emphasized.

What, then, is the economic indictment which in its ablest form was probably expressed by Mr. A. Stone in his Studies of the American Race Problem?

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Indictment One: **The negro is slow in accumulating property.** Of course. So he is. So am I, gentle reader, though I can claim Caucasian blood for hundreds of generations back. So are many of you, I am certain. Property may be both a misfortune and a crime from the point of view of modern capitalistic society, but it can hardly be called a racial characteristic. It is too universal.

It may be admitted that he is slower in this process of accumulation than the white man. Does this call for racial explanations, when—

1. He started from the bottom of chattel slavery only fifty years ago and thus had a long road to travel.
2. He had his feeling of economic self-reliance destroyed by centuries of slavery.
3. He did not have the equal treatment before the law and in other social relations, which is essential for opportunity?

Thus he begun at a lower plane, did not have the necessary economic training and was constantly handicapped by legal discrimination, and social prejudice, which have destroyed his opportunity. And waving aside all these material factors which should be clear to every serious student of southern conditions, there is the palpable psychological factor of habit—habit which is acquired by education, and therefore can be traced directly to the preceding generation, and can thus be termed hereditary—hereditary, that is, in a social and not in a biological sense. That there is nothing essentially racial in this is demonstrated not only by the actual figures of accumulated negro property, but by the growth of a negro bourgeoisie, of which many examples are given by Booker Washington in his book on "The Negro in Business."

Indictment Two: The negro is an inefficient worker. Again the facts may be cheerfully admitted. But what is their interpretation? The degree of efficiency of white workers is also a very variable quantity. Efficiency is the result of home training and school education. Thus all races and nationalities in unfavorable social and political conditions are inefficient. The German is more efficient than the Italian, the Italian is more efficient than the Russian, etc., etc., and the American is a very efficient worker because of the comparatively favorable conditions under which he grew up. The northern man is vastly more efficient than the southern mountaineer, though they both come from the same stock. How efficient a negro worker can be made, a study of the graduates of the Tuskegee can indicate. When the miserable school facilities provided for the negro by the south are considered and it is understood that the training of the negro worker is left to his equally inefficient parent, who is either

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an ex-slave or child of an ex-slave—the reasons for inefficiency must be readily understood. But the growth in the number of negro draymen, steam railroad employes, miners and in other correlated occupations shows readily how rapidly this inefficiency vanishes.

In the same way the other indictments of thriftlessness, unreliability, improvidence and extravagance are easily met. The indictment that the negro is not fit to be employed in any regular mechanical or manufacturing pursuit is disproved by the number of negroes so employed. The very claim of the south that technical schools of the Tuskegee type are necessary for the negro for the purpose of teaching him these virtues of thrift and efficiency and habits of regular work are an admission that these faults are only due to social environment and not to racial idiosyncrasies. The racial characteristics cannot be changed in one generation.

Another line of attack upon the potential capacity of the negro proceeds on intellectual grounds. The claim that the negro is not a human being at all, but a beast (of burden?) created with two hands and the power of speech so as to be more useful to the white man—is a view that has persisted from the beginning of slavery, in the middle of the seventeenth century down to the dawn of the twentieth century.

This argument admitted the economic functions of the negro without giving any credit to his brain.

In estimating the intellectual achievements and progress of the negro population his extremely poor school facilities must not be forgotten. Fifty years after emancipation a large proportion of the negroes is still illiterate.

Fifty years ago almost the entire negro population consisted of illiterates. According to the antiquated data of the twelfth census, referring to 1900, the illiterate negroes constituted 44.5 per cent of the entire negro population. The percentage is appalling, but in view of the southern attitude toward negro education, not surprising, and indicates a very rapid increase in the average intelligence of the negro masses. In 1880 illiterates numbered 70 per cent among the negroes; in 1890, 57.1 per cent, and in 1900, 44.5 per cent. With such a rapid drop within twenty years it is not unreasonable to assume that not more than one-third remains illiterate at present, and possibly a much smaller proportion. For besides the increase in school facilities, the gradual weeding out of the older, illiterate generation must be taken into account.

The percentage of illiterates in various age groups is shown in the following table:

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Age Group.	Total, Per cent.	Male, Per cent.	Female, Per cent.
10-14	30.1	33.5	26.8
15-17	31.4	36.7	26.2
18-20	33.9	37.0	31.2
21-24	34.7	35.5	34.1
25-34	39.3	35.7	42.8
34-44	52.0	43.0	60.6
45-54	68.1	59.3	77.8
55-64	78.4	73.4	84.3
65 and over	85.4	83.6	87.2
Unknown age	55.4	46.2	65.1
All ages	44.5	43.1	45.8

Two very important conclusions may be made from this table. First, there is the peculiar fact that for the five age groups from 10 to 34 years the percentage of illiteracy is about the same; this is an evident result of the growth of southern antagonism to negro eduvation within the last decade.

Even were the entire south making an energetic effort to force the negro into schools, the evidences of growth of illiteracy among the negroes, as given by the statistical data quoted above would still be satisfactory. For as the great majority of the adult negroes are children of slaves, and not a few of them ex-slaves themselves, and nearly three-fourths of them agricultural laborers or petty farmers, one does not expect from them any deep appreciation of the advantages of education. As a matter of fact, however, the conditions are exactly the reverse. The negro schools in the south are wretched; they run a shorter time than the white men's schools; they are placed in disgusting buildings; their teachers are paid less than the white teachers, and above all, there are not enough of them. The facts are so well established that it would be waste of space to marshal any statistical evidence in their support. Thus the fall in the illiteracy of the negro is an indication not only of the passive growth of their educational level, as would be the case with foreigners arriving in New York, upon whom education is forced, but also of their active struggle towards light. In view of the dire poverty of the negro population in the southern cities, it is astonishing to find how hard the negro mothers are fighting to get their children into public schools, and how many small paid private schools there are supported by negro servants and washwomen for the education of their little ones. Surely to any unprejudiced mind this is a remarkable illustration of the intellectual possibilities of the negro race.

The possibility, usefulness and even necessity of some degree of education for the negroes is admitted even by a large portion of the white south. This opinion is the result of purely egotistic considerations for the greater efficiency of the man with a common school

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education as an industrial worker. Nevertheless the white man finds a last resort for his good old reliable theory of racial inferiority in the claim that the negro is less able to digest the results of education; that he is slower to make progress in school and that at best he may well assimilate the rudiments of an education, but soon a limit is reached beyond which the negro mind cannot go. The higher fruits of culture and civilization are not for the negro brain. Such is the theory.

It is perhaps as difficult to refute this theory as to demonstrate it by either physiological or psychological experimental data. The entire statistical matter concerning this problem is so scanty as not to deserve even mentioning. The theory, or so much of it as is not due to obstinate prejudice or wilful misrepresentation, is a result of everyday observation. A teacher finds a negro child stupid—and a judgment is pronounced over the entire negro race. That some of the negroes have reached the highest standards of general culture or specialized training is easily shown by the number of negro teachers in negro colleges. But if, in addition, it can be easily shown that the condition of life of the vast majority of negro families are such as to hold back the development of the negro child, then any racial argument becomes quite unnecessary.

The American philistine has always sung loud praises to the influence of the American home upon the moral and intellectual development of the young generation. Is the negro home such as was developed through two hundred years of chattel slavery calculated to produce bright and intelligent children? And is it at all wonderful, at all surprising to find that a child coming from such a home is not so highly developed mentally as the child of a white professor or professional man? Even if the comparative backwardness of the negro child were recognized as a universal phenomenon would there be any need for a racial interpretation?

As a matter of fact, however, any one with sufficient opportunities for observation can convice himself to his own satisfaction that among the negroes, as among the white, the "natural" intelligence of the children is as a rule directly proportioniate to the intellectual level and social status of the negro family.

If any further facts are necessary to establish the negro's capacity for higher education than that given by the common public school, sufficient evidence is furnished by the statistics of secondary schools and colleges. In interpreting the figures here again the extreme difficulties in the way of a negro child striving for higher education must not be forgotten. The insufficient schools, discrimination against

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negroes in the best colleges and universities, and last, but not least, the inability to meet the financial burden of higher education.

According to the reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education there were in 1896-7, 15,203 high school pupils of the negro race enrolled in the sixteen southern states, of whom 8,259, or 54.3 per cent, were girls. In 1902-3 the total number grew to 20,909, of whom 12,915, or 61.8 per cent, were girls. In 1907-8, according to the latest data available, the number was 26,279, of whom 58.5 per cent were girls. The number of negro collegiate students in the south during the same period increased still more rapidly—2,108 in 1896-7, 3,688 in 1902-3 and 4,602 in 1907-8.

The same rapid growth is noticeable in professional courses, with the single exception of theology.

	Students		Graduates	
	1896-7.	1902-3.	1896-7.	1902-3.
Theology	611	606	68	59
Law	104	110	30	22
Medicine	345	645	71	48
Dentistry	38	58	10	7
Pharmacy	39	50	20	20
Nursing	174	102	35	23
Total	1,311	1,577	234	179
Male	1,137	1,440	...	...
Female	174	131	...	...

No great overflow of the professions with negroes is noticeable, because the schools of training for them are very few, the expenses of professional training very high and far too high for the majority of the negro students and conditions of success not very encouraging. But here again signs of progress are not missing and all racial arguments fall to pieces.

"Nevertheless, the negroes have not yet succeeded in producing a single great intellectual or scientific worker. What better evidence of their racial inferiority, of the utter futility of higher university education for the negro is necessary?"

That is a familiar southern argument. Besides begging the question (for there are at least a few men among the negroes who have done high grade intellectual work), the argument neglects a very important factor—the very narrow limitations under which higher education for the negro is growing, if at all, in this country. The southern whites accuse the sentimental northerners for pampering and spoiling the negro by providing him with numerous institutions of higher learning. Even Booker Washington, the acknowledged friend of his people, does not miss the opportunity to kick the French grammar and astronomy.

Atlanta alone has five or six negro colleges, universities and sim-

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ilar institutions. But the sad truth of the matter is that notwithstanding the high sounding names of colleges, universities, academies, seminaries and institutes, the vast majority of these institutions are so limited in their means that they are able to do only elementary work and the best of the negro colleges cannot compare with the mediocre small New England college. Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, Shaw and a few normal and industrial institutes constitute the entire cultural apparatus which this rich and powerful nation has furnished for the higher training of the leaders and professional men of a ten million element of the population.

But, insists the southerner, small as they are, these educational facilities for the negro are much greater than they should have been, for education only spoils the negro morally and does him no good intellectually.

That this argument is actually made, any one knows who has at all lived in the south. Shall we dignify this argument by a refutation? Coming as it does in the beginning of the twentieth century, isn't the argument itself the greatest indictment against the white south? Here we have been perhaps for a hundred years pointing to the American little red school house and the free American high school and the five hundred and odd American colleges as the greatest institutions of this free democracy, and then we are snapped through the amazing intellectual somersault, of assuming that when applied to a more primitive element of population, more ignorant, without the great traditions of home and family—and therefore evidently more in need of training, culture and civilization—that when applied to these unfortunate ten millions the self-same little red school house, the high school and the college became instruments of demoralization. Come now, let us be serious, and not talk like little spoiled children. The bias is too evident to be denied. Besides the southerner, in its childish simplicity, does not even try to deny it. He frankly says: Education spoils the negro, because it makes him think too much of himself, and deprives him of his respect for the white man.

Mind you, it is not often argued that education injures the negro intellectually, but it is claimed that intellectual training destroys the negro's morals. This is in harmony with the other statements so frequently made. First that the sign of the negro's racial inferiority is to be found in his moral character rather than in his mental capacity, and, second, that within the last fifty years the negro race in this country has undergone a very rapid and perceptible moral degeneration. Here are two statements which are really contradictory, for if this moral degeneration has actually taken place, and under the influence of changed social conditions (effect of environ-

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ment), and if this moral level had been satisfactory—what reason is there to give it an ironclad, hopeless, racial interpretation?

Moreover it smacks of an utter lack of understanding of the nature of moral ideas to base any racial distinctions upon them. The differences between individuals of the same race are so great as are the differences in the prevailing moral ideas among different communities of the same racial stock, or those of the same community at different times—all under the influence of social environment. To take a very recent and vivid example, compare the exalted principles of social duty and self-sacrifice for political purposes which dominate the Russian intellectual youth just before and during the revolution, and the new philosophy of crude hedonism and self-indulgence reaching particularly in the domain of sex relations beyond the limits of ordinary decency. Compare these two extreme ethical standards governing the same racial groups at two different periods, scarcely five years apart, what has caused this remarkable change; if not the change in social conditions, the change in environment? and where are the racial biological foundations for our moral ideas, if the historical events of a year or two can entirely uproot them?

Dismissing, then, the organic biological racial interpretation of the moral depravity of the negro, how much truth is there in the statement that the last fifty years were years of moral degeneration of the negro under the influence of the freedom to which he was unused, for which he was unfit, and if there was such moral degeneration, what is its interpretation?

To begin with, the evidence in support of this indictment is by far not as strong and convincing as one would expect finding that the average writer on the subject assumes the fact without further discussion. In the very nature of the problem, any such evidence beyond personal impressions, always prejudiced, always misleading, is impossible without a very laborious and costly investigation such as has never been undertaken in this country.

What do we understand by a moral standard at present anyway? As the economic motive and the sexual motive are the two essential factors of social life—the relation towards property and towards sex relations constitutes the most of our so-called morality. The attitude of 10,000,000 people towards these two problems cannot be easily measured. Whether this attitude is improving or becoming more immoral, will depend not only upon our clearness of vision, and power to form an unprejudiced opinion, but also upon what our social ideals in regard to questions of property and sex are.

But let us for a moment forget our ultimate ideals. In the nature of things, the history of the negro for the last two hundred years

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in this country has not been such that we should look towards him for leadership in moral questions? We assume, then, that our present day bourgeois morality as it is universally taught, if not practiced, is right, and that by the respect towards property and towards the bourgeois family must the normal standard of any people be judged.

How then could these virtues have been strongly developed in the American negro. Respect towards property in a being who had none, but was property of another man—respect for the traditional monogamus family when such was systematically denied him for over two hundred years.

Thus the more intelligent negro leaders do not at all try to deny the laxity of the average negro in question of property and sex relations, they do violently resist any effort to explain these vices on racial grounds. They recognize it as a situation which must be met by education and training and a change in the social environment.

Is the situation being met? Has the last half a century witnessed an improvement or deterioration of the negro's moral standard?

Surely the growth of negro property both in city and in country indicates a growing respect for private property; and the slow and steady development of a middle class necessarily followed by the development of the middle class virtues of steadier family ties. To begin with, the increase in property holdings of a family establishes a strong tie towards stronger, more permanent family relations, which the proletarian negro family, based upon the "economic independence of woman," (gruesome as it is in the case of a negro woman) could not possess.

Now, it would be very difficult to prove these statements by statistical evidence. They are largely the result of personal observation, as corroborated by statements of many intelligent negro and white observers. But it is believed to be correct substantially. That there is still an enormous amount of promiscuity, abandonment and even the exploitation of women by lazy negro men, cannot be denied. It would have been preposterous to expect any other situation. Nor are the moralities of any large group of low-paid agricultural laborers very much higher in any European country. Promiscuity and abandonment may be found among the agricultural laborers of Italy, Spain, Russia and even the Germanic and Scandinavian countries.

The large and growing number of negro women in prostitution throughout the southern cities has often been quoted as a strong evidence of the growing negro depravity. But if the drift of negroes into cities, their ignorance combined with low wages of the negro city laborers, are not a sufficient explanation then it is only necessary to point out that the white men were the ones to teach the

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negro women sexual looseness, that it was the white slave owner or his overseer who has established the application of the Roman "**jus primae noctis**" to southern plantation life, and that when every negro woman was the property of some white man, there could have been no professional negro women of ill-repute. Even now the demand for negro prostitutes comes primarily from the young generation of southern whites.

One more evidence of moral retrogression of the negro within the last fifty years is often quoted in figures of negro criminality. Professor Willcox, admitted to be an authoritative student of negro statistics, has made a great deal of this argument and it is now the popular resource of every negro hater in the country. How extravagant and misleading the statements concerning this topic often are, has been indicated in the chapter on Lynchings. With the more accurate student the one great important statistical fact upon which so much weight is put, is the higher percentage of prisoners among the negroes than among the whites. In 1890 there were in the southern states six white prisoners to every 10,000 white and 29 negro prisoners to every 10,000 negro persons. In the north the comparison was 12 and 69 to each 10,000 persons of either race.

What an indictment against the negro race! Isn't it really? It is until one stops to consider all the conditions underlying this fact. Like the corresponding comparison of negro and white mortality the facts may sound very bad for the negro until we are able to understand the numerous statistical qualifications of the statement. And perhaps no stronger evidence is necessary of the primitive character of statistical science in this country than the acceptance of such broad, general statistical statements without further qualifying clauses.

The practice of enforced peonage through the instrumentality of anti-negro vagrancy laws in the south on the one hand and the frequency with which the crimes of white men in the south go unpunished is so well known that even Willcox himself feels the unreliability of his southern figures. He is forced, therefore, to refer to northern figures, for, he says, any special injustice to the negro in the north has never been claimed. Let us see: Is southern Ohio and southern Indiana and Maryland and Delaware and even Chicago and Philadelphia in the north or in the south? Is the attitude of the court, police and jury in these northern communities, where centers of negro population have been established, very much better than the attitude of the court, police and jury in Virginia and South Carolina?

But even eliminating this palpable influence of injustice to the

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negro—could we have expected anything else than a higher coefficient of criminality among negroes?

Crime is a social congestion. As such it is influenced by social and class conditions. If on one hand we have a racial element consisting of prosperous farmers, professional persons, employers, independent producers and employees of higher groups, and on the other hand a racial element consisting of pauperized farmers, underfed agricultural laborers, unskilled laborers, domestic employees, etc., where would we expect to find the higher criminality rate? If on one hand we find education, training, traditions of citizenship, and on the other illiteracy, ignorance, lack of family training and traditions of slavery where would we expect to find the higher criminality rate?

Surely a gentleman does not get drunk on the street (there is the club for that purpose), the Wall street operator does not need to be a pickpocket (there are the lambs to be shorn and that is not a crime), and thus there are dozens of statutory crimes which constitute the sad privilege of the ignorant and poor. Criminal statistics are worthless unless they take the educational, economic and social status of the criminal into consideration, and in addition to the economic status of the negro his social position, his treatment by other races as furnishing the motive of the crime must not be forgotten. These are true factors causing those infringements of social forms which we designate as crimes. To claim criminality as a racial factor is to misunderstand the social aspects of crime, as an individual infringement of social usage. A certain standard of public morality exists in even the most primitive community of savages. And with the little developed individualism of African races, where strict compliance on the part of the individual with all social usages is much more strongly enforced, and any infringement upon them very severely enforced, the racial tendency towards crime must necessarily be weaker than with highly individualized American communities.

In the preceding pages we have gone over the main evidence of economic, educational, intellectual and moral development of the negro race in this country for the last fifty years. It was our intention to show, in this rapid review—that the negro was human—that his growth and development, in its positive as well as negative features, was only what could be expected under the circumstances; that in face of many handicaps he was making a brave fight for intellectual and moral betterment such as entitled him and his race to an honorable place in the brotherhood of races, and that therefore there was nothing to fear from his final acquisition of all his social, civic and political rights. In doing it, we were intentionally dealing with social values; we did not want to cheapen the argument by reducing it

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to a mere test of name, possibly supplemented by photographs and illustrations, as is the habit of the average American journalist. A few Jewish or Irish names do not tell the story of the social value of the Jewish or Irish element of the American population. But surely it would not be difficult to present an array of highly respected negro names, like Washington, DuBois, Douglass, Dunbar and others. In fact, to a man who had the good fortune to make many friends among the "intellectual" negroes, as had the writer of these lines, the very suggestion of mental or moral inferiority of the negro sounds perfectly preposterous.

But the conceited Caucasian has one more argument up his sleeve in defense of the theory of his mental superiority. All the prominent negroes are not negroes at all, he claims, but mulattoes, quadroons or octoroons and they owe their ability and talents to their white parentage. The argument sounds probable, for among the intellectual leaders of the negroes there are a great many in whose veins runs one-half or more of white Caucasian blood. To begin with, however, this rule is not without numerous exceptions, and a great many of them are full-blooded negroes or nearly so.

But granting, for argument's sake, that the entire intellectual growth of the negro is due to the admixture of white blood, what are the inevitable conclusions from the premise?

This admixture of white blood is not an individual but a race phenomenon. Accurate statistical information on the subject is naturally lacking. According to the computations of the seventh, eighth, ninth and eleventh censuses the proportion of mulattoes to the entire negro population in 1850 was 11.2 per cent; in 1860, 13.2 per cent; in 1870, 12.0 per cent, and in 1890, 15.2 per cent. In the nature of things no accuracy can be claimed for these figures. This is sufficiently shown by the fluctuations from 1860 to 1870. Even accepting them, however, the percentage must have increased within the last twenty years to about 20 per cent. All the stringent laws against mixed marriages and miscegenation could not stem this movement because such mixture of racial elements but very seldom proceeds through legal marriages. The considerable increase between 1870 to 1890 shows that emancipation did not discontinue this evolutionary process. Nor is the direct sexual union of representatives of both races the only way to extend this racial assimilation, for the mulattoes intermarrying with the full-blooded negroes are at present the main factor in this process. To take, for instance, a very prominent case: Professor DuBois is often quoted as an example of a very able mulatto. But I have his own statement that there has been no white man or woman in his ancestry for several generations back.

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It is, then, a condition and not a theory that confronts us. In many of our large cities one seldom sees a full-blooded negro. The admixture of a greater or lesser amount of white blood is noticeable at a rough estimate in about 75 per cent of the city negroes. This is true not only of the northern cities, but of the southern as well. I found it to be a case by personal observation in Atlanta, New Orleans, Norfolk and many other cities of the sunny south. Thus we are dealing with a mixed race, and all talk of the organic limitations of the African negro are quite beside the mark.

Whether such a mixture of races is desirable and whether it really threatens the intellectual and social growth of the south, is a difficult question which we do not feel ourselves called upon to answer. The fact is that it exists and grows, though mixed marriages are rare. The only difference is that in the olden days the "best" families were responsible, and now it takes place mainly on the bottom of the social scale.

History teaches us, however, that there never were any pure races. Even in the Jewish race, so proud of its purity, anthropologists have found many unmistakable traces of the negro race, strong enough to produce many negroid individuals in that race even today. From a purely biological point of view the interbreeding of such species and varieties is considered a factor of progress. No argument for miscegenation and stimulated mixture of races is here intended. To us personally the idea of the original miscegenation between full-blooded members of the two races is almost unthinkable, surely, much more abhorrent than it is (or was) with the ordinary southern white man, who is after all responsible for most of the interracial mixture and who now so loudly and eloquently champions racial purity. But the fact is that such intermixture has gone so far and produced so many intermediary types, that it is perfectly preposterous to speak of racial purity at present. Surely with thousands of pretty quadroons and octoroons, many of whom can scarcely be distinguished from dark-skinned Spanish beauties, the problem of further interracial mixture is very much more simplified. Some years ago Prof. Franklin Giddings called forth a storm of protest by his assertion that provided there be no further influx of Africans into this country, in a century or two the negro race as such will disappear in a process of amalgamation. There is considerable scientific evidence to be brought forth in defense of Prof. Giddings' position, but the probable developments of two centuries of the future need not be argued here. The essential fact remains that the influx of white blood into the negro race has been so great that any conclusions as to the American negro, which are drawn from the African negro as such, lose all scientific value. Even

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biologically the American negro is rapidly becoming a well defined type of its own, and he must be judged not by analogies and inferences, but by his own achievements.

Our brief account has shown, it is hoped, that for the last half a century—the first half a century of freedom—he has demonstrated a capacity for growth—economic, intellectual and spiritual—which in view of the many obstacles and difficulties in his way, conclusively demonstrates his right to an honorable position among the civilized nations of the world. His vices and his virtues, his failures and achievements in no way differ from those which any white Caucasian nationality would have demonstrated under the same conditions. This, and not the actual figures of capital and land acquired, is the essential fact to be derived from the study of the negro's progress during the last fifty years. This, and not the temporary and transitory problems of land, good farming or industrial education, must form the cornerstone of our hypothetical solution of the negro problem.

(To be concluded.)

Christian civilization introduced slavery into America and maintained it there until economic phenomena proved that slave labor is a method of exploitation more costly and less profitable than free labor.—Paul Lafargue in The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies.

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Joe's Snap

By E. N. Richardson.

AY, Dick."

"Wot it was, Joe?"

"I was jess thinking, Dick; do yer s'pose them duffers what lives in them big houses on der avenoo allers gets all they can eat every day?"

"Of course they duz, Joe, they has ham an' eggs three times er day, Joe—Sundays an' all."

"Ham and eggs! Say, Dick, don't it jess make yer mouth water ter think of ham an' eggs! I dreamed wunct I had ham an' eggs, Dick, an' I wor jess eaten me steenth egg when ther cop yanked me outer ther barrel—good joke on me, eh, Dick?"

Dick and Joe were partners, lived in the same alley, slept in the same barrel and sold papers and blacked boots on the same block. They were typical specimens of the thousands of street gamins that inhabit all cities. They never got all they wanted to eat, they never quite starved—just hung on the ragged edge of existence. All days were much alike to Dick and Joe. Sometimes a rough and tumble fight with the boy on the opposite corner varied the sameness a trifle, but even these brief moments of excitement were of such frequent occurrence that even the cop on the crossing had got used to it and generally let them fight it out.

It was 4 a. m. as Dick and Joe crawled out of their bed—a few wisps of hay in a crockery barrel in the alley. "Come on, Joe," said Dick, "I'm hungrier than 'er wolf. We'll have ter hustle if we get ter chew dis mornin'."

"Not on yer life," grinned Joe. "Yer didn't see der lady wid der new spring hat an' ther lilies bloomin' on her cheeks dat gib me der nickel while you was shootin' the snipe dat the cop throwed away? I didn't tell yer about it; wanted ter s'prise yer, Dick."

"Woopee! Yer a trump, Joe, old boy. Let's go over to Jake's and hev real tomatter soup. Dat'll leave yer a cent to shoot craps wid."

* * * * * * * * *

Dick occupied the barrel alone that night. Joe was in the hospital. Just how it happened Dick didn't know. A man's silk hat had blown off and rolled into the street among the never-ceasing stream of vehicles. With the vision of a hot dinner ever in his mind, Joe had sprung to the rescue and somehow he missed his footing and had fallen

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in front of one of the many fashionable equipages and had been run over. A lady who had witnessed the accident left instructions that he be sent to the Sisters of Mercy Hospital.

"I wonder if Joe's going ter die," mused Dick, as he shivered in the barrel alone. Somehow it seemed colder than usual with no Joe to snuggle up to. "I'll go an' see him in the morning," he thought, as he dozed off to sleep.

Promptly at ten o'clock Dick presented himself at the hospital. "I want to see my pard," he said to the black-garbed sister that answered his summons.

After some explanation he was ushered into a room where Joe, with a dazed sort of a look in his eyes, was propped up in a spotless white cot.

"Is it you, Joe?" asked Dick in an awed whisper.

"Yer bet it's me, Dick, an' I'm awful glad yer cum."

"But yer face don't look natural, Joe."

"The lady angel washed it, Dick."

"Oh."

"Are yer goin' ter die, Joe?"

"I don't know, Dick; what yer s'pose I had fer breakfast?"

"Dunno. Wot was it, Joe?"

"Der angel lady said it wuz cream toast. Gee, Dick, but it wor good. Wish yer could hev had some of it. And say, Dick, der lady angel said if I'd be 'er good boy, she gib me sum eggs fer dinner."

"Spects it'll be easy fer yer to be good."

"Yer bet. Yer not goin' already, Dick?"

"Yes, Joe; I got ter hustle if I gets to chew today?"

"Here—take this, Dick. I saved it fer you." And Joe fished out a piece of dry toast from under his pillow.

"Well, good-bye, Joe," said Dick, as he stowed the toast away in his ragged jacket.

"Good-bye, Dick. Say, Dick?"

"Wot is it, Joe?"

"Can't ye get run over some way, Dick? It's a snap."

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Subsidizing the College

very long ago we boasted in the Review on the success f a real workingman's college—Ruskin College, in Ox-ord, England. But since that article appeared the forces Oxford University have entered the arena determined change the curriculum at Ruskin from the strong-..ass attitude, that gave the courses and the students who carried them, their chief strength and value.

"If one thinks carefully over this, he will soon see that contributions to a "Labor College" of the "impartial" and "non-partisan" character desired by the capitalists pay. An average of fifty students annually selected from the Trade Unions, as the promising young men of the Labor Movement having some prestige in their various localities, being inoculated with governing-class ideas, is probably far less costly and more efficient than one hundred propagandists with vans. So that from a capitalistic point of view Ruskin College would be a good investment if the ideals of the Executive were realized.

"But, fortunately for the Labor Movement, the industrial development of the country was such that the young men from the Labor World that were likely to be attracted to a reputed Labor College were not easily moulded by some lecturers who were again, fortunately, incompetent. The Students, finding the teaching failing to square with the facts of industrial life with which they were conversant, had in the main to fall back on themselves for their education. And we find in 1907-8-9 the students forming classes among themselves which occupied more time and

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attention, and obtained better attendance, than the official lectures, with the exception of Mr. Hird's. Such conditions could not prevail without some attempt being made to remedy them.

"The great necessity was to have clear ideas of the function of Ruskin College. It was popularly reputed in Labor circles to be a Labor College. But was it so in reality? It was controlled by University Dons, private individuals, and a few non-representative Labor Leaders. It professed to be "neutral" in its points of view. Could a Labor College be "neutral." Wherever the Labor Movement has succeeded it is independent. Ruskin College was dependent upon the University for its teaching and ideas, and upon charity for a large portion of its finance. Evidently then the fault with this reputed Labor College was that it was not a Labor College. In order to become that it should be handed over to the Labor Movement. But could that Movement take over a "non-partisan," "impartial" College? Decidedly not! The great aim of the Labor Movement is to raise the working class from being the "submerged tenth" to its rightful position as the controller of society, to make of society a great working class, if it could then be called a class. In every sphere of its activity it is fighting for its existence. Organized into Trade Unions it has to fight organized Capital every day for its bread and cheese. In Parliament its numerous and powerful enemies are using every method to crush it out of existence. No one but an enemy in such conditions can advocate "impartiality." Is not *education* then of equal importance to the workers? Every class that has obtained power in our history has been able to maintain it only by controlling the educational machinery. In the monastic period, when the clergy were the most powerful class in society, they also had the monopoly of learning. When the capitalists came into power only economists who expressed their point of view could lecture in our Universities. There is as much conflict in the educational world as in the industrial and political world. Questions affecting Capital and Labor in social science have to be fought as keenly as in any other department. The Labor Movement cannot afford to be "impartial"; that would be suicidal."—From the Burning Question, published by The Executive Committee of the "Plebs" League.

But the Oxford University dons have succeeded in gaining control in Ruskin College. They have dismissed those members of the faculty who taught the class character of socity and working-class economics. They have sought by every means to force the students to pursue those lines of study least inimical to the ruling class, but the students have rebelled, gone on strike, and the result of the whole abortion is the new Central Labor College. The following announcement sent out by the new faculty is one of the most encouraging we have seen in a long time and we wish to congratulate our friends, Comrades Hird and Sims for the splendid work they have succeeded in doing in the face of great odds. The new college will receive support from the working-class itself, and will carry out the plans formulated by the revolutionary members of Ruskin College faculty.

The Central Labor College opened on the 13th of September, 1909,

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with twenty students. Lectures began on the 14th of September, and the men are hard at work.

Lectures are being given in Siciology, Logic, Elementary Science, History of Social Movements, Political Biography and Economics.

Other courses will follow, such as Industrial History, Constitutional and Political History, Trade Unionism, Local Government, Bookkeeping, etc.

Most of the above subjects will also be taught by correspondence, and some will be ready in a few weeks.

Among the lecturers are the following: Frederic Charles, Dr. Stanton Coit, J. Arthur Fallows, M. A., Dennis Hird, M. A., O. F. Odell, C. A., Ald. W. S. Sanders, L. C. C., and Harry Snell, Secretary, Ethical Union.

Students have been promised by several trade unions and financial support has also been received from districts, lodges and branches. Also many branches and lodges of trade unions have had resolutions, pledging support, placed upon the Agenda for their annual meetings. Among these are: Northumberland Miners, Durham Miners, Operative Bricklayers' Society, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.

After carefully considering the claims of the Central Labor College, the Monmouth Western Valleys District and Anthracite District (South Wales Mines) have decided to transfer their students from Ruskin College to the C. L. C.; teh former have further levied themselves 1d per member to aid in furnishing, etc., while the latter are now taking a vote of their members on the desirability of levying themselves 3d per member for the same object.

In addition, the Gray Lodge (Western Valleys District) has given £10 towards books for the library.

N. B.—This college is to be under the control of the directly elected representatives of organized labor in the United Kingdom.—GEORGE SIMS, *Secretary.*

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Personal Recollections of Professor Francisco Ferrer

By J. Vidal.



HE man whose tragic death has aroused the indignation and protests of the civilized world was known personally to me. Shot to death without trial—for a secret court-martial is no trial—the echoes of that murderous fusillade in the the fortress of Monjuich have reverberated around the world and made Ferrer's name and martyrdom famous.

Francisco Ferrer spent a great part of his life in Paris, as the private secretary of Ruiz Zorrilla, the former president of the one-time Republic of Spain. In Paris he was well known to all the prominent French radical writers and journalists as Emile Zola, Anatole France, George Clemenceau, Henry Rochefort, Jean Jaures, Charles Malato and a host of others. He was a collaborator of the *"Mercure,"* a scientific review, and also of *"L'Aurore,"* taking an important part in the famous *affaire Dreyfus.*

A professor of mathematics and teacher of foreign languages, Ferrer was a scholar of repute even in such a city as Paris.

In the Spanish colony of the French capital, Ferrer was looked upon as the father of the Spanish political refugees. Every Thursday night, in a cafe of the Boulevard Voltaire, meetings of the *Seccion Varia* were held by a group of educated Spaniards and revolutionists where might be seen such men as Nicolas Estevanes, former minister of the Spanish Republic, Ramon Sempau, a noted Barcelona publicist, Luis Bonafoux, the celebrated Paris correspondent of many Spanish papers, Pedro Vallina, one of Spain's most noted student-revolutionists, and many others known to the international working class movement.

When the famous tragedy was taking place in Montjuich, in 19—, and hundreds of workingmen were being shot for their beliefs, Ferrer, with Tarrida del Marmol, denounced through the Parisian press the crimes committed by the Spanish reactionaries against free thought. Some time after this Professor Ferrer went to Barcelona to take care of two orphans of one of the martyrized men. On his way back to Paris he saw in a station of Port-Bon, on the French border, Lieutenant Portas, the man who inflicted tortures with red-hot irons on the bodies of the Montjuich prisoners. Ferrer placed the two orphan

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boys face to face with the lieutenant, saying: "Look at this man; he is the murderer of your father." It is needless to say that a sensation was created among the travelers at the station and the lieutenant with shame reddening his face attempted to attack Ferrer, throwing one of his gloves in the Professor's face as an invitation to fight a duel. Ferrer serenely accepted the challenge, saying that he would wait for the lieutenant on the France-Belgian border. The officer never appeared at the appointed place and Ferrer continued his journey to Paris where the boys were placed in school, receiving from the friend of their father both education and affectionate care.

I remember when the Paris exhibition of 1899 was in progress that the Spanish government sent a hundred rough and ignorant *Guardia Civiles* to the city as a guard for the Spanish section in the exhibition. Ferrer wrote a biting article in *"L'Aurore,"* critcising the Spanish authorities for putting "murderers" on view in an exhibition of progress of the civilized world while other nations, notably the United States, sent educated students to represent them.

In 1901, Ferrer went from Paris to Barcelona as a newspaper correspondent. In this latter city he associated with such radicals as Oden de Buen, a professor in the University at Barcelona, Francisco Vargas, a noted instructor, and the publicist, M. Montenegro, Anselmo Lorenzo and many others of like views, a number of them being Catalonian educators. To this group of notable men Ferrer proposed the establishment of the *"Escuela Moderna,"* or Modern School, to be carried on without any religious instruction and adding to its method of education the plan of the *clase mixta,* or mixed classes of both sexes. He also proposed to print new text books because the existing books were totally inadequate for modern educational methods. Ferrer's plans were enthusiastically accepted by the educators at these meetings who had struggled for years against the superstitions promulgated by the Spanish government under control of the church authorities.

A few months after this the *Escuela Moderna* was founded in a spacious and well-ventilated building on the *Calle de Bailen,* in Barcelona, where the class rooms embraced three floors.

The kindergarten occupied the first floor, ably managed by Madame Jacqueline, an intelligent and practical French teacher. On the second floor were the elementary and high classes, and on the top floor was established a splendid museum of natural history, given to the school by Professor Oden de Buen.

The opening of the school was celebrated by a *fiesta,* at which ad-

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dresses were delivered by Professor Vargas, the naturalist, Oden de Buen, Ferrer and others.

Every Sunday the school was turned into a popular university for adults where Oden de Buen gave splendid lectures on natural history, Professor Francisco Vargas popularized the sciences, Ramon Sempau lectured on literature and Anselmo Lorenzo, Montenegro and others spoke on sociology.

Ferrer's principal assistants were his wife, Soledad Villafranca, and Jose Casasola, an expert teacher devoted exclusively to the principles of education as advocated by Ferrer.

Every summer Ferrer took all of the youthful students to some part of the country upon vacation excursions, many of the professors of the school accompanying them to explain the various natural phenomena found upon the way.

Each month the *Escuela Moderna* issued a bulletin in the form of a review, publishing all the prominent pedagogic works of the best writers of the world. Ferrer, under the auspices of the *Escuela Moderna,* published excellent works on geography, natural history, grammar, arithmetic, modern and classic Spanish literature. Among these publications was issued "The Man and the Earth," a work of the noted French geographer, Elise Reclus.

Ferrer founded two notable reviews, one called *"L'Ecole Renouvelee,"* published in the French language, in Brussels, and the other printed in Rome, Italy, called *"L'Escola Lacia."*

Professor Ferrer was also president of the *Federation d'education,* with its headquarters in Paris, and took an active part in the international free-thinking movement as well as in masonry.

The personal character of the man was most attractive and agreeable; always of an optimistic temperament he made and held a multitude of friends. His life-work was education to which he gave all, body and soul.

Ferrer never was what is called a militant revolutionist. His studious life led him away from the active field of the militant revolutionists, although in theory, being a philosophic communist, he agreed with them.

One of the most popular men in Barcelona, his native city, Ferrer's tragic death has merely accentuated the regard in which the people hold his name and teachings.

As a living teacher, Spain honored him; as a dead martyr the world reveres him.

This is a tribute from one who knew him.

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The Murder of Illinois Miners

On Saturday, Nov. 13, fire broke out in the mine of the St. Paul Coal Company at Cherry, Ill., where 708 miners were at work. Next morning 125 men responded to roll call. A few more may have escaped, but the actual number dead in the mine is probably close to 500. The newspaper reports of the fire were so conflicting, and so obviously toned down in the interests of the mine owners, that the REVIEW sent its own representative to Cherry, in order that we might make an accurate statement of the facts before commenting on them. He found the reporters of the capitalist papers snugly housed in Pullman cars, wined and dined by St. Paul officials. He found the surviving miners unanimous in the opinion that the death of their comrades was directly due to the action of the mine officials in keeping the men at work long after the fire started. Direct evidence that this is the case is not wanting. Our representative asked President Earling of the St. Paul Railway at what hour the fire started. He replied, "One thirty." To the question, "Why weren't the men notified?" his only answer was an eloquent gesture indicating that he had nothing to say.

Arturo Pastelli, a young Italian employed in the mine, stated positively to our reporter that at 1:40 P. M. he noticed the fire and hurried to the "cage" at the foot of the main shaft. He urged the petty official in charge there to notify the miners of the fire, and was told to go back to work and mind his own business. He insisted on being hoisted up to the surface, and went directly to the manager, told him of the fire and urged that the men be brought up. His answer was: "We know all about it; you go home and mind your own business." Instead of going home he remained in sight, and saw coal being hoisted for an hour and ten minutes, while the fire was gradually spreading below.

Ben Ferguson says that he left the "diggings" at 2:40 P. M., without having at any time been notified of the fire, and that he was on the last cage that brought men up. Domino Maratto, the last

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man taken out, says it was ten minutes to three when he reached the top of the shaft. We mention these names because the testimony of these particular men is direct and at first hand. But they simply confirm what is a matter of common knowledge, that practically every life lost could have been saved by prompt action of the officials in charge of the mine.

The cause for their inaction is not far to seek. Knowing the wishes of the magnates who own the mine, they feared the loss of their own jobs if the process of profit-making were to be suspended one hour before the regular closing time, and so preferred to risk hundreds of lives that they might keep the favor of those above them. This view is confirmed by other well known facts. Our reporter measured the distance between the main shaft and the air shaft of the mine. It is 210 feet. The Illinois law requires that the distance be at least 300 feet. The mine was supposed to be lighted by electricity, but the lighting plant had been out of commission for six weeks, while profit-making went merrily on, and the fire was directly due to the contact of an unprotected torch with a bundle of hay.

And the Chicago Tribune on the day after the disaster said that the mine at Cherry was considered the best equipped coal mine in Illinois. If this was the best, what must the others be?

What will come of it all? Reformers and philanthropists are already discussing changes in the laws to make mining safer for the miners. But we have just seen that the present laws on the subject are not enforced, and it requires the childlike faith of a sentimentalist to put faith in new laws, with the capitalists still owning both the mines and the government. The State is the state of the capitalists. Nothing but revolution will make it the state of the wage-workers. Not until the mines are controlled by those who work in the mines will the lives of the miners be safe. Not until the tools of all industries are controlled by the workers in those industries will the demand of the laborers for better working conditions be effective.

The surviving miners at Cherry, Illinois, are not discussing reforms. Reforms do not interest the wives, daughters and sweethearts of the men who went down into that mine never to return. These men and women are filled with a desperate rage against the capitalist murderers—a rage that would wipe them off the earth if opportunity came. Kept in submission by the soldiers of the capitalist government, they will smother their rage for the time, but the spirit of revolt will live and grow.

The burning of these Illinois miners is one among the daily incidents of capitalist production. Because hundreds on this occa-

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sion are sacrificed at one time and one place, the world stops for a moment to look and listen and shudder. But wherever the work of the world is done, men, women and children are being crushed to death or crippled for life in the daily struggle for bread on the part of the workers and for profits on the part of the capitalists. And day by day, with each new tragedy in the lives of some new group of workers, the inner fires of revolt burn fiercer and fiercer, waiting their time to burst forth.

It is for the growing army of clear-headed revolutionists to find the way in which this gigantic energy may so direct itself as to overthrow capitalism once for all. Drunk with power, the capitalists are helping on the work of revolution by stamping out the old craft unions with their "community of interest between employer and employed." Thus the way is being cleared for a revolutionary union, backed by a revolutionary party, to unite the strength of the workers, to grasp with strong hands the tools now used to enslave those who wield them, and to break the world's last chains.

Is the Charge True? The charge has repeatedly been made that the Socialist Party of America is essentially middle-class rather than proletarian. Some substantial arguments in support of this charge were given in the manifesto from the Third Ward branch of Local Denver, which we published on page 450 of last month's Review. Nevertheless, we do not believe the charge is well founded. Whether we are right or wrong will shortly appear. The election of a new National Executive Committee to serve for two years is now under way. Many of the Locals will have voted before the January Review is in the hands of its readers, so what we have to say must be said now. Under the new amendment to the constitution each member must number all the names on the ballot in the order of his choice, from 1 up to 50, if there are as many as fifty names. "The seven candidates receiving the highest vote, preferentially computed, that is, receiving the lowest sum total opposite their names, shall be elected." We believe that the majority of the Socialist Party is made up of wage workers who WANT a proletarian party, but have not been able to make their wishes effective under the old system of voting. It is easy now. Simply put the high numbers opposite the names of the most prominent "leaders" who want to run the party on the same plan as before, and place the low numbers opposite the names of clear-headed revolutionists, preferably wage workers. This will enable us at one stroke to put the Socialist Party on the straight road to becoming in reality a party of, by and for the proletariat.

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SPAIN. The Anti-Ferrer Myth. All over the world the persecution of Francisco Ferrer continues long after his death. Roman Catholic journals have published certain palpable fabrications about his trial, and especially about his will, and capitalist dailies have frequently copied these and given them wide circulation. There is little need of examining every charge made by the frantic reactionaries, but it seems worth while to set down here certain facts which may not be generally accessible to our American comrades.

As to Ferrer's trial, the accounts first published in the socialist papers were substantially those sent out from Barcelona by a correspondent of the London Times; they were published in the Times and the Paris Matin, two papers far from revolutionary. So far as I know nothing has been adduced to show that they were incorrect.

But the chief charge with which Ferrer's murderers attempt to blacken his memory concerns the nature of the will which he dictated the night before his death. It is said that he disinherited his daughters and left his fortune to a mistress. The truth is that he left his property in trust to be used for the further development of the modern schools. His daughters were not disinherited; from the beginning they have been in sympathy with their father's work and purposes. The only basis for the widely circulated slander which I have just mentioned lies in the fact that one of the two trustees to whom Ferrer left the execution of his will happens to be a woman, the well-known Spanish revolutionary leader, Madame Soledad. The other is Lorenzo Portet, Professor of Spanish in a commercial school at Liverpool, England. It is Professor Portet himself who is responsible for this statement of the case.

The will which has occasioned so much discussion is a notable document in the great struggle for freedom. It reveals the soul of a man not at all concerned as to his own fate, but absolutely devoted to a great cause. In one passage he says: "I desire that my friends speak little of me, or not at all. For every man who is exalted becomes an idol, and idols have always been our curse. It is deeds, deeds alone, which should be studied and praised or denounced; let us praise them that they may be imitated for the common good, or denounce them that they may never be repeated.

"May no ceremony, either religious or political, be held over my dead body; the time that is spent in laudation of the dead may better be employed for the good of the living."

Reaction Continued. The protest against the atrocities in Spain has been world-wide; even Turkey and Persia have joined their voices to the universal chorus of indignation. But the effect within the Spanish borders has been only apparent. A new prime minister has replaced the old, but there has been no change of policy. At the very start Moret made some show of moderation; within two weeks of taking over the office, however, he had the repressive machinery going again full blast. During the past month nearly every day has brought news of arrests or sentences. Scores of men have been condemned to from one to twenty years in prison. Others have been fined or banished. Hundreds have been confined in abandoned houses in a suburb of Barcelona and left to suffer from cold and hunger. But this is not all. With a sure instinct the reactionaries are striking at the heart of the popular uprising. The modern schools have been closed, and El Socialista, the socialist organ, has been suppressed. The attempt to stamp out the revolution is deliberate and systematic. Spanish socialism needs our help now

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more than in the days of the recent excitement.

RUSSIA. Four Years of "Pacification." But the history of Spain during the past month is but duplicate in miniature of the history of Russia during the past four years. Ever since the revolution of 1905 the most disquieting rumors have been finding their way past the Czar's censors and into the journals of the outside world. Again and again we have been startled by accounts of wholesale condemnations. Just recently all Europe was astounded to the point of unbelief by certain figures compiled by Count Krapotkin and published in a book with which the approach of the Czar was heralded on his famous trip. But now the Russian government itself has sent out statistics which show that all our previous notions of the horrors committed at its command fell far short of the reality. Here is the government's own count of the number of civil persons condemned to death by military courts during the past four years: 1905, 34; 1906, 436; 1907, 1,029; 1908, 2,514. Every year the number has been more than doubled. In order to bring about this result a special order was issued from St. Petersburg simplifying the procedure in all military courts. Another order directed the judges not to listen to pleas for clemency.

The Russian socialist parties have thus far made no general appeal for international aid.

GERMANY. The Red Wave. For months past the German public has been at fever heat. Under Bismarck the imperial government achieved a reputation for state reforms. It fought socialism by giving them "something just as good." But now this policy has been definitely abandoned. The government is throwing all its strength against every popular demand. The new tax law has placed the weight of expense for army and navy on the over-laden backs of the poor. In Prussia, instead of the electoral reform which was definitely promised a year ago, there has been nothing but talk about "preliminary investigations." It has been definitely affirmed by the Chancelor, moreover, that the authorities will oppose any real reform.

And this is not all. The cabinet, the police, the bourgeois organs all have united to make common war on the Social Democracy. No method of campaign is too dastardly if it promises to bring socialism into disrepute.

The past month has been a period of elections. We have had a chance to measure the results of the bourgeoise campaign. The nation has spoken its mind; and the bourgeois press and politicians are too stunned to be ready with their customary excuses. I reported last month the overwhelming socialist victories in a number of by-elections to the Reichstag. This month there are greater things to relate. On October 21 came the parliamentary elections in Saxony and Baden. There has long been a Social Democratic majority in Saxony; that is to say, a popular majority. Back in 1903 Saxony sent a Socialist delegation to the Reichstag. But the members of the Reichstag are elected under the provisions of a democratic electoral law. In Saxony, up to the present time, national elections have been carried on under a three-class system like that still in force in Prussia. The recent election is the first under the new four-class law. This new provision is sufficiently reactionary, but it gives a poor man at least a fourth of a vote. The lower house of the Saxon parliament as last constituted under the old law contained one socialist and 46 conservatives out of a total membership of 80. The new house is to contain 92. In the election held on the 21st 31 representatives were elected; 16 Social Democrats, 14 Conservatives and 4 Liberals. More than this, 53 Social Democrats entered the lists for the second elections, as many as the representatives of all other parties combined. The latest news from Saxony is that in the second elections the number of socialist representatives has been raised to 25.

The inhabitants of Baden have forced from their government an equal and secret ballot; so in this province our comrades had a better chance than in Saxony. The results are proportionate. In a chamber of 73 the Social Democracy has hitherto been represented by a group of 12. The recent elections gave it 20. The party's popular vote rose from 50,431 to 86,078.

Berlin has just gone through the throes of two elections. It will be remembered that at the last election to the Prussian Landtag seven socialists were chosen, six of them from Berlin. It was a great victory; for the first time representatives of the working class were to sit in the Prussian parliament. But the governments would not let the matter pass without a last frantic effort.

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Technicalities were called in to play their oft-repeated role. Four of the elections were declared illegal. The whole campaign had to be fought a second time. The result proved a bitter disappointment to the governmental strategists. The Social Democrats increased their poll in every district. Three of their four candidates were immediately elected, and the fourth goes into the second election with excellent chances of success.

On Nov. 3rd elections to municipal council were held in sixteen of Berlin's numerous districts. This election has a particular interest for all socialists. In its alignment of political parties Berlin is perhaps the most advanced municipality in the world. In this last election, for example, most of the socialist candidates were faced by only a single opponent. And whatever might be the party allegiance of this opponent he was described in the campaign literature either as the candidate of all the bourgeois parties, or simply as the bourgeois candidate. We have in this case, then, the capitalist class and the working class consciously and openly lined up against each other at the polls. The working class was, of course, at a disadvantage because of the antiquated three-class electoral system prevailing in Prussia. Nevertheless the result was a brilliant proletarian victory. The election covered, as I said above, 16 districts. In the last municipal election held in these districts, that of 1903, 11 socialist candidates were victorious. In the elections of Nov. 3rd this number was raised to 14; so that only two out of the 16 remain to the bourgeois combination.

In its issue of Nov. 4th *Vorwaerts* reviews this succession of overwhelming victories, points out what they mean to the nation, and then breaks forth into a veritable song of victory: "Proud floats our red banner over the whole German fatherland. The indignation of an entire people has at last found expression. And this gigantic revolt is directed against all bourgeois parties, for they are all responsible for the sins of the government, for robbery by taxation and the infamy of our electoral law. Throughout the whole empire the disillusioned and embittered workers are swarming into the ranks of the Social Democracy; at last they are finding out that this party of the proletariat, and this alone, stands unwaveringly for the interests of the laboring classes."

ENGLAND. The "Socialist" Budget Once More. The budget battle goes merrily on. The question now is, Will there be an election in the immediate future? The signs seem to indicate an answer in the affirmative. If the Lords are wise, to be sure, they will pass the measure, and then all will be serene. Otherwise there will be an adjournment and a campaign—with the advantage all on the side of the Liberals, for they will be placed in opposition to the recalcitrant Lords.

The more one considers the case, however, the less reason there seems for opposition on the part of the upper house. *Justice* has recently published figures which bear out completely the generalization which I made last month. No matter how money is raised, the important thing is the purpose to which it is to be devoted. The "socialist" budget under discussion "provides some $350,000,000 for naval and military purposes, and $150,000,000 for interest on the national debt, while only $40,000,000 are provided for old-age pensions and a palty $2,500,000 for "development." It is true that a part of this tremendous total is to be paid directly by the rich, but is that sufficient reason why labor members should stump the country in its favor? Are they concerned about the support of army and navy? The Anglo-Saxon proletariat learns its lesson but slowly.

SWEDEN. The Great Strike. For nearly four months the gigantic struggle continues. It will go down in the history of the labor movement as one of the great battles in which much was dared and from which much was learned. But the news that has come over from Sweden during the past two weeks tells a tale of suffering and temporary defeat. *Vorwaerts*, which has been from the beginning very well informed on the Swedish situation, recites the story in detail. There are at present (Nov. 18) some 20,000 workers out of employment and 15,000 locked out. Of the unemployed by far the greater number have been placed on the black-list by the Employers' Association. They have been discharged, each one with a letter stating that he is no longer wanted because of participation in the strike. That means that for him there is no work anywhere within the borders of Sweden. Thousands hitherto employed in the steel industry are being driven from the company houses onto the snow-covered streets. And most of these took

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no part in the strike. This is a "sympathetic" lock-out. The men in one small concern went on strike, and as a result their comrades in forty-five other concerns are threatened with starvation. But the most significant development is the fact that the men who return to work are asked to sign an agreement to leave their unions. The Employers' Association has got the upper hand and it is determined to smash the union movement once for all.

For the present our Swedish comrades face bitter defeat. But they have now more than ever need of our vigorous support. Unless hundreds of thousands flow in from foreign countries their suffering will beggar description. Some few of them have emigrated to Brazil. But thirty or forty thousand face the cold and hunger of winter almost penniless. Unless they are supported some will be forced to work on terms dictated by the victors; the rest will starve. There will be time enough in the future to go over the details of the struggle, to discuss the tactics employed and draw lessons for our guidance in battles yet to be fought. The demand now is for immediate assistance. Our feeling of solidarity should run strongest in moments of reverse. This is one of the times for the world's working class to show its metal.

FERRER'S PORTRAIT, on the first inside page of this month's Review, is reproduced from a large engraving published by the New Age Press, 140 Fleet street, E. C., London, England. No copies are for sale in this country so far as we have been informed, and the publishers' retail price was not stated, but we presume they will gladly mail one of the engravings to any address in the United States on receipt of an international money order for fifty cents.

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NEWS & VIEWS

I. W. W. PROPAGANDA LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS, CHICAGO.

KILLED ON WAY TO SPOKANE. James K. Cole, one of the members of Chicago Local 85, I. W. W., who left here in company with many comrades Monday evening, November 15th, to join the men and women engaged in the fight for free speech at Spokane, was killed on Tuesday while jumping a train, en route, in Wisconsin. James Cole was only 23 years of age and for a long time had been known as one of the most uncompromising members of the I. W. W. Always ready to lend his aid to any struggle of the wage-working class, Cole was one of the first to volunteer to go to Spokane. The following photograph of the men who left this city on the 15th was taken Sunday the 14th. Comrade Cole is the fourth man from the right of the picture, in the front row. Cole said: "It's a long trip and it's a cold trip out to Spokane at this time of year. But don't talk about that. We're going and we are going to WIN." Men like Cole are the fighting timber of the revolutionary movement of the working class. They do not weigh consequences, they scoff at dangers threatening themselves; silently, without any demonstration, or brass bands, or RAILROAD TICKETS they pick up they hats and are on the way whenever their class sends out a call for help. James Cole and his fellow-workers are the BACK-BONE of the revolutionary army. Cole never looked back. He was never afraid. He never gave up. He was the best that can be said of any man or woman of our class—he was a revolutionist. He fought living and died on the way to help in a great fight.

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(Special Telegram to the Review.)

SPOKANE, Nov. 19.

Ten more speakers were arrested today, being knocked down and bundled off to jail in the usual rough manner. The police were treated to an extra volley of jeers for their pains by the large crowd.

The conditions in the three jails now being used as bullpens by the city officials is revolting. In the school house a solitary bucket is being used for a toilet. The place is alive with vermin. The prisoners have been refused water to boil their clothes. The windows are broken, offering ready access to the cold winds. All visitors are denied the privilege of seeing the prisoners. There is no place to sleep except on the bare floor. No blankets are provided with which to keep warm. Half a loaf of bread daily are the rations with which the men are expected to fight off hunger.

As a direct result all of the men are suffering with cramps, for which the doctor gives them castor oil. Many are very sick, severtheless they are ordered to work on the rock pile. Only a few have accepted this means of release.

A six-day striker was released yesterday, badly afflicted. At first they ordered him to the rock pile, but later decided on his release. In spite of the fact that he could hardly walk, he was rerefused admission to the hospital. He was also penniless, the authorities refusing to return thirty cents taken from his person when he was arrested on the plea that he owed for costs.

TOM J. LEWIS.

(Special Telegram to the Review.)

I am now labeled by the police as dangerous. Offense, mixing in speech fight. I talked to a large crowd at Howard and Riverside for ten minutes. A detective took me down and wanted me to walk. I insisted on riding. The crowd grew and waved red handkerchiefs. As I got into the wagon the crowd cheered. I little dreamed what was to folow. They put me in a cell with drunken women. In a few minutes the officers returned and took the women out, although they told me they were not to go until Monday. They put me in a dark cell. About ten burly brutes came in and started to question me about the union. I was so scared I couldn't answer. "We'll make her talk." "She'll talk before we get through with her," said another. * * * * I went into spasms and never recovered till evening. Hardly over the first when they brought a man disguised as a woman. I thought it was a drunken woman till the "bulls" went out. Then I felt a large hand creeping over me. I jumped into an enclosure screaming. Two of our other girls were brought in or I would have never come to. Even then they showed no disposition to treat me as human. I never slept nor ate the three days I was there. I was very weak when the doctor came. A "trusty" told me that the doctor said that "she cannot stand it another hour." They hurried in and carried me to the window. The matron on the pay roll is a salvation army woman, but is never around the women. Taking me into court an officer said: "Let her walk." "She can't," said the matron. "If she faints we will throw a bucket of water in her face; that'll wake her up.

The court asked if I was let out on own recognizance would I make any disturbance. I told counsel that I would not be able to for a few days, but I did not know what I would do then. The counsel worded it different to the court. The court ordered me to the receiving hospital. I only stayed there a few minutes. I asked a fellow worker to take my arm to the hall. Fellow workers carried me to my room through the principal streets. Advertise brutality of police. Twenty-five more went in today while the "bulls" beat back a crowd of ten thousand.

AGNES THECLA FAIR.

FROM TEXAS. Several articles have appeared in recent issues of the Review on revolutionary unionism and the Socialist Party, especially in the November Review, which, while they contain a great deal of truth, have a tendency to place the Socialist party and press in a false light, especially with those who do not follow closely the general trend of events and read a great deal. Let us notice, briefly, an article by Comrade B. E. Nilsson. He says, in part: "The 'Appeal to Reason' frequently uses the phrase, 'Let the nation own the trusts.'" Then he takes a rap at Spargo and Ladoff and some other "leaders" for drifting into middle-class politics.

Now what are the real facts? While it is true that some Socialist papers and writers are not quite as aggressive as they should be in supporting the new, or revolutionary, unionism in preference to the old out-of-date and conservative craft unionism, it is not true that our

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"leaders," if we have any, have drifted into the Populist-Hearst theory of government ownership. "Let the nation own the trusts" is a mere phrase used by some Socialist writers more or less indefinitely, especially Wilshire, to express the principle of the collective ownership and control of industry by the workers. No Socialist writer of any ability or standing advocates the nation owning the trusts according to the Populist or Hearst meaning of that phrase. All of our revolutionary Socialist literature speaks for itself on this point. The Appeal to Reason is out and out revolutionary on industrial unionism according to the I. W. W. program. Comrade Duchez expresses a *half-truth* when he says: "The wage slaves of the world will not wait indefinitely to vote Socialism in. It will come sooner than that. They will organize industrially and establish the working class republic in their own domain—in the industries." Of course, they will "organize industrially" but in the very nature of things industrial organization can only be made effective by the workers capturing and using the powers of government to that end. We have had many practical demonstrations of this fact. Remember Chicago, Cripple Creek and Homestead. We can not even begin to establish the industrial republic till we take away from the capitalists their power to use the injunction, the bayonets and gatling guns against us. Every thinking revolutionist knows that a political revolution must have a strong and intelligent working class organization on the industrial field and vice versa. But it takes time and experience to organize industrially as well as politically. We of the south and west realize this better than our comrades of the great industrial centers of the north and east. Our comrades at McKees Rocks and other industrial centers have learned a great lesson and have made a good start, but they have a good deal to learn yet. Ask any intelligent capitalist what he considers the strongest prop of the capitalist system and he will tell you the capitalist government. If we had the co-operative commonwealth in operation our "leaders" could not "sell out" even if they wanted to, and perhaps they would not want to sell, as the capitalists' money would be *demonetized* and there would be no one to buy him. Yes, indeed, "let the nation own the trusts," but first let the workers *own the nation* and its government. We can only do this by a strong organization on the political field as well as the industrial field. —DANIEL C. GIBSON.

THE UNION LABOR "VICTORY" IN SAN FRANCISCO. Now that the Union Labor Party has again "captured" San Francisco, it may be a real service to Socialists elsewhere to know some of the salient facts that have developed from this San Francisco campaign. Here are a few that seem significant:

1. P. H. McCarthy, the elected Union Laborite, received more of the registered Republican vote than did the regular Republican candidate. The Republican ran third.

2. All the capitalist papers appear to be satisfied with the Union Labor party victory; some of them preferred McCarthy to the other capitalist candidates.

3. Banker Hellman, the head and front of dominant capitalism here, sent a congratulatory telegram to the leader of the Union Labor party—and now it is certain that "industrial peace" is assured. McCarthy made his campaign largely along the line of standing for Peace and Prosperity, for Boost and Altogether!

4. The first public function of the Union Labor Mayor-elect was the banquet of the Business Men's Association, at which the head of the concern, a leading hotel-owner, announced the erection of a twelve-story building as one of the *immediate* effects of McCarthy's victory.

5. After the election it was universally obvious that almost all the keenest political workers of the old Republican state machine had been unanimously "digging in" for McCarthy's election, he being declared a better Republican than the Republican candidate, Crocker, and a better Democrat than the Democratic candidate, Leland.

6. It is now proposed to organize a state Union Labor party along McCarthy lines, with Mr. McCarthy as the probable candidate for governor, thus insuring "industrial peace and commercial prosperity" to the whole state. And as Mr. McCarthy's platform expressly stated that the U. L. Party was not a class party, neither would the state Union Labor Party be a "class" party. The next development then would, of course, be a national Union Labor Party, this to be not a class party, but an industrial peace party. This ought to be a sure way of getting rid of "classes," the "class-struggle," and—incidentally—the

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Socialist Party and the danger of Debs.

This all seems conclusive enough—even for Gompers and the Civic Federation.

It might be mentioned that although McCarthy, as well as the other candidates, refused even to acknowledge an invitation to appear at a Ferrer protest meeting (and, of course, he stayed away from the meeting), yet the avowed anarchists and the "materialists" and the free-thought radicals, nearly all worked and boosted for McCarthy. The Industrial Unionists, however, as a rule were stalwart in opposition to the bogus labor candidate of the A. F. of L.

Finally, the Socialist Party is the only organization capable of piercing through McCarthy's methods and exposing his false attitude, his futile tactics and his inevitable failure.—WILLIAM MCDEVITT, *Organizer Local San Francisco.*

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NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION PROPOSED. The following constitution for the Socialist Party has been proposed for referendum by Local Tyler, Texas, and has received the necessary number of seconds:

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name is a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II.—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years or more, who has severed his connection with all other political parties, shall be eligible to membership.

Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any party other than the Socialist Party shall not be eligible to membership.

All persons joining the party shall sign a pledge recognizing a class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class and endorse the party platforms and constitutions.

No member of the party shall under any pretext interfere with the regular organized movement in another state than of his residence.

ARTICLE III.—MANAGEMENT.

SECTION 1. The affairs of the party shall be administered by general party referendum.

Motions and resolutions shall be submitted to referendum upon the request of twenty locals in five or more states or territories, or of any smaller number of locals in three states having two thousand members in the aggregate.

SEC. 2. When a request for a referendum is presented as above provided, it shall be published in the party press and shall stand open for thirty days, in which time amendments thereto may be offered in the same manner in which original referendum is initiated, and at the close of thirty days, the original motion, together with all amendments initiated, shall be submitted to referendum.

All amendments shall be submitted without preamble or comment.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of National Headquarters to conduct organization except in unorganized states or territories, or to conduct agitation and distribution of literature except in presidential campaign year.

Locals in unorganized states or territories shall receive their charters from and make their reports to National Headquarters.

ARTICLE IV.—NATIONAL SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. A National Secretary shall be elected annually, by preferential referendum, as provided in Section 1 of Article V of this instrument. Vacancies shall be filled in the same manner.

He shall receive as compensation the sum of seventy-five dollars per month, and shall give bond in a sum fixed by referendum.

The location of National Headquarters of the party shall be the residence of the National Secretary.

SEC. 2. The National Secretary shall transact the national and international business of the party, using his discretion wherein not instructed by cos-

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stitution and referendum, and conduct national referendums.

He shall refer communications relating to state and local matters to the states interested, and shall report monthly to all state secretaries, for their transmission to locals, to locals in unorganized states and territories and to the party press the financial and business affairs of his office. Such reports shall not contain editorial comment.

SEC. 3. No member of the party shall serve as National Secretary for more than two years.

ARTICLE V.—NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

SECTION 1. In the party election last preceding presidential campaign year, a National Campaign Committee of five members shall be elected by preferential referendum, as follows: The call for nominations shall issue November 1st. Twenty days shall be allowed for nominations, twenty for acceptances and declinations and forty-five for the referendum. Each local may nominate five candidates. The names of the candidates will be placed on the ballot in alphabetical arrangement. Nominations by five locals shal entite a candidate to be placed on the ballot.

The member voting shall designate his first choice by writing the figure "1" opposite the name of his first choice; his second choice by writing the figure "2" opposite the name of his second choice; the figure "3" opposite the name of his third choice, and so on, indicating his relative preference for each and every candidate named on the ballot, by different and consecutive numbers. Any ballot not voted in exact compliance with these rules shall be void.

The five candidates indicated by the lowest sum total of numbers opposite their names shall be elected.

National political candidates shall be nominated in the same manner.

SEC. 2. Three years consecutive membership in the party shall be necessary to qualify for national political candidates, campaign committees and official positions.

An editor or director of a newspaper shall not be eligible for national official positions.

SEC. 3. The National Secretary and National Campaign Committeemen may be recalled by the party membership on initiative of ten per cent of the membership.

SEC. 4. The National Campaign Committee may meet in presidestial campaign year whenever it shall deem necessary to do so. Expenses of the committee in attending meetings and conducting campaign shall be paid from the national treasury and by funds accruing from such special calls for contributions as may be made by the committee.

SEC. 5. The committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all state secretaries, to be reported to the locals. It shall neither publish nor designate any official organi.

ARTICLE VI.—DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

SEC. 1. Delegates to the International Congress shall be elected by referendum in accordance with Section 1 of Article V of this instrument, in the year when the congress is held, one delegate for every five thousand members, and their expenses shall be paid from the national treasury.

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ARTICLE VII.—STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

SECTION 1. In states and territories where there is one central organization ajliated with the party ,the state or territorial organization shall have the sole control of the movement and members within their respective territories, including propaganda, organization and financial affairs, and the national organization or officers shall have no right to interfere in such matters. The activity of state or territorial organizations shall be confined to their respective territories.

SEC. 2. All platforms or subdivisions of the party shall conform to the National Platform.

No state or other organization of the party shall under any circumstance fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to favor the candidates of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization.

SEC. 3. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

SEC. 4. No person shall be nominated or endorsed by any subdivision of the party for political candidate unless he is a member of the party in good standing for at least twelve consecutive months.

SEC. 5. Supplies for use of local and state organizations shall be provided by the local or state organizations.

SEC. 6. Each organized state or territory shall remit to the National Treasury five dollars per month, except in presidential campaign, ten dollars per month.

ARTICLE VIII.—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended by national party referendum. It shall be in force as soon as adopted by national referendum.



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We are in receipt of three new attractive books published by R. H. Fenno & Co., New York. **The Modern Mother**, a Guide to Childhood, Motherhood and Infancy, published in cloth, at $2.00 a copy, illustrated, is a very comprehensive work by Dr. H. Lang Gordon and ought to be in every home. The chapters on pregnation and conception are of particular value, as are also those bearing on the care of very young babies. Mothers will find this book almost as profitable as a physician in the house.

For Young Women, in cloth, 50 cents, is one of those sensible books, unheard of in the days of our own childhood, when girls were persistently deceived in matters vital to their own health and the future of the human race. Ernest Edwards, the author, says in his Introduction: "A mother is, or should be, her daughter's best friend and companion, and surely the one best fitted to impart that information concerning the peculiarities, duties, responsibilities and dangers of sex, without which a girl's education can scarcely be said to be complete. * * * Complete knowledge is, in the absence of proper tuition, to be obtained by experience alone, and what this means thousands of women now living can testify to their sorrow." We have no hesitancy in recommending "The Modern Mother" and "For Young Women" to our readers.

W. V. Marshall's **A Curb to Predatory Wealth** (in cloth, same publishers) suggests a graduated income tax as the social cure-all. As Mr. Marshall says it is very true that a graduated income tax would put a check upon wealth, but it is true also that the wage-workers of this country would reap positively no benefits from such a tax. Doubtless this tax would be paid into the government, but unfortunately we do not own the government. The money would probably be used in building up the army or the navy, whose chief function seems to be to shoot down striking workingmen who demand a living wage, or to increase the salaries of fat governmental office holders. We socialists realize that "the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie," and we have no desire to vote higher wages to the servants of our economic masters. Neither do we desire to check the growth and development of capitalism. To us, capitalist society performs a vital function in the social evolutionary process. Without it socialism would be impossible. Feudalism could no more produce a proletariat than could slavery. It has remained for capitalism to organize industry, systematize production and inaugurate wage-slavery. With capitalism come wage-workers, who form the revolutionary element that organizes itself into the vast industrial army which shall one day take over the mines, the mills and the factories—to produce goods not only BY, but FOR the benefit of the workers themselves. We recommend "A Curb to Predatory Wealth" to reformers only.

Religion and the Modern Mind, $1.20 in cloth, by Dr. Doan, published by Sherman, French & Company. "Dr. Doan, a Professor of the Philosophy of Religion in the Meadville Theological School, has brought together a group of 'essays in modernism.' The 'modern man,' the author tells us in his opening essay, is a 'nobleman—clean and pure in his mind, eager and sensitive in his soul, searching always for a positive and honorable experience of things eternal; wanting and ready at every turn in the spirit path to stand silent and conquered in the present of That he may yet call God.'" The above quotation will give our readers an excellent idea of the new book by Professor Doan.

John Galsworthy. The plays in this new book by Mr. Galsworthy are destined to take as high a place among contemporary dramas, as his novels have taken

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among contemporary fiction. Published in cloth, $1.35, by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, N. Y. "The Silver Box" will afford every socialist a very pleasant evening, for in this play, as in the other two appearing in this volume, "Joy" and "Strife," the hackneyed romantic situations, the absurd sentiment, the vapid smartness, the stagy conception of life—are wholly lacking. Mr. Galsworthy is without doubt one of our most interesting dramatists. His work is thoroughly original and absolutely sincere, and it concerns itself with really important questions which have a vital bearing upon the life of the present time. "The Silver Box" is a realistic comedy and demonstrates, as no other modern drama has done, the inequality of the Poor and the Rich—before the Law. In this play Jack Barthwick, the son of a wealthy Liberal, steals a purse from his mistress, which is, in turn, taken from the home of Mr. Barthwick by a man made desperate by lack of work. Incidentally the workingman helps himeslf to a silver cigarette box. The judge, prosecutor and police officials unite with Mr. Barthwick, Sr., in shielding his son from the effects of his "peccadilloes" while the workingman is promptly and effectually silenced by being railroaded to prison.

"Joy" is a delightful little comedy growing out of the egoism of all lovers, while "Strife" is a stirring drama of a modern strike. "Strife" is not a made-to-order play, but it is full of the grim fighting spirit that both Capital and Labor are coming to feel more and more with every new encounter. The splendid courage of David Roberts, the leader of the workingmen, must fill every heart with enthusiasm. Even when his young wife died from exposure and insufficient food, David Roberts stood up before his enemies and said, "We will NEVER yield." It is the word of the man who has nothing further to fear and who stakes his life upon a fight for better conditions. It is the word of the inventor and worker made desperate. Such men as these do not turn back. Even to workingmen and women the play is not altogether a pleasant one, but it is a real play, a drama of actual struggle, a picture of the great battles that the wage-workers have fought over and over again against the steel trust—the story of the tin mill strike in Pennsylvania. David Roberts and the men lost the strike (in Mr. Galsworthy's play) for the same reason that the wage-workers are continually losing against the steel trust, in Pennsylvania, because they do not stand together.

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All Records Broken Again

In 1907, under the former editorship, the total cash receipts of the International Socialist Review for the month of October were $237.88. In 1908, when our new plans for improving the Review were just beginning to take practical shape, the October receipts were $568.16. Last month's Review receipts were $1,047.14.

This does not mean that a profit is now being realized by any one from the Review, for our expenditures have increased almost in proportion. But it does mean that the Review is no longer a burden on the book publishing house, and that it has a big success within easy reach. Here are our figures for the month of October, 1909:

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Cash balance, October 1	$ 464.73	Manufacture of books	$ 855.98
Book sales	2,084.20	Books purchased	60.25
Review subscriptions and sales.	969.37	Printing October Review	532.45
Review advertising	77.77	Review articles, drawings, etc.	14.00
Sales of stock	151.56	Wages of office clerks (5 weeks)	407.50
Loans from stockholders	685.00	Chas. H. Kerr, on salary	125.00
Loan from H. Murray	225.00	Mary E. Marcy, on salary	79.20
A. Boudreau for McKees Rocks strikers	2.00	Postage and expressage	467.29
O. J. Gibbons for Swedish strikers	2.50	Interest	26.43
		Rent	70.00
		Miscellaneous expense	66.39
		Advertising	673.17
		Copyright fees	2.00
		Loans repaid	518.41
		Strikers' relief, Pennsylvania	2.00
		Swedish Strikers' relief	2.50
		Cash balance, October 30	759.56
	$4,662.13		$4,662.13

The unusually large cash balance at the end of October was due to the fact that money had been borrowed from stockholders to take up a note which matured November 1, and was paid on that day. The statement for November will show a gratifying reduction in the amount borrowed from stockholders.

The amount expended for Review articles, drawings, etc., in

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October, happened to be ridiculously small because much of the material required for the November Review had been paid for in September. From now on we expect to increase rapidly the expenditures needed for making the Review more and more readable from month to month.

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THE INTERNATIONAL
Socialist Review

Vol. X. JANUARY, 1910 No. 7

The Cherry Mine Murders.

Why Four Hundred Workers Were Burned and Suffocated in a Criminal Fire Trap.

By J. O. BENTALL.

DEAD ROW.

your brother one of the four hundred who perished
n the Cherry coal mine November 13th? Or was it
our father? Your husband? Your son?

My brother was there. My father. My son.
helped carry them out. They were cold in death.
hey were covered with coal dust and swollen from
black damp.

I am telling you this story from what I have seen with my own eyes. Not from hearsay.

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I went from Chicago right to Cherry. With thousands of others I stood and looked from the outside. Then I broke through the line and joined the volunteer rescuers. I put on overalls, jacket, cap and lamp and went down into the tomb that contained over four hundred victims—a few living, most of them dead.

I helped plug the entries to prevent the fire from spreading. I had a hand in timbering where the roof was loose, or where collars were breaking. I cut legs off the dead mules so we could get them through the passageways and clear the track for bringing out the men. I was with the gang that found nineteen dead in one pile and twenty-one in another, thirty-seven in a third and one hundred and sixty-two in a fourth.

We took those men—our brothers—and loaded them into the cars—eight or ten of them into each car. We pushed them a mile, a mile and a half, through the tunnels to the shaft and brought them up. We laid them on canvas in rows on the ground—in rows eighty, a hundred feet long. We carried them on stretchers, made of scantlings and coarse canvas, into the morgue. We put them into pine coffins—cheap boxes—furnished by the company. We brushed away a tear occasionally as the body of our brother was hauled off to the long trench—the ditch—dug for him and the others, for the old man whose gray hair was black with coal, for the little pale boy whose mother stood shivering on the edge of the collective tomb.

You already know how the company failed to repair the electric lighting. How unprotected torches were put up along the tracks where coal and hay was pushed. How the bales brushed the torches and caught fire. How little boys under legal age were made to do this work that grown men should have done. How these little fellows became frightened when the hay caught fire and how they were left without aid in their death-trap. How they had to run around empty-handed, not a bucket or barrel of water being provided in the entire mine.

All this you have heard and doubted. I found that every bit of it was true.

I found more.

Jennie Miller told me that as soon as she heard that something was wrong at the mine she hastened to the shaft. For two hours after the fire was started, while coal was being hoisted, she stood there waiting for her husband to come up. But he didn't. The coal cars came. Her husband came up ten days later and I helped carry him to the morgue.

The men who heard about the fire wanted to go up at once but were told by the company's boss to "get back to work, you cowards." There was coal to be hauled up and the men could wait. They waited. Two hundred of them are still waiting. Nearly two hundred others are waiting in the trench in the company's pine boxes.

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THE MURDER TRAP

The fire spread and became intense. The fan was sucking the air up, and the air shaft, built of brittle wood instead of being constructed of iron and steel as the law prescribes, was soon threatened. To avoid loss of a few boards in the air shaft the fan was reversed, throwing the wind, and with it the fire, up the main shaft.

The two shafts were now successfully closed to all living beings. Other exits there were none. That the law requires escapes for the workers was treated as an absurdity by the company.

To dig holes in the ground for the safety of the miners is to dig holes into the dividends of the company. Neither of them were dug. To make provisions for the workers' reasonable security is not the concern of the company.

No! No! It does not pay to make things safe for the workers.

Then, to stop the fire the mine had to be sealed. Everybody knew that this also sealed the fate of the entombed men. But the coal was burning and that must not be allowed.

The unfortunates in the dark channels knew what that meant. They hastened to remote parts of the mine. They knew that black damp, the miners' deathly dread, was following them. They built walls and tamped the cracks to shut out their deadly enemy. They killed the mules so they would not consume the limited supply of oxygen in the prison of these men. Then they waited. They had faith in the men on top and in their comrades who knew their fate.

But the company stood in the way. The comrades above pleaded and implored. But the iron soul of the company refused to yield.

The consensus of opinion among the miners is that the fire could

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have been put out within ten hours after it started. Suppose that a son of President Earling had been in the mine, would not this have been done?

Chemical extinguishers could have reached the shaft in less than one hour. Electric signals and lights could have been lowered into the mine to tell that some effort was being made in behalf of the prisoners. But nothing was done.

The men in the tomb waited and waited. Sunday and Monday passed. No sign of help. Tuesday and Wednesday came and went, all of them twenty-four hours each. The water was gone. The oil was used up. Hunger and thirst became unendurable. The mules had been dead several days. Their flesh, raw and putrid, was not inviting, but it tasted good. In the meanwhile the officials dined sumptuously in the palace cars.

Thursday and Friday saw the mine open and rescuers descend. Headed by pompous state and company officials it was difficult for the practical miners to do much. We pleaded with the officials to be allowed to go into this entry and that, to be allowed to investigate the possible retreats where men might be alive, but we were always told to stick right to the "inspectors."

We had passed those entries for three days. Several of them were known to contain workers, but what could we do? The hunger and thirst of the men in these dungeons drove them into a frenzy. They

"THE MEN IN THE TOMB WAITED AND WAITED."

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agreed that even if opening the door would mean swift death from black damp there was no use in waiting any longer. So one of them broke through. This was on Saturday. He saw what he could have seen three days before—the lights in the caps of the rescuers.

A cry went up to his fellows. Some came crawling out. Most of them were too weak to walk and had to be carried. One died when he reached the top. Twenty are still alive.

The company took them into custody to shape their testimony as much as possible and to scold them for having killed the mules. The wives and children were not allowed to see them for some time except through the windows of the cars.

The rescue work still dragged. On Sunday, a week after the fire, we went down again. But the inspectors held us back all the time. We fixed the entry where some smoke was coming out. While in the process of doing this "Inspector" Dunlop wanted a hole plugged. I had cut a sand bag open with an ax, thus tearing the sack instead of carefully untieing the string. This ragged sack was known to be in the pile somewhere and Dunlop told us to hunt for it.

"Here is another sack to plug the hole," I suggested.

"Damn it; that's too good. The broken sack will do," answered Dunlop.

I took on a humble look and agreed with him that it was wasteful to take a new sack to stop up a hole with and as we could not find the torn one, I obeyed his stern command to "plug it with clay."

But Dunlop did not know who I was or he would not have tried so hard to save four cents for the company.

When we were through plugging this entry, which was done in a short time, we proceeded to explore other places where men, living or dead, might be found.

We met "Inspector" Taylor, who also was in command. Taylor and Dunlop fell into a discussion and did not agree. It was this and it was that. The whole procedure was clearly made up. I got into a bunch of fellows who wanted to do something. We stole away and fell upon a heap of some twenty bodies. We took three of them to the shaft and went up. By that time there were some twenty thousand people at the mine bending the ropes and craning their necks to see the product of the rescuers' work.

It was not pleasing to the company to have any more bodies brought up that day and we were "gently" told not to leave the "inspectors" any more, and we didn't.

During the middle of the afternoon of this same Sunday—the second after the fire—about forty of us were down to help out. Among them were Duncan McDonald and Bill James, union officials. We

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were all ready to do something, but were told to sit down and wait until the "inspector" and one of the men go off to see if everything was safe. We waited for three hours and became alarmed, thinking the advance explorers might have been overcome by black damp. We sent two fellows to investigate. The "inspector" became quite indignant, and our committee was told to go back and mind its orders.

In this way all Sunday was spent. The people on top were under the impression that the rescuers below were busy. The widows were sure that their husbands would soon be brought forth.

Little Albert Buckle, 15 years old November 28, who escaped on the last car up, and his mother and sister stood at the ropes all day watching for "Rich," who was 16 years the 21st of last June, and who had worked in the mine ever since his father was killed three years ago, but poor Richard was not brought up that day. On

DESPAIR—A GROUP OF WAGE SLAVES.

Monday I went to see the broken-hearted mother but I could not comfort her.

At one time we were told by "Inspector" Taylor that real work was to be done. Twenty of us were at the bottom of the mine ready to take orders and go ahead.

Taylor laid fine plans. "I will put five or six of you in charge of Mr. Jones. Another company will go with Mr. Smith. Two or three will go with me. The rest will be stationed as follows."

A fine plan was outlined. We felt good. Everybody was ready and it actually seemed as if we were to accomplish something. But all at once, after this elaborate schedule which had consumed over an hour, "Inspector" Taylor turned to us very pleasantly, saying:

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"Now, gentlemen, you have been down here quite a while and it would be well for you all to go up to get a lunch. Then we will carry on the work we have outlined."

Of course there was nothing to do but to go up and get a lunch. It is needless to say that Taylor never got back to the boys to execute the plan.

But we went up to lunch. Yes, for ten days we had gone up to lunch every six or eight hours. It was hard work to wander around in the mine. We needed fresh air and material to make blood and muscle out of.

The lunch room was in the company's boiler room. There were two pieces of flooring sixteen feet long on some old boxes wiggling on a pile of gas pipes and iron carelessly scattered from the repair corner. Facing us as we sat down was a "table" made up of *three*

ON DUTY—TO PROTECT "PROPERTY."

pieces of flooring on two empty salt barrels. At the end of the table was a dirty gasoline stove on top of which was a precarious-looking wash boiler with coffee.

On the "table" were two dozen tin cups, a paper box with sugar, a tray of ham sandwiches and *two* spoons. Three "visiting nurses" were between us and the table who handed sanwdiches and coffee to the volunteer rescuers. One nurse at each end of the line would start to stir the coffee for the men and when they met in the middle with the two spoons held high in the air they would call out:

"Are you all stirred?"

"Yes, we are all stirred," I told them, "mightily stirred. Have they only two spoons over in the Pullman cars also?"

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"Oh, there are lots of spoons over there, but they are for the officials," was the reply.

After twelve days the best the company could do was to furnish the volunteers with sandwiches, coffee and two spoons. This was our food. They also furnished lodging.

Yes, in the night when we were too tired to go down another trip we tried to find a spot to rest. The firemen had been made to "double up" in the Pullmans, but the berths thus made available were *for sale* at such a figure as to make it impossible for the volunteers to sleep in these comfortable bunks.

So we just found some old paper and spread it on the brick-paved floor of the boiler room, selected a chunk of coal on which we also placed a piece of paper and used it for a pillow.

And we were fairly comfortable—more so than the men in the mine, who were walled in to keep from the black damp and who were suffering the agony of death-like suspense waiting for their rescuers, that were held back by the iron souls of the company's officials.

We were told that the Red Cross Society was taking care of the hungry in Cherry. Thousands of dollars have been given to this fake society, of which W. H. Taft, President of the United States, is president. This society can be forgiven for its total neglect of the rescuers. The society for prohibiting cruelty to animals would, however, have declared it outrageous to feed men on only one kind of food for a long time, especially when they are working as the volunteers were. "The Red Cross" could not see this fearful wrong. Nor could this Red Cross—rather *Red Graft,* this bloody hypocrite of the capitalist hydra—discover any need among the people bereft of husbands and brothers, starving in their hovels. I went around to a great number of homes and asked how their needs were supplied. Most of them had been helped by kind neighbors, none by the Red Cross. The only beneficiaries of the Red Cross seemed to be the soldiers and the nurses, who were having a high time flirting and carousing, while the hungry women and children in Cherry were the least possible concern to the Red Graft.

Had it not been for the neighbors and some farmers, as well as the little Congregational church, whose basement was given over to the charity workers, the women and children of the murdered miners would have suffered from starvation even the first and second week. I brought this criminal neglect on the part of the Red Corss Society to the notice of several prominent people, but my story was not believed. I pointed out how the Red Cross had utterly failed to pay any attention to the awful distress of the bereaved, but everybody had faith in this national organization in spite of the fumblings it has been

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guilty of from the catastrophe in San Francisco to the Cherry holocaust.

Now, after a month of suffering, when the wail and cry of the cold and hungry can no longer be smothered, the daily papers are compelled to show up the real situation.

But in spite of these facts, Graham Taylor, D. D., a minister and professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary, member of the Illinois Mining Investigating Committee, writes an article in "The Survey," lauding the Red Cross, the "inspectors" and company, bluffing the people into the belief that the hundreds of thousands of dollars given to the Red Cross are judiciously spent, when he knows or ought to know that scarcely a drippling has actually gone to the real sufferers.

And just now Alderman Scully, of Chicago, who has been to Cherry and seen the situation, demands that the public funds given to the Red Cross be turned over to the Miners' Union, as the Red Cross has proven itself wholly incapable, having placed its orders in the hands of unscrupulous merchants who charge 25 cents a pound for the poorest kind of meat and in every other way demand exorbitant prices, leaving people in utmost destitution.

This Red Cross Society is what Graham Taylor calls "an experienced agency which commanded the confidence of the local and outside communities."

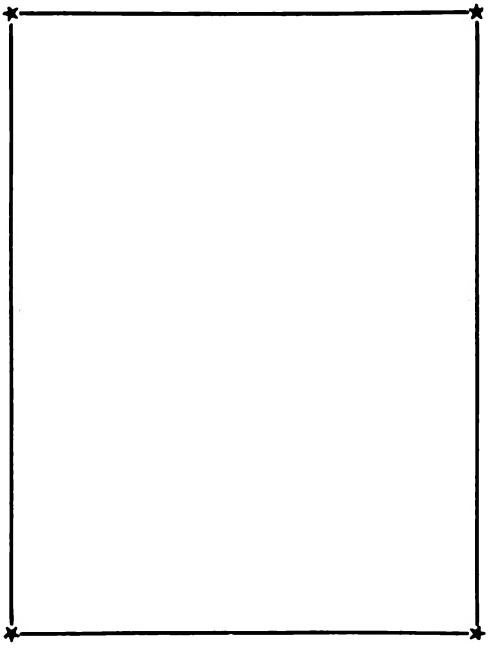
MADE ORPHANS BY CAPITALISM.

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One little farmer woman, Mrs. Anna N. Kendall, living a few miles from Cherry, did more all alone in providing needed clothing for the babies, that were being born while their fathers were carried out of the black pit, and for two hundred other little ones yet to be born into the world fatherless, than all the Red Cross Society with its large retinue of officers and salaried relief experts has done during the entire period of distress in Cherry. She is the real charity heroine in the Cherry disaster.

Had the miners' union been in shape to take hold—to *demand possession* of the situation—from the start the workers could have been brought out alive with very few exceptions, and the immediate wants of those who had lost their bread winners coould have been filled systematically and efficiently.

But this wholesale murder of workers, with the subsequent outrages on the patience and long suffering of their relatives and the people in general, with the spiriting away of witnesses and the frustration of justice, forces upon the toilers a new reason why we should unite and take into our own hands the industries of the world and put within reach the elements necessary to the life and progress of the whole human race.



J. O. BENTALL,
State Secretary, Socialist Party of Illinois.

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The Brotherhood of Capital and Labor: Its Effect on Labor.

By Vincent St. John.



HE wanton slaughter of over three hundred coal miners at Cherry, Ill., has caused a spasm of demanding more laws, enforcement of existing laws, *ad nauseam.*

Much space is also being used by the officials of the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers of America, the organization that by virtue of its usefulness to the mine operators is permitted to collect dues and fines through the companies' offices. In return these officials use the power of the organization to keep the membership in subjection.

These officials are now rushing into print and loudly proclaiming the guilt of one of their partners in order to save their own face and at the same time distract the membership from realizing one of the effects of the co-partnership between the officers of the U. M. W. A. and the employer.

The appalling loss of life in the coal mining industry of the United States is not by any means a recent development. The records of the last fifteen years show that the death rate has increased from 2.67 per 1,000 employed to 3.50 per 1,000. These records are compiled by servants of the ruling class, so it is safe to say that they are not exaggerated.

Last year, after the disaster in which some 400 men and boys were killed in a West Virginia mine, one of the U. M. W. A. officials called the attention of the country to the fact that all of these great disasters occurred only in mines that were not under the jurisdiction of the U. M. W. A. The claim was made that the U. M. W. A. used the power of the organization to enforce safety regulations and therefore prevented the occurrence of these disasters. The state of Illinois was cited as an example. Yet we have one year later an accident (?) in the state of Illinois that is purely the result of lack of proper safety appliances and total disregard of the welfare of the men underground. This accident (?) did not occur from an accumulation of gases due to improper ventilation; neither did it happen with the suddenness of an explosion, that always serves to conceal lack of ventilation and excuse the loss of life in coal mines. In the disaster at Cherry the fire was burning for some two hours, and no attempt was made to get the men out.

The Cherry holocaust brings in forcible relief the main causes that made it possible. They are:

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The utter disregard by the employing class of all precautions that tend to protect the lives of the workers, when such precautions cost money.

The inevitable result of the "harmony of interest" policy between a labor organization and the employers.

The futility of the workers depending upon "legal enactments" to protect them against danger.

It may be urged by some in defense of the "harmony of interest" officials that the fault lies with the membership of the union for working under conditions that they know to be in violation of the safety regulations. If this is any excuse for the officials it is of more weight as an excuse for the employers, and while the workers are to blame for working under conditions that are not as safe as they could be made, that fact in no way excuses the officials who are paid a salary by the membership to look after just those things. And the worker has the excuse of his necessities that compel him to disregard proper precautions in order to live—an excuse that the union officials and their partners the mine owners have not.

There is an excuse for the mine worker who is forced by the employer and the officials of his own organization to work under dangerous conditions.

Since the disaster at Cherry the officials of the twelfth district, U. M. W. A., have admitted in the daily press that the St. Paul mine is not the only mine in the state that is operated without regard to the safety of the workers and in open violation of the laws. Their own constitution provides in Art. III, Sec. 6:

"The state officers and sub-district Presidents shall send in a written report of all violations of the state laws and agreements, by either operators or miners, to the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall compile the same for future reference."

The question is, have the state officers complied with this requirement? If they have why were the membership permitted to work in unsafe mines? If they have not, why not?

The following notice of a state mine inspector, posted at Dunfermline, Ill., was copied verbatim by me during a recent trip in the state:

"I have this day inspected Big Creek Coal Co. Mine No. 4 of Dunfermline and find its condition as follows:

"North side 13 and 14 E. cut open, full of smoke; 15 and 16 E. the same; entries, north E., no air; 15 and 16 W., no air; 13 and 14 West, no air; south 9 and 10, E. 11 and 12, W. entries of 2 south, no air; no doors or curtains to air this part of the mine.

"*For the better protection of the lives and health of the employes would recommend the following*:

"That you put doors up in the above workings, to give those men air in all working places.

"You were informed of this last inspection and must be done at once.

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"*Date of inspection,* March 20th, 1908.
"*Date of last insepction,* Dec. 4th, 1907.
"*Number of hours required to make inspection,* ——— "TOM PARCEL,
"*Inspector of Mines, 4th District.*"

The above is a specimen of reports made at mines.

Art. VII, Sec. 4, last paragraph, provides:

"No boy shall be admitted to the local union, who is under the age of sixteen years."

The agreement between the Twelfth District, U. M. W. A., and the Illinois Coal Operators' Association gives complete jurisdiction over all workers in the mines to the U. M. W. A., yet among those whose burned and blackened bodies have so far been brought to the surface at Cherry are a number of BOYS under the age of 16 years.

What act of the officials of the Twelfth District can they point out showing that they have ever made any attempt to correct these violations at the St. Paul mine or anywhere else in the state?

They knew of these conditions before the Cherry disaster. If they did not know of them prior to that, how did they discover the facts so soon after the St. Paul mine had snuffed out the lives of over three hundred of their membership? Why did they not find it out before if it takes so short a time to get the knowledge that they now admit having? What steps have they taken to prevent a recurrence of the Cherry accident at other mines since they have confessed their guilt?

Why don't the miners refuse to work when the regulations necessary to their safety are disregarded? Here is the answer:

Art. VI of their constitution provides:

Any local union striking in violation of the above provisions will not be recognized or sustained by the state officers. Before final action is taken by any district upon questions that directly or indirectly affect the interests of the mine workers of another district, or may require a strike to determine, the President and Secretary of the aggrieved district shall jointly prepare, sign and forward to the International President a statement setting forth the grievance complained of, the action contemplated by the district, together with the reasons therefor, and shall await the decision and direction of the International President and be governed thereby. *In all cases the Mine Committee, the employes and all parties involved must continue work pending an investigation and adjustment until a final decision is reached in the manner above set forth.*

SECTION 3. Any local union, committee, or member acting in violation of Sections 1 and 2 of this Article, shall be liable to expulsion or fine, subject to the discretion of the District Executive Board.

The agreement with the Illinois Coal Operators' Association provides:

"Any member or members of the U. M. W. of America guilty of throwing a mine idle or materially REDUCING THE OUTPUT by failure to continue at work in accordance with the provisions of this agreement, shall be fined ten dollars ($10.00) each.

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"All fines collected as above shall be paid, one-half to the state treasurer of the U. M. W. of America, AND ONE-HALF TO THE TREASURER OF THE ILLINOIS COAL OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION, and under no consideration shall any fines so collected be refunded.

"All violations shall be reported immediately, and an investigation shall be made at once by the state officers of THE TWO organizations. A decision shall be promptly made and the fine checked off and paid as provided above.

"This contract is based upon existing mining laws, and neither party to the contract shall initiate or encourage the passage of laws that would in any manner affect the obligations of this contract or abrogate its provisions, except as may be mutually agreed to."

Here is the testimony of a member of the U. M. W. A., who for years was active in the organization, and served as pit committeeman delegate to national conventions from the very start of the organization up to the time that he could no longer stand the strain of bucking against "harmony of interest" sub-district, district, state and national officers. For obvious reasons his name will be withheld:

"It is generally known throughout the state that the mining laws are ignored by the coal companies, and if the men take up the violations as grievances the officers simply refer them to the 'inspectors' and that's the end to it, except that the kickers are found out, and then the 'boss' gets them as soon as possible."

There are many ways for the boss to get a "kicker"; work them in poor coal, wet workings, lay them off first, and many other ways.

And here is what happens when the workers try to protect themselves. This incident is only one of many. Here is what one of the victimized miners of Panama, Ill., writes:

"The I. W. W. was not responsible in any way for the late trouble in Panama. Fellow-Worker Fennell and myself advised the men not to lay the mine idle, as should they do so they would be punished first and tried afterward.

"One of Board Member Burns' first actions after calling a meeting of the men was to make a bitter attack on the I. W. W., making several charges, all of which were punctured by the writer and others.

"It was shown conclusively to Burns and also by our delegates to the convention at Springfield, that the I. W. W. had no hand in the affair, which was wholly a trouble within the U. M. W. of A., the result of the arbitrary mandates of the officers and the scab-breeding system of fining men for revolting when the encroachments of their employers have become unbearable.

"It is ridiculous to assert that one man could have influenced 300 in their action even if the evidence did not prove the exact opposite, yet our delegates report that Fellow-Worker Fennell was charged by Board Member Germer with being responsible for the whole affair.

"According to the settlement made between the company officials and Vice-President Farrington, at which meeting our delegates were not allowed to be represented, nine men, including Fellow-Worker Fennell, were discharged from the employ of the company.

"If Fennell was responsible for the whole affair why the other eight, none of whom were I. W. W. men? Some of those included in the list had not even been present at a meeting, or had a word to say about the case; one or two, though, had offended the company in the past.

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"In the light of these facts it would appear that after all possible had been dragged into the original charge a couple were added for good measure, the company and miners' officials taking turn about in nominating candidates for the skidoo route. In such an event it would not be hard for the readers of this paper to judge from whom Fellow-Worker Fennell got 'his.'

"Yours for the revolutionary economic organization of the working class.

"H. B. EWING."

Form 22.

PAY-ROLL STATEMENT.

No. 135. Mar. 15, 1908.

SHOAL CREEK COAL COMPANY

in account with

MOSE FENNELL.

WORK.

78.05 Tons	$42.92

DEDUCTIONS.

Rent	$ 4.50
Blacksmithing	.45
Shot Firing	.85
Powder	5.25
Union	.85
Fines by order U. M. W. of A	20.00
Collections	.25
Checks	.50
Total deductions	$32.65
Balance due	10.27

This is a reproduction of the time check of one of the Panama members victimized. Note fine deducted and shot firing.

The cause of the controversy at Panama was as follows: Two men were killed by a shot in the mine and the company used that as an excuse to put on more shot firerers. The wages to pay the extra shot firers was deducted from the men's pay checks. This was contrary to the law that provides that the coal operator will pay the shot firers. The men tied up the mine to try and force the company to comply with the law.

In 1906 the U. M. W. A. officials spent several thousand dollars lobbying this bill to compel the use and payment of shot firers through the legislature. The law was enacted and contains the provision that the coal operator is not allowed to dock the miners to pay the shot firing. In spite of the "law" the mine operators docked each miner a pro rata of the amount that it took to pay the shot firers. In 1908 the contract that was entered into between the U. M. W. A. and the coal operators expressly states that the miners will pay the shot firer, regardless of the provision of the law that the miners' officials had spent thousands of dollars to have it passed.

The question arises, why should the officials of the U. M. W. A. act that way? The answer is that the U. M. W. A. officials only aim at

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establishing an agreement between the operator and the U. M. W. A., whereby the check-off and fining system is established, thus making the coal operator the dues collector for the organization that pays the salary of the officials. In order to get the check-off the union officials must give the companies something in return, and that something is given by rendering the U. M. W. A. harmless so far as endangering the profits of the operators is concerned. In return the operators collect the dues from the members that go to pay the salaries of the officials. By the check-off the partnership between labor and capital is cemented, the salaries of the officials are assured, and, what is more, funds are collected that lie in banks upon which the banks pay a bonus of extra interest that goes into the pockets of the officials, to say nothing of the many friendly little tips on "good things" that are put in the way of those who are in the partnership between capital and labor, and it does not matter if the price is a few hundred lives of the workers now and then. "Why do they want to work under such conditions?"

These funds will in the end become the property of the set of officials that happen to be in office when they consider the time ripe to start a row in the organization, and throw the funds into the courts; by the time litigation is finished there will be nothing left but the contending sets of officers.

Last July the now secretary of the Twelfth District of the U. M. W. A. paid an unofficial visit to the convention of the W. F. M. and took pains to make it known that he was there unofficially. Frank Hayes took up about two hours apologizing for the check-off and harmony-of-interest policy, telling what the U. M. W. A. had accomplished for the coal miner. The disaster at Cherry gives the lie to all of Mr. Hayes' claims, and his utterances in the press of the present time but add his own testimony to prove that his claims made in Denver were not facts. If the claims were good, why is it that in the stronghold of the U. M. W. A., the Twelfth District, the conditions are such that boys under 15 years of age are forced into the mines to help support the family? And why is it that they have to labor under working conditions that totally disregard the safety regulations, and finally result in their being brought to the surface blackened corpses? Yea, verily, the brotherhood of capital and labor pays well—for the capitalist and the officials—but is hell on the laborer.

Last year about this time a driver in the Sunnyside mine in the state of Indiana insisted that a dangerous piece of ground that he had to pass under be made safe before he made any more trips. His insistence was so strong that the "boss got him."

Thereupon all the workers in the mine quit at once to force the reinstatement of the member who was discharged for insisting that the

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mine be made safe. In due time the coal operators in question called upon the International President of the U. M. W. A. to protec his contract with the coal operators, or they would cease to collect the dues for him. This threat was sufficient to bring Mr. U. M. W. A. President to time; he notified the unions in question that if they did not immediately resume work their charter would be revoked and their places filled. The men refused to be bulldozed back and the charters were revoked, but Mr. President was not able to fill the mine with scabs.

The outcome was that between the pressure of the coal operators on one side and the officials of the U. M. W. A. on the other the men were finally forced back to work. The reinstatement of the driver was arbitrated!

Where, then, does the blame for the death of these men and children belong? The blame belongs to the capitalist system and those who benefit by the system—the coal mine owners and their partners, the officials of the United Mine Workers of America.

The remedy for the situation does not lie in enacting MORE legislation. More legislation will only serve to fatten the bank account of the lawyers and give judges an opportunity to prove their loyalty to the ruling class. Nor does it consist in electing state officials who will enforce existing statutes.

The only manner in which the coal miner can put a stop to the wanton slaughter of men in coal mines and other industries as well is by active, aggressive revolutionary organization of the workers in the mines that will determine when the works are unsafe and will at once close down the mine that does not keep its workings in a safe condition. An organization that will educate its members to know that in case of fire the men shall be taken to the surface at once, and it will be the duty of the engineers who are a part of the organization to see that this is done. After the last man is out, it will be time enough to consider what steps should be taken to save the employers' property. An organization that will be able to enforce conditions in the coal mining industry so that school boys do not have to go to work in the mines; an organization that will enact the legislation to govern the operation of the industry in its own meetings, and will enforce its enactments with every member of the organization.

Only in this way can the coal miners solve the problem of safety for himself, and at the same time lay the foundation of an organization of the workers that shall solve once and for all the problem of existence for all the workers.

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A Labor Party.

letters which follow are all written by candidates whose names ppear on the official ballot now being taken for a new National Executive Committee. The first is a letter addressed by A. M. Simons to William English Walling, and is here published by permission from Mr. Walling. He wishes us to state that he had at first intended not to publish this letter, but had quoted a large part of it in private letters to a number of socialists. "However," says Mr. Walling, "Mr. Simons has published a letter in which, while not mentioning my name, he casts certain reflections upon me on account of the action just mentioned. To exculpate myself I consider that I am now fully justified in giving his letter to the general public."

A. M. SIMONS TO WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

November 19, 1909.

My Dear Walling:

I was extremely sorry that it was impossible for me to come to New York from Toronto. I feel more deeply than ever before in the history of the Socialist movement that we are in an intensely critical period and one in which it will be easy to destroy the work of years and set things back for some time, or where the forces of revolution can be organized and crystalized at such a rate that the social revolution can be brought to our very doors.

I was deeply impressed with things I saw and heard at Toronto. not upon the floor of the convention, **but in private conversation and little social gatherings.** The most pitiful thing about the situation is the intense hatred against the Socialist Party combined **with a perfect willingness to accept the philosophy of Socialism.** I believe, and my opinion was shared by many others of wider knowledge and longer experience, that fully one-half of the delegates, and many said two-thirds, were **EX**-members of the Socialist Party, or the S. L. P. **That is the most terrible indictment that could be drawn of OUR methods.** Moreover I found that nearly three-fourths of these EX-members and many besides are ready and anxious for **a working-class party.**

Now we have two alternatives before us, for the moment at least, but the first of these is going to be gone before long. The first of these, and the one that must be seized quickly or it will disappear, is to so reform the Socialist Party that it will fill the function for which it was intended. Right here we come to the most delicate portion of the work before us. How to preserve the S. P. through the transition that is absolutely necessary is the difficult task. Here is where **we MUST not jeopardize action for the sake of our own peculiar ideas.**

The S. P. has become a hissing and a by-word with the actual wage-workers of America. It has become a party of the two ex-

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tremes. **On the one side are a bunch of intellectuals like MYSELF and Spargo and Hunter and Hillquit, on the other is a bunch of "never works," demagogues and would-be intellectuals, a veritable "lumpen-proletariat." The actual wage-workers, the men who are really FIGHTING the class struggle are outside.**

It is not a question of philosophy with which we are confronted, but of facts. To meet this situation we must clean out this bunch of petty politicians. I wish you were here that I could show you, the evidence of their work in nearly every state in the country.

Now unfortunately they have seen fit in some places to throw in their lot with the I. W. W., although in others they are its most bitter opponents. So there will be an effort to involve this question.

Personally I have great sympathy with industrial unionism, but not as a panacea. I think that its most deadly enemy is the man who talks about it as a means of getting the co-operative commonwealth. We are not organizing unions in the future or in the past but NOW, and for the purpose of fighting the class struggle.

I believe that there have been most ridiculous exaggerations of the work of the I. W. W. in Pennsylvania, and of the French syndicalists. In fact I know this to be the case. At the same time there should be a place in the Socialist Party for those who wish to work through "direct action."

There must be a reorganization of the S. P. That is almost unanimously agreed upon. It must be reorganized into a working-class party, fighting every battle of the workers, all the time, and using every weapon.

I do not like the English policy, **but I say frankly it is better than the present S. P.** It is doing something, is rousing the antagonism of the capitalists. It is forcing them to fight back. It is vitalizing the class struggle, and I have full faith that out of such a fight will come clarity and revolutionary action, without regard to programs or platforms or even designing political leaders. Here we are dead, repeaters of phrases, and neither politically nor industrially are we feared by the capitalists.

I am sure, from my experience at Toronto, that the trade unionists are as much at sea as we are, and that a SANE revolutionary position would bring them to us almost en masse. You represent an element and a point of view that is needed, greatly needed. You are almost the only person who does represent such a position that could carry weight in a council of war with Socialists and trade unionists.

For this reason I am tremendously anxious that you should give us your help in this crisis. I know your antipathy to Hunter, and

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perhaps to Spargo and Hillquit. At the same time they also represent an element that is needed, and greatly needed.

Above all else we MUST have the union men. No one has denounced the defects of the A. F. of L. more than I, but I am forced to recognize that **it comes much nearer representing the working class than the S. P.,** and unless we are able to so shape our policy and our organization as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers we will have failed of our mission.

I think that there are several lines of possible immediate change in the S. P. First, its machinery must be simplified. I think this scarcely needs discussion with you. Your practical sense will tell you that.

Second, the appeal of the party must be made more directly to the union men. We have appealed through soap box theorists, ignorant of everything, and **have wondered why we reached only the ignorant among the workers.** We must send out men who are themselves union men, who go directly and specifically to the men of their trade and who preach the class struggle as union men understand it with the Socialist explanation.

Third, **we must drive from our own ranks the demagogical politicians, who are seeking to raise rebellion against every person whom they cannot use for their purposes.** The present Executive Committee is more than willing to surrender their position if real workingmen are to take their places. **THEY DO NOT PROPOSE TO SURRENDER TO THOSE WHO HAVE NEVER WORKED SAVE WITH THEIR JAWS,** and who are tearing down every organization to which they belong.

This statement is somewhat incoherent. I have written it amid a mass of interruptions and can only hope to have dimly conveyed some of the things for which I am working. I shall await your reply giving me your idea of the future, and hope that you may bring it in person. If not let us have it at as great a length as possible. There are preparations under way to bring about an internal revolution, and we will need all the brains at our disposal to steer through the shoals before us.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) A. M. SIMONS.

Immediately upon reading the preceding letter, the editor of the Review addressed to each candidate who had received enough nominations for a position on the N. E. C. to entitle him to a place on the official ballot, and who had not already declined the nomination, the following brief inquiry:

COMRADE:

If elected to the N. E. C., will you favor or oppose merging the Socialist Party into a Labor Party? Please answer at once

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for the information of the readers of the International Socialist Review. Yours for the Revolution,

CHARLES H. KERR.

The following replies are all that have been received from those whose names will appear on the official ballot, several who answered having subsequently declined. Two or three could not be reached for the reason that they were traveling:

W. J. Bell:

Responding to yours of 30th ult., would say that if I were elected to the N. E. C., would oppose merging the Socialist Party into anything but the coming Industrial Democracy.

Tyler, Texas, Dec. 2, 1909.

B. Berlyn:

Yours received, and in reply would say that the Socialist Party is a labor party which in its declaration of Principles, Platforms and its Immediate Demands, voice the needs and aspirations of the militant working class in their every day struggle. The Socialist Party should always be with the workers, not to dictate to them how they shall go about it but pointing out to them the intimate relation of their struggles for economic betterment and political action. This can be done best by telling the truth without crazy exaggeration. The party should avoid taking sides in the internal squabbles that from time to time arise in economic organizations.

I believe that the party should steer clear of middle class demands and emphasize the class struggle on the political field.

Chicago, Dec. 7th, 1909.

James H. Brower:

If elected to the N. E. C. I shall **fight,** if necessary, to hold the Socialist Party true to the glorious traditions of its past, both in this and other lands. That half-baked evolvers will organize labor parties here and there I have no doubt—but, that the only revolutionary force in the politics of this nation (the Socialist Party) should, in a moment of weakness, aggravated by an acknowledged need of a bit of house cleaning, be carried off its feet, and thrown into the pot in which a hundred half-thought-out reforms will be mixed, I deny.

Today—yesterday—and for many moons behind, I have been eaten with a desire to take a good club and go after some of the gentlemen who insist that our party is going to the devil. If I were orthodox I'd say the devil is after the party.

Joliet, Ill., Dec. 1st., 1909.

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Victor L. Berger:

I shall oppose the merging of the Socialist Party into a "labor" party.

I have always stood for a labor movement with two arms—the economic arm, which is the trades union,—and the political arm, which is the Socialist party. Both arms belong to the same body. Both arms must work in perfect harmony and help each other, but each arm is to do its own work and shall not interfere with the other's business.

I do not propose to turn the trades union into a political machine, nor the Socialist Party into a trades union. However, I want the trades union to be a part of the same movement as the political party and vice versa. We want every trade unionist we can get to join the Socialist Party and every Socialist who is eligible to join his economic organization—thus we unite both activities in every worker.

This is the "Wisconsin Idea." . .

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 2, 1909.

O. F. Branstetter:

I have not yet decided whether or not I will accept the nomination for N. E. C., but in case I do so and am elected I can say most emphatically that I will oppose such a merger as suggested. One does not always know what his ideas will be at a future date, but the change in my ideas and opinions would have to amount to a complete revolution before I could believe in either the desirability or advisability of such a course.

Oklahoma City, Okla., Dec. 2, 1909.

James F. Carey:

You ask "If elected to the N. E. C. will you favor or oppose merging the Socialist Party into a Labor Party?" I will oppose. Permit me to say that up to receipt of your letter I had not decided to be a candidate for the N. E. C. but I am beginning to gather from several sources that there is going to be something like that proposed. I do not believe however that there is the slightest danger of an effort in that direction succeeding. If on the other hand there is considerable strength behind that movement, there will be an "illegant ruction" and I am almost persuaded to try and get in it. I have a few days of grace left to decide, but, however I may decide about being a candidate, and if I run, whether elected or not, I am opposed.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 2, 1909.

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John M. Collins:

In answer to whether I would be in favor of merging the Socialist Party into a labor party. If elected to the N. E. C. I don't consider that question very logical as you have not stated in your letter what kind of a party it is now. I will be better able to answer.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 2, 1909.

E. E. Carr:

The question is peculiar, for there is no labor party to merge into. If there were, whether elected to the N. E. C. or not, I would oppose the N. E. C. taking any steps in such a matter, except to refer the subject to party conventions, or to the whole membership by referendum. Whatever is done with regard to such an important issue should be done only after long and careful discussion by the whole party, not merely by a committee.

If the Socialist Party should unite with the labor unions in a new political party, I would urgently favor maintaining the Socialist party as a clear-cut, revolutionary propaganda society and for the purpose of nominating candidates where the labor party for any reason put none forward. This would constantly tend to make the labor party more truly revolutionary and to keep it so.

If a labor party were formed, it must, from the nature of the case, stand on the class struggle whether it recognized the fact or not, and would therefore be in effect a Socialist Party. It would be branded and fought as such by the capitalist organizations, and would sooner or later, according to the precedent established in the case of the British Labor Party, be recognized by the International Socialist Bureau. If such a party were formed, supported generally by the great labor unions, it would probably draw the Socialist Party members into it. And while I would greatly regret to see the Socialist Party fail of rising to political power, I would feel impelled to favor the labor party as our political avenue of expression, while holding to the Socialist Party for special propaganda work. The Socialists in the Labor party would soon dominate it and guide it into a truly revolutionary position according to current economic development, as the I. L. P. of England is affecting the Labor Party there.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 2, 1909.

Stanley J. Clark:

The Socialist Party should be the political expression of the material interest of the working class. I am opposed to merging into any other party.

Huntington, Ark. Dec. 8, 1909.

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Louis Duchez:

I emphatically oppose the merging of a Socialist Party into a Labor Party. A Labor Party will mean a few fat jobs for Gompers and those alleged Socialists and nothing for the proletariat and the revolution. The function of a political party, for the present at least, is educational and destructive. Let us keep it in that channel as near as possible. Vote-getting should be secondary.

East Palestine, Ohio, Dec. 8, 1909.

George H. Goebel:

Your question as to merging the Socialist Party into a labor party just caught up to me.

Would say without waste of words that I have always been and am opposed to merging the Socialist Party into any party, no matter what its name or character. In replying to this question, however, I want it distinctly understood I do not recognize the right of the N. E. C. to decide such questions, the membership through convention or referendum in my judgment being the sole authority. If elected to the N. E. C. I shall insist on that course of action, concerning matters of principles or tactics, the N. E. C., in my opinion, having solely the work of better propaganda and organization. When the membership get that view we will begin to elect to the N. E. C. comrades who understand organizing and executive work, and who know party conditions, rather than for their ability to split hairs, and philosophize over the philosophy of philosophy.

Newark, N. J., Dec. 6, 1909.

Robert Hunter:

In answer to your question I beg to say that so far as I know there is no immediate likelihood of a labor party. Consequently it seems to me the question put is entirely speculative. Furthermore, in case a labor party was formed, the entire party membership, in my opinion, would have to decide by referendum vote what attitude the Socialist Party should take. The seven members of the National Executive Committee have no more power in such matters than any other seven members of the party.

Nevertheless, I realize that organized labor is being forced to the wall and that, during the next few years, it may take steps toward forming a labor party. Many comrades see that possibility and it is but right that they should seek to know the attitude of those who may occupy official positions in the party in regard to that matter.

As a Socialist I should want to wait until I see what kind of a

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labor party was formed. In any case I doubt if I should think it advisable for the Socialist Party to merge itself with any other organization. Certainly before taking any action a Socialist would want to have the labor party declare itself distinctly on the following lines. It would have to be a truly class-conscious labor party. It would have to declare itself absolutely opposed to any fusion or alliance with capitalist parties. It would have to place in its constitution a declaration that any members of the labor party that advocated the election of any capitalist candidate would thereby be excluded from the labor party. In other words, I, as a Socialist, would want to know whether or not the labor party intended to be absolutely independent and to carry out actually on the political field the class struggle.

If such a party were formed no doubt all of us would want the Socialist Party to confer with the labor party at least in regard to candidates so that these two working class organizations would not be forced into a bitter, fratricidal warfare, thereby cutting each others' throats.

I believe in common with most other Marxian Socialists in every country that we want to help the working class to find its feet, to battle politically and industrially for its emancipation, but in my opinion we ought to keep our organization intact. We ought to continue to carry on our propaganda, to conduct our newspapers and forward Socialism with the same spirit and enthusiasm as now. Briefly, my opinion is precisely that so well expressed by Frederic Engels many years ago: "I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization."

Highland Farm, Noroton Heights, Conn.

Morris Hillquit:

Your question is purely academic. We have no Labor Party in this country, and, as far as I know, there are no present indications of a movement to create one. Should our trade unions, contrary to general expectations, constitute themselves into a political party within the near future, the Socialist Party will have to determine its attitude towards it in national convention or by referendum vote. The incoming National Executive Committee will have no power to formulate the policy of the party, and it matters little whether the members of the committee as such "favor" or "oppose" a merger of the Socialist Party with a hypothetical Labor Party.

My personal views on the general question are, briefly stated, as

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follows: The main object of the Socialist Party is to organize the workingmen of this country into a class-conscious, independent political party. If our movement is to succeed at all, this object must be accomplished, and I am not worrying very much about the manner and form of the accomplishment. It would, of course, be preferable to organize the working class of America within the Socialist Party: this would ensure permanent soundness and clearness of the movement. If, however, the organized workers of the country, independent of our desires and theories, should form a party of their own, a bona-fide and uncompromising workingclass political party on a national scale, I believe the logical thing for our party to do, would be to co-operate with such party. I would not favor a complete merger in any case, because as long as the assumed Labor Party would not be thoroughly Socialistic, our party would still have an important mission to perform, even more so than now. On the other hand, if such Labor Party should proceed on the theory of class-harmony, enter into alliances with middle-class reform movements, and be reactionary in its general character, I would consider it very unwise on the part of our party to abandon or even to modify our policy of independent Socialist politics. But all this is to-day mere speculation. What confronts us to-day is not a political Labor Party, but a mass of workingmen, organized and unorganized, supporting the capitalist parties, and, whatever the future may hold in store for us, our present duty is to wean these workers from the politics of their masters, to instill in them a spirit of class-consciousness and an appreciation of the Socialist philosophy. This work should be done with far greater intensity, regularity and planfulness than heretofore, and this policy I will favor, if re-elected as a member of the National Executive Committee.

New York City.

Morris Kaplan:

Answering the above I am against the compromisation of our fundamentals. The Socialist movement is the bona-fide class conscious organized expression of the Exploited Class in Society. It—the Socialist Party on the political field—is the Labor Party. Am not against conventions or discussions being held with the A. F. of L. or other economic labor organizations—conscious or otherwise of their class interest. Our movement at the present hour is in a decidedly chaotic condition and needs a change of policy and tactics. We have worshipped too long at the shrine of Craft-Unionism. It is time to change about.

What I would favor if elected on the National Executive Board:

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Abolition of State Autonomy and Centralized National Dictum. Organization of wage-workers along lines of industrial unionism. National control and custodianship of daily English organs. Abolition of programmistic reforms from national platform. Unity of all Socialist forces.

Duluth, Minn.

James H. Maurer:

In your letter of Nov. 30th you ask: "If I were elected to the N. E. C. would I favor or oppose merging the Socialist Party into a labor party?"

The manner in which this question is asked is so very indefinite that I hardly know how to answer you.

The Socialist Party as it stands today is the party of the working class, therefore it is impossible to merge it into something that it already is. Or is it merely the object to change the name and take out of the movement the sting as Gompers put it?

Well, in this part of the country the word socialist has no terrors for any one excepting the parasites.

You may call the socialist movement by any other name and the other name will be hated as much by the exploiting class as they fear the word socialist now. The name is of little consequence. It's the principles of a party they like or fear, and the Socialist movement whose mission it is to wipe out this parasitical class, would become useless if it attempted to make itself inoffensive to the enemy.

Perhaps there are those who would like to change the Socialist Party into a simple, yet pure reward-your-friends-and-punish-your-enemies" Labor Party, built upon a sugar-coated platform. Meaningless enough so as to gain the support of the capitalist class and its press; broad enough to admit every lobster-brained labor skate, civic federation, manufacturers' association, Taft, Van Cleve, Bryan, Post, etc.

The Socialist Party may and will, as conditions warrant, change its tactics, but the scientific principles of socialism, never.

The question you ask is very much out of order, as I see it, because the N. E. C. does not have the power to do any merging. The committee might favor the merging idea, but what could they do if the rank and file said otherwise? And should a majority of the party membership favor the merging of the Socialist Party and vote for a Keir Hardie Labor Party, they could not do it because socialism is socialism and even the socialist can not change it. No matter what mistakes some may make, you will find me fighting for Socialism in the Socialist Party.

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No compromise, no political trading, is my warning to the American Socialist.

Reading, Pa., Dec. 3rd, 1909.

Thomas J. Morgan:

In reply to yours, please mark me NO.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 2, 1909.

Sumner W. Rose:

I will certainly oppose any proposition to go into the "merger" business except on the basis of merging labor into the Socialist Party.

I am a Trade Unionist myself, but to my mind the day of so-called labor parties is past. The old party politicians, who have always been in our ranks to mislead and enthrall us, have made those names, honorable as they should be, smell of suspicion of a concealed trap.

"Merger?" Never! except a merger into the Socialist Party. I have steam up, the engine oiled and a straight track off before me and I will not assist in any side tracking maneuvers.

Biloxi, Miss., Dec. 10, 1909.

J. W. Slayton:

Your inquiry of Nov. 30th relative to my attitude in the matter of **"merging the Socialist Party into a Labor Party,"** if elected to the N. E. C., just at hand. Just why this question is asked, I am somewhat at a loss to know, but taking it as it is asked—without details or reasons—I answer NO.

I do not mean by this that it is impossible to form a labor party that will stand for the emancipation of the laborers—but the article "A" is too indefinite; and, since I am opposed to all appearance even of compromise, fusion, or political trading, I shall oppose all fusion, or "merging" until I am at least convinced that the fusion won't mean confusion—or the **merging, submerging.**

By merging, we **might** get millions of votes—but what kind, what would they really represent; 10,000,000 votes backed up with **reason,** conscious reason, would be great for good, but without—calamity. By merging we might elect some—in fact many—officers, but what then? Would they be representatives of and for socialism?

I recall the thousands of reasons advanced in favor of the Populist Party merging with the Democratic Party. The result is history. I must be convinced that the Socialist Party is not making, nor can be made to make, for the emancipation of the **working class** before

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I shall favor any other name or alliance. We may have to amend, alter or abolish many things; I think we will. What of it? If we can't do that as it should be done in and for the movement, what will we do after we merge? Again I say NO; at least till I get more light—but it must be light, not glitter.

McKeesport, Pa., Dec. 2, 1909.

John Spargo:

In reply to the above question I will say that (1) I have not yet decided to accept nomination for re-election to the National Executive Committee; (2) I do not see how, under our constitution, the National Executive Committee could merge the party into any other party, "Labor" or otherwise; (3) I do not want a Labor Party, but desire to have the Socialist Party establish itself as the real party of labor; (4) I am inclined to believe that forces now at work will compel the organized workers of America to adopt political action, quite independent of all capitalist ties, and in the event of such a development taking place I believe that it would be the duty of the Socialist Party (note that I say "the Party") to make an attempt at least to co-operate with it rather than to fight it.

Yonkers, New York.

J. E. Snyder:

As far as I know the Socialist Party is a "Labor Party"; a class conscious organization.

It takes in all the producers of the world and all the thinkers, such as you and Marx, Engels and Debs and Warren. I am not in favor of fusion or compromise with a Gompers or a Bryan reform movement.

No fusion. No political trading. No compromise. I never owned any property and yet I have a college education. Please, am I a working man or not?

Girard, Kans., Dec. 2, 1909.

Fred'k. G. Strickland:

I am certainly opposed to your electioneering within the Socialist Party with a privately owned press at your beck and call. It is about the worst case of the "intellectual" that we have in our ranks.

Anderson, Ind., Dec. 1, 1909.

Carl D. Thompson:

In reply to your inquiry will say that I should not favor the merging of the Socialist Party into a labor party. I see no reason

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for any such action, and so far as I know there is no prospect of it being proposed. Should it be, I certainly would not favor it.

I feel very strongly that the Socialist Party must always be a working class party and that it should seek especially to draw the **organized** working classes into its ranks. But the party should never be made a mere trades union party, nor on the other hand should the party attempt to dominate or run the trades union movement.

The comrades in Europe seem to have the right tactics in this regard, for the trades unionists and Socialist Party organizations work together in harmony and thus have created a working class movement of tremendous power and efficiency. I should like to see the American Socialist movement develop along the lines of the International Socialist Party.

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 7, 1909.

John M. Work:

The Socialist Party is the genuine labor party. The so-called labor and wage-worker parties now existing on the Pacific coast are the sheerest fakes. Any union party likely to be formed in the United States will start out by being rankly opportunistic. The Socialist Party will then have a greater mission than ever, for it will be its province to stand unflinchingly for Socialism and guide the new party into the right channel. When such new party became genuinely socialist in its principles and tactics, it would then be the right course for us to unite with it. But, not until then.

En Route, Dec. 8, 1909.

For letters received too late to be inserted in their regular places, see News and Views Department.

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Fifteen Reasons Why a "Labor Party" Is Undesirable.

By William English Walling.

1. The Socialist Party is all that a Labor Party could be and much more besides. The German Social Democratic Party is far more useful to the trade unions than the British "Labor" Party.

2. "Labor" Parties are ready to compromise not only such socialistic principles as they happen to advocate, but even the principles of Labor Unionism, which demand complete independence of political parties supported by employers. In Australia the "Labor" party supports the party of the protectionist employers, in England that of the free trade employers.

3. "Labor" parties either exclude or neglect all those elements of the proletariat which do not happen to belong to the trade unions, *i. e.*, they neglect or subordinate the overwhelming majority of the proletariat.

4. "Labor" parties have, until the present, aroused the hostility of that portion of the proletariat which is not employed at manual labor in industry. That is, they divide the proletariat into two violently hostile and nearly equal portions. The agricultural proletariat and that of the offices, stores, professions and government employments is not only *outside* of but *against* a "Labor" party built up on ancient guild or castle lines.

5. "Labor" parties stand for the principle of conciliation in economic disputes instead of that of the class-struggle. They are, therefore, willing to make certain political compromises in the employers' interest in return for concessions on the economic field.

6. The concessions thus gained by a "Labor" Party are of doubtful value, because a rise in prices may always take away everything that has been gained.

7. "Labor" parties, in order to gain the adhesion of all trade unionists, tolerate in their members many reactionary actions such as the support of the Catholic Church in politics, the claiming of special legal privileges for certain classes of skilled workers, etc.

8. "Labor" parties, for the reason just mentioned, suppress their most aggressive, socialistic and intelligent members for fear of displeasing the conservative element, until the most valuable of the former feel themselves compelled to devote their main energies to some other organization, generally the Socialist Party.

9. "Labor" parties are untrue even to the principles of conservative

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and defensive trade unionism in that they stand not for but against a common international union card; not for but against reciprocity arrangements and the tearing down of tariff barriers that cripple so many industries. Capital is international. "Labor" parties are national.

10. "Labor" parties are untrue even to pure and simple unionism in that they do not favor the only means by which an Empire may be dissolved, the immediate and complete autonomy of all subject races. In this way they share the profits of slavery abroad and rivet their own chains.

11. "Labor" parties sacrifice their own children for the present generation. Interested *exclusively* in "getting something now," they are easily led into ambushes prepared for their children—in spite of a few fine socialistic phrases.

12. In placing so-called "practical" questions in the foreground and slighting questions of principle, "Labor" parties adopt the ethics and philosophy of capitalism, forget all the lessons of history and corrupt the morality and intelligence of the rising generation.

13. In denying the class-struggle and the probability of a revolutionary conflict "Labor" parties do a service to capitalism so great as to obtain its lasting gratitude and the assurance to all "leaders" of that party that should they ever wish to stoop, they are certain of obtaining their reward—at least by public office and the advantage of close relation with the rich. This is social, not financial, corruption, a subtle form that not many can resist.

14. In case a revolutionary movement arose during the existence of such a "Labor" Party, it would either disintegrate and divide into two parties, one of which was opposed to the revolutionists, or else it would be forced to assume a neutral negative and wavering attitude.

15. Finally, a "Labor" Party would impede and postpone the further organization of the less skilled into what have been called *industrial* union, but what are better called *labor* unions, since they imply not the organization of labor in a particular form, but the organization of all labor, the solidarity of labor. But since the majority of the members of a "Labor" Party would be more or less skilled *trade* unionists, their relative power compared with that of the unskilled would be still farther increased and the professed aim even of pure and simple, conservative unionism, namely the *complete* organization of labor, would be indefinitely postponed, with the help perhaps of some future so-called Liberal-Labor government.

A "Labor" Party is the beginning of the end of the very unions that compose it.

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A Letter from Debs.

On December 7 Comrade Debs wrote from Boulder, Colorado, to William English Walling as follows:

Dear Walling:

Yours of the 24th and copy of Simons' letter to you of the 19th ult. have been forwarded to me here.

I have had but time to read them hastily, but I AM WITH YOU thoroughly, and thank you for bringing the matter to my attention.

I have been watching the situation closely and especially the tendencies to REACTION to which we are so unalterably opposed. The Socialist Party has already CATERED FAR TOO MUCH to the American Federation of Labor, and there is no doubt that A HALT WILL HAVE TO BE CALLED.

The REVOLUTIONARY character of our party and our movement MUST be preserved in all its integrity AT ALL COST, for if that be compromised, it had better cease to exist.

I have no fear that any great number will be deflected when it comes to a show-down. Wish I could have an hour or two with you. Believe me always,

Yours faithfully,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

P. S.—I am more than gratified with your uncompromising spirit and attitude. If the trimmers had their way, we should degenerate into bourgeois reform. But THEY WILL NOT HAVE THEIR WAY.

(Just as we go to press, a telegram comes advising us that Debs authorizes the publication of this letter and postscript.—Editor.)

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The Shame of Spokane

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

REPRODUCED FROM A MARKED COPY OF THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW KINDLY (?) SENT US BY CHIEF OF POLICE SULLIVAN.

December 3rd Prosecuting Attorney Pugh thundered, in his attack upon the Industrial Workers of the World: "Let them feel the mailed fist of the law," amply justifying our definition of government as **"the slugging committee of the capitalist class."** This threat was presumably made in a full appreciation of what a roaring farce "constitution," "justice," "rights" constitute in Spokane—city of the Washington Water Power Company and the employment sharks.

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Since last writing for the Review we certainly have individually and collectively felt the mailed fist. Workingmen may come into this fight with respect for and faith in American institutions, but they will come out with every vestige ruthlessly destroyed by official acts and judicial decision. Free speech, free press, free assembly and the right of foreigners to avail themselves of the "benefits of our glorious government" (whatever that is) are non-existent in this western town. Outrage upon outrage has been heaped upon us—men, women and children—until the depths of indignation are reached and words fail to adequately express our intense feeling.

Every day men have gone upon the streets in numbers ranging from six to twenty-five and thirty, have said "Fellow workers" and have been railroaded for thirty days with a hundred dollars fine and costs. Ordered to work on the rock pile, and refusing, they have been given only bread and water in meagre rations. Bread and water for a hundred and thirty days means slow starvation, means legal murder, yet even on Thanksgiving day, the only exception made to the rule was to give smaller portions of more sour bread. The good, christian Chief of Police Sullivan sneeringly remarked, when asked if the turkey and cranberry dinner applied to all: "The I. W. W. will find the water faucet in good order." As a result of this diet the boys have become physical wrecks and are suffering with the scurvy and other foul diseases.

Once a week a day is appointed as "bath day" by the authorities, and the boys are brought from the Franklin School into the city jail in the interest of cleanliness. The newspapers have repeatedly informed the public that the I. W. W. men object to baths, and many a reader has turned away in horror, I suppose, from the dirty hoboes. The gentle and beneficent bath has been described as follows by a man who endured it: "First they strip your clothes off by force, then turn a stream of hot water over your head and shoulders scalding and blinding you at once, and then a stream of

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ice cold water." This alternating process would probably be enjoyed as much by the critical editor of the Spokesman-Review as it is by the I. W. W. boys.

As the prisoners were being taken from the school to the jail the I. W. W., Socialists and sympathetic onlookers lined up along the streets and threw sandwiches, fruit and tobacco into the wagon. Officer Bill Shannon, in charge, took a fiendish delight in kicking this food away from the starving rebels. With face and form like an African gorilla, showing no sign of either human compassion or intelligence, he held back the weakened men that they might not catch the

FRANKLIN SCHOOL (JAIL)—FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH.

fruit thrown. When one man got a sandwich and held on with hands and teeth, strengthened by desperation, Shannon grabbed him by the throat and choked him till he dropped the food. Mrs. Frenette with others lined up near the school and sang **"The Red Flag"** to encourage the prisoners. She was arrested and tried for disorderly conduct, the Chief of Police and six other officers testifying against her. They swore that she acted as if she were drunk, that she had carried on in a disorderly manner on the streets since this trouble started, and one said she acted like "a lewd woman." Testimony showing that she had stood on a private porch and had taken part in an

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orderly meeting was of no avail. She was requested to recite "The Red Flag" and did so with such dramatic force that the Judge was horrified at its treasonable and unpatriotic sentiment. She was sentenced to thirty days, one hundred dollars fine and costs, and Judge Mann recommended to the Prosecuting Attorney that a further charge of participating in an unlawful assemblage —a state charge—be filed against her. She was held for two days in the foul city jail, supplied with only the coarsest and most unpalatable foods and subjected to rigorous cross examination every little while. Bonds were put up by two local Socialists and she was released in a weak and starving condition.

Between three and four hundred men have now been sentenced for speaking on the street. At first the court room in which they were tried was open to the public, and spectators to the number of two hundred could be accommodated. But they didn't show a proper amount of respect for the official lights. One afternoon Attorney Crane was conducting his own case, wherein he was charged with disorderly conduct—speaking from his office window. In cross examining Chief of Police Sullivan he unexpectedly asked: "How much had you been drinking on the day of my arrest?" An irresistible burst of laughter swept over the entire court room, including the Judge and the Chief, but the excuse had now been found and the court room was ordered cleared. A partition was erected over night and the court is now so small that only a bare handful may be admitted. All the other public courts in Spokane that I have yet attended are of like character and the public are practically debarred from these "star chamber" proceedings. For additional precaution a bailiff is placed at the doorway, and I have seen him admit well-dressed lawyers and detectives while refusing to admit the wife of one of the men in jail, gruffly stating: "There are no seats."

The Spokane Chamber of Commerce, after a vituperative address by Mayor Pratt, passed resolutions unanimously de-

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nouncing the I. W. W. City Comptroller Fairley has announced that the free-speech fight is taking a thousand dollars a week out of the city treasury. We can well understand the reason for our condemnation. The I. W. W. has unanimously denounced the Chamber of Commerce. We are lined up on different sides of the class war, and the feeling of opposition is mutual.

Members, presumed by the police to be influential, have been arrested as they quietly walked along the street and thrown in jail, sometimes for several days before a charge was filed. For the protection of some of these, writs of **habeas corpus** were demanded of Judge Hinkle. He refused absolutely at first, stating that he did not care to have his court tied up with a lot of labor cases. This flagrant abuse of an old Anglo-Saxon right caused a roar of protest in the public press and throughout the labor organizations. The Judge, after a few hours of serious "thought," recanted and gave two writs, one dealing with a vagrancy case, the other with a disorderly conduct case as tests. The reason for his reversal can probably be found in the fact that fees of four dollars apiece were demanded before the City Clerk would file the papers. This practically means if you have money you can protect yourself before the law; if you have not, you can stay in jail till you rot. Prominent lawyers in the city gave their opinion that such a hold-up was without precedent.

This same Judge Hinkle had made himself infamous in connection with the juvenile cases. Perhaps the most disgraceful affair of many connected with the Spokane free-speech fight was the raid on the hall December 1st, resulting in the arrest of eight little newsboys. Simple on the surface, it is a subtle attempt to undermine the right of a parent to teach a child ideas different from the established order. The children were taken to the chief's office and put through a severe cross examination, after which they were locked up for the night. "The third degree" on youngsters ranging in years from eight to sixteen is quite a credit to the Spokane detective force. Couldn't you get evidence from grown-ups, Captain Burns, throwing light on the "secrets" and "conspiracy" of the I. W. W. without scaring it out of a lot of little boys? "The I. W. W. hall is no fit place for them," said Prosecuting Attorney Pugh of these poor, ragged, little urchins who trudge the streets in their thin little shoes going in and out of saloons and cheap resorts all hours of the day and night. The parents of the boys wth that innate respect for law came in fear and trembling to say that they had not sanctioned the children joining. One woman said she was too poor to buy her boy a necktie so let him wear the red one that a man gave him. The parents knew nothing of the I. W.

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W. and the little youngsters were rather deserted by the very ones who ought to know what's wrong with conditions that force them to send their little ones on the streets this frosty weather. One by one the youngsters succumbed and promised not to sell the I. W. W. paper or go near the hall. One notable exception was little Joseph Thompson. This little man bore himself with all the moral courage of a revolutionist straight through, refusing to retreat an inch. Over this boy the hardest conflict raged. Evidence was produced to show that Mrs. Thompson was in full accord with the I. W. W. and accompanied the boy to the hall. Judge Hinkle then remarked that, from his personal experience, **"the I. W. W. Hall is no fit place for a woman and no good woman frequents it."** "Besides," he remarked, of this clean, healthy, little youngster, "he looks dirty and uncared for." Language becomes inadequate and a horsewhip looks reasonable in face of this cowardly, scurrilous statement. If the condition of the judge's red and bloated face is indicative of his mode of life one may safely assume that his reputation as a notorious drunkard is not overdrawn, yet he is the guardian of juvenile morals, the critic of working women!

JOSEPH THOMPSON.

The next day, the cases being postponed for two days, Mrs. Thompson and her boy came to the court room where Mr. Thompson was expected to be tried. The probation officer called the boy out and his mother followed. He asked what the boy was doing there and she replied that she was accustomed to taking him with her everywhere she went. The officer retorted: "You are not a fit person to take care of the boy," and ordered the boy to go home.

In 1817 Shelley was deprived of his three children because he was an atheist. **Is the time coming in this United States when Socialists are to be deprived of their children because they are Socialists?** There is no insult too gross, no trick too low, no act too heartless for these brutal representatives of law and order to resort to. Who is to fix

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the standard of what constitutes proper care for children and correct ideas to teach them—shyster lawyers, drunken judges and ignorant, illiterate police officers?

But Judge Hinkle overstepped the bounds when he said no good woman frequents the I. W. W. hall. Saturday, December 4th, saw his court room lined with men and women who visit the hall regularly, and many of the women were not in a pleasant frame of mind. The judge blustered around, tried to make amends and then summarily dismissed the juvenile cases. The whole affair, however, is but a straw to show the trend of modern capitalism. It will happen again and we must be prepared.

The conspiracy cases have been increased to eleven within the last month and we are continually reminded by the prosecuting attorney that more are to follow. Fellow-Worker Filigno was given a preliminary hearing before Judge Mann and bound over in the Superior Court under two thousand dollars bond. Fellow-Worker John Pancner was adjudged guilty and sentenced to six months in the county jail. A change of venue was demanded on the strength of the judge's admitted prejudice and was granted for the conspiracy cases, but the street-speaking cases remained in the hands of a judge who stated that **"the right to speak is God-given and inalienable"** but that he **"would sentence any man for disorderly conduct who spoke or attempted to speak."** The conspiracy cases are now being tried before Judge Stocker, with progress up to the present as follows: E. J. Foote, James Wilson and James P. Thompson have been sentenced to six months in the county jail and A. E. Cousin to four months. Still to be tried are George Speed, Louis Gatewood, Charles Conner, William Douglass and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Appeals have been taken in all cases up to date and as the rest of us will probably get the same sentence appeals will be taken to a higher court and a jury trial.

I am certain the readers of the **Review** will appreciate for themselves the enormity of this injustice.

The Mullen case, one that should be heralded from coast to coast, is as follows: The court room was crowded one day and Officer Shannon was appointed to keep further spectators from coming in. A little fellow by the name of Mullen, not an I. W. W. man, presumably did not understand that the court room was closed and started in. Shannon instead of telling him the circumstances, grabbed him, kicked him and beat him continually down the stairs and through the hallway to the booking office of the jail, where he struck the man's head against the desk. The business in the court room was completely interrupted for at least ten minutes while the man's shrieks and agonized cries for mercy rang through the building. The judge suavely thanked

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the spectators for their orderly behavior during "the disturbance." Mullen was kept in jail for three or four days, probably that he might recover his normal looks, and then was tried with the result that he was sentenced to thirty days, one hundred dollars fine and costs, in spite of the fact that four non-partisan witnesses testified to the man's quiet behavior and Officer Shannon's intense brutality.

Shannon is an old man on the force, has a reputation for being "a tough proposition" and is now so near his time for retirement that no matter what he does he will be retained on the force that he may draw his pension.

That such inhuman conduct is not uncommon among the police of Spokane is shown by the attack of Officer Meyers made upon a harmless drunkard a few weeks ago when he beat him into unconsciousness before a crowd of indignant citizens. Ernest Untermann was a witness to this incident. The citizens complained so strenuously to the Police Commissioner that Meyers was dismissed, but if he had attacked an I. W. W. man he would probably have been given a gold medal.

The Spokesman Review was very much excited over the fact that the I. W. W. "jail birds" insulted the Salvation Army. Of course their indignation turns to unctuous praise when Prosecuting Attorney Pugh designates James Wilson as a coward, a sneak and a liar, trying to whine out of his responsibilities. The Salvation Army has not the courage to continue its street meetings, but must come down to the city jail to talk to starving men who cannot get away. They did not put in an appearance on Thanksgiving day to feed the hungry or give drink to the thirsty, but like the hypocrite in the bible when asked for bread "they offered a stone." The insult was not that the I. W. W. boys howled at them and jeered them out of the place, the insult was that they ever dared to come at all. The Industrial Workers are interested in a live issue of better things for this world. As Mr. Pugh so aptly put it we are a modest aggregation "who, after they win the free-speech fight, intend to come back after the whole works."

Needless to say people who advise us to be contented and humble and look for our reward in heaven are not very popular when we're starving and suffering that we may get a little less hell on earth. If we are, as Mr. Pugh says, "the hoboes, tramps and ne'er-do-wells," then it is up to us to change our status right here and now.

The A. F. of L. Central Labor Council and the Socialist party are working earnestly on the initiative petition and it is progressing splendidly from all reports. The miners of Butte have followed up the action of the Coeur D'Alene district in boycotting Spokane and all her products. Damage suits have piled up against the city, many filed by indignant citi-

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zens who were drenched by the hose of the fire department, others filed by members of the I. W. W. who have been assaulted by officers both in and out of jail. Needless to say all of these different activities have their result upon the opinions of the taxpayers and the business men. We can appeal to their pocketbook far more effectually than to their intelligence or sense of justice.

The newspapers have gloated over the fact that the switchmen's strike is helping to cripple the I. W. W. To a certain extent the influx of I. W. W. volunteers is certainly being delayed but the fight can never be lost when starved and beaten men will come out of jail and voluntarily offer to go back that the fight may not be lost. Such courage and endurance as the rebels have shown in this fight is almost beyond the comprehension of the average citizen. Particularly are they surprised at the "non-resistant" attitude, at the self-

OUT ON THE ROCK PILE.

control and splendid discipline under circumstances that would try the average man to desperation.

The hunger strike was called off by the unknown fighting committee for the reason that they felt the I. W. W. boys were practically committing suicide under the surveillance of a police force that were glad to see them do it. In a war there is no sense in doing what the

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enemy want you to do. Some of the boys have gone on the rock pile and from now on others will probably go without being considered either traitors or cowards by the organization. The reason is that they can in this way get three square meals a day and fresh air to keep them in good fighting condition. As for work that will be rather a minus quantity, a sort of graceful shifting, of shovel or pick from one hand to the other.

This fight is on to the bitter end. It will never be settled for us until it is settled right. They may send us all to jail, but that will not stop the agitation for free speech. They may deport the I. W. W. men but the battle will not be crushed. Let sympathizers on the outside help to spread the news of this brutal conflict and express their sympathy in the coin of the realm. The great need of the hour is financial assistance. Readers of the Review are invited to contribute their share.

Within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labor are brought about at the cost of the individual laborer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of the producers; they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into a hated toil. * * * They distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labor-process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his life-time into working-time and drag his wife and child beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of capital.—Karl Marx, in Vol. I of Capital.

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The Strike of the Singers of the Shirt

By Rose Strunsky.

Song of the Shirt in chorus! The fact is momentous. he lyric becomes an epic. The plaint becomes a war- ng. It becomes a man song.

It is historic. The singer has come out of the gar- t. She has dropped her needle and bends over her achine in the crowded tenement of a shopkeeper or in the loft of a manufacturer. There are rows upon rows of machines next

MARCH OF THE 40,000 SHIRT-WAIST STRIKERS.

to her, and she sings the Song of the Shirt in chorus. It is the death of the woman. It is the birth of the sexless laborer.

As woman she was in the field of labor as man's scab. She under-

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bid him. She was an accident in the field—the stones to be picked up for loading the sling of the capitalist.

That this most finely developed industrial country should be the first to turn woman into the laborer was historically logical and to be foreseen, and now this great dramatic and vital birth has happened—happened by the new Singers of the Shirt; by the general strike of the forty thousand shirt-waist makers of New York, which began on November 23rd.

This new-born laborer, this woman *per se* of yesterday, has taken the slug-horn to her lips and called out her armies upon that battle-field where she had been but a tool these hundred years of industrial transition, and, stern-eyed and intense, has made her first charge against the enemy. The act is impressive and significant and has the beauty which comes with a noble growth and the sadness which accompanies beauty and growth. The outbreak was strong and unexpected though for years the foundations of it were laid by quiet propaganda as well as economic necessity.

The necessity for organization had been realized by the men almost as soon as the industrial revolution took place. The great difficulty was to make the women see it also now that they had entered upon the field; and to the shame of the men laborers may it be said that they did little to help their sisters realize the necessity and advantages of union. They were blinded by a short-sighted jealousy; they did not seem to realize that they belonged to the same class and that if kept divided, it would be as unfortunate for the men as for the women themselves.

The first conscious effort to organize the women in America was made in 1903, when Miss Mary K. O'Sullivan and William English Walling formed the nucleus of an organization, which was called the Woman's Trade Union League. A meeting was held during a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and several officers of that organization were induced to attend, in order to aid and give their support. The League, after passing through the hardships of its formative period, succeeded in establishing itself on a firm basis and has proven of great aid in spreading unionism. Already it controls ten thousand organized women, but its seed has fallen farther than its members themselves knew, as was shown by the response of the shirt-waist makers to go out on the general strike, the majority of them being unorganized.

The League led the six months' strike of the cotton operatives in Fall River, Massachusetts, and worked in behalf of the striking laundry workers of Troy; it took up the bakers' strike of this city and now, like a careful mother, is tenderly watching and caring for this first large battle of the women workers on the field of labor.

The cause of the general strike was the unrest in the shirt-waist

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making industry. In September the Triangle Shirt Waist factory struck. A system of sub-contracting, which nearly all the shops have, was going on there with great abuses. The employer hired a man for twenty dollars a week, who in turn contracted shirt-waist makers at any price he could get them for, and so squeezing the wage down to as low as four and five dollars a week. The girls worked from eight in the morning to nine in the evening four times a week and half a day on Sunday. Strange to say, the strike in this factory was caused by the sub-contractor himself. He quarreled with the employer, and in leaving the place, he turned to the girls and told them to follow him. They left their machines and went out. The next day they were urged to come back, but they were then laid off for a month on the pretext of lack of work, while the employers advertised in the Italian, Jewish and English papers for shirt-waist makers.

ARRESTING THE GIRL STRIKERS FOR PICKETING.

The strike was on. When the former employees went to the shop to inform the girls who were answering the advertisements that the shop was on strike, they were arrested, mistreated and fined by the courts.

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The enemy, too, recognized that the question of sex was gone, that she was no longer woman but laborer, and that she was to be fought in the same way as the man laborer.

From September to October 103 arrests were made for picketing, the girls all being fined. Thugs were immediately employed to guard the scabs and policemen to help the thugs.

As the conditions in other shops were no better than in this Triangle Shirt-Waist factory, the unrest among the workers grew. On November 23rd it was decided to call mass meetings to discuss conditions. Four halls were crowded. The largest, which was Cooper Union, was presided over by the Woman's Trade Union League and had among its speakers Mr. Gompers. Gompers made a characteristic speech to them:

"I have never declared for a strike in all my life," he said. "I have done my best to prevent strikes, but there comes a time when not to strike rivets the chains on our wrists."

The shirt-waist makers listened to many more such speeches. They had come to the meeting heavy-hearted and depressed. It meant suffering to continue work under their conditions, and it meant suffering to fight. Would they succeed in the fight? Could they succeed? Would the rest of the girls, for whom it was so difficult to grasp the advantages of solidarity, join in a general strike? Did they have the strength of character, the nobility of purpose?

The speakers, one after the other, argued about the possibilities of victory and discussed the methods of employers. In the midst of these speeches Clara Lemlich, a dark, pale little girl of about 20, raised her hand to show her desire to speak. She was called upon, and willing hands lifted her on the platform. With the simplicity of genius she said: "I have listened to all the speakers, and I have no patience for talk. I am one who feels and suffers from the things pictured. I move that we go on a general strike."

It was the expression of the heart of the audience. It jumped to its feet and cheered approval. It was for this they had come together, these thousands of isolated girls. Unknown to themselves they had come to unite into one army for the benefit of all. They had come to declare war.

A committee of fifteen was appointed to go to the other halls to announce the decision of the Cooper Union meeting. As the committee entered each well-packed hall and told of the call to arms, it was applauded and cheered for many minutes.

The next day, when the girls in the shops were informed of the general strike, they rose without a question, left their work and went out. Six hundred shops joined the union in a few days. The spontaneous and enthusiastic response to the call came as a great surprise to every one. None had guessed of this latent fire—neither the leaders, nor the

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Woman's Trade Union League, nor the girls themselves. None knew that it was there. In forty-eight hours it reached forty thousand girls. Their demands were for the recognition of the union, a twenty per cent. increase in their wages and shorter hours—a fifty-two hour working week.

Before the strike was several hours old twenty shops settled and five hundred girls won. The next day forty-one shops settled and seven thousand girls returned to work and each day brings bosses who are willing to settle on union terms.

Morning, afternoon and evening every hall on the East Side and the large halls in the city that could be gotten, were filled with strikers and sympathizers, to discuss ways and means and to encourage each other in the struggle.

The war was on, and the chivalrous instincts in the old veterans of the class struggle came out. Besides the Socialists and the Women's Trade Union League, the United Hebrew Workers sent out committees to help these new militants; the American Federation of Labor offered Mr. Mitchell to give his aid and advice, and Solomon Shindler, the Gompers of the East Side, has directed their forces from the very beginning.

It is hard to tell here if it would not have been better to have shown less chivalry and to have let this new army fight its own battle. It is a question in some minds whether the fact that the girls were permitted to sign up with their bosses, while the other three-fourths of their comrades were still on strike, was good tactics for the girls who have returned to work are forced, perhaps, to scab on their sisters by doing the work of the manufacturers who are still on strike.

Yet this is the time-honored method in strikes and can be used to advantage in a long strike as in the case of the strike now on in Sweden, where more than half the workers were permitted to go back to work by the unions so as to support the other half in their fight with the bosses. Moreover, in the shirt-waist making industry, each shop has its own kind of work and therefore there can be no uniform price. Since each shop has to be settled with differently, it is almost impossible to keep the general strike in force.

If labor is showing its solidarity, so is capital protecting its interests. A shirt-waist manufacturers' association has already been formed and it threatens to be obstinate and obdurate. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Hymans, of the National Association of Clothiers, have suggested arbitration. They proposed that two men be elected by the strikers and two by the shirt-waist manufacturers, who in turn are to elect two others; and that this committee of six should arbitrate. But the one thing they were firm about was that the strikers would listen to no arbitration if the union were not to be recognized. So far the Shirt-Waist Makers' Association has not

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responded to this letter although the strikers have elected their two men, who are Mitchell and Hillquit.*

The first hours of success are now followed by long days of obdurate waiting and fighting. Of course the whole industry is not called out and the manufacturers are sending their goods to be finished in neighboring cities. Still there is no doubt that, with the aid of the great sympathy which the girls have won for themselves among the whole population, they would be victorious in the long run did they have the wherewithal to carry on this fight. Most of them have families to support and two weeks of strike leaves them penniless. The strike committee has already had to buy bread for many of them. Were the union older, or could they expect much support from other unions, their victory would be certain. As it is, seventeen thousand girls were victorious, as to the twenty-three thousand who are out on strike, we must hope for the best.

A strike is as sexless as a factory, and the laws for the Singers of the Shirt are the same as for the longshoreman and the miner. The employers have the police, thugs and plain-clothes men, the judges and the courts to help them. Against all these the girls pit themselves. Though peaceful picketing is permissible by law, about twenty-five or fifty girls are arrested daily. A boss can point out any one as a striker or charge her with calling "scab," and she is immediately arrested, and roughly handled; then fined by the judge. In the beginning of the strike the fines were from two to three dollars. They are now from five to ten dollars, or three hundred dollars' bail, to keep the peace for three months—which defined, means no picketing at all.

Moreover, we are beginning to hear threats of the workhosue from these worthy dispensers of the law, and several have already been sentenced. "You girls are getting to be a nuisance and a menace to the community," said Magistrate Krotel, of the Essex Market Court, "and I am here to do all in my power to stop this disorder. You are acting inexcusably in attacking the policemen (*sic!*) and the next time you are brought here, I will send you to the workhouse." This conception of order is equal to the Cossacks, which is the order that comes after the healthful use of the knout.

The "Uptown scum" (the proud title which the Woman's Trade Union League has won for itself by its activities among the working women) decided to march with the girls, on December 2nd, to the Mayor

* The latest report is that the shirt-waist manufacturers have appointed their two men, T. H. Hyman and H. T. Callahan and that after a three hours' conference with Mitchell and Hillquit have come to a deadlock. The manufacturers refuse to recognize the union and insist on an open shop, though they are willing to grant increase in wages and shorter hours. The representatives of labor refuse to arbitrate in any other way than on a union basis.

It is reported that the manufacturers have decided to give new instructions to their representatives.—December 11.

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of this city, to inform him of their legal right to picket and to tell him that when they are arrested they are mishandled and often beaten and that the police permit the hired thugs of the employers to assault them without offering protection. Ten thousand girls marched with this delegation through the streets of New York. The sight of these dignified, earnest and intense strikers was inspiring and soul-stirring. Even the Mayor was impressed. He received the committee, he heard their complaint, was astonished at the facts related, which up to now, in the stress of his work, had escaped his notice, and promised to investigate. But over a week has passed, and the fines still go on depleting the precious treasury of the union, which ought to go for bread for the strikers, and it is easily imagined that the treatment of the combined force of unrestrained thugs, Pinkertons and police is not gentle.

If public opinion alone could win a strike, this one would surely be

MARCH TO THE HIPPODROME.

won, for the dramatic qualities and beauty of this first battle of women workers has not failed to escape every class except those who are financially interested in their defeat. The woman's suffrage movement seems to be eager to help them (though it doesn't forget to help itself in the meantime), and Mrs. Belmont, on December 5th, hired the Hippodrome, the largest theatre in the city of New York, for the purpose of having the story of the strikers told and spreading sympathy for them among all classes and to teach them women's suffrage. Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes and Leonora O'Reilly represented the Socialist and union point of view, and Dr. Anna H. Shaw spoke as a woman suffragist, with the cause of the working girls in her heart. The Colony Club, that most exclusive and fashionable women's club in the city, with Mrs. Egerton Winthrop

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MASS MEETING AT THE HIPPODROME.

and Miss Anne Morgan as hostesses, has invited these girls, for the purpose of hearing their story and spreading it to the public.

The fight is alive and keen. There is no quiet sitting down and waiting for results. Not a day passes without some spectacular effect, some fight brilliantly managed; some meeting where enthusiasm is roused and courage strengthened.

Here lies the special interest of this strike. It is the psychology which is displayed in it that is more wonderful than the facts themselves, coldly described. We cannot measure such movements by net results, and the strike will be a success even if it fails; it will be a successful failure. The girls have won for themselves the knowledge of united strength, the consciousness of their united power, and the realization that when the Song of the Shirt is sung in chorus, they drop forever the time-worn slavery of the woman sitting alone with "fingers weary and worn," plying her needle from sunrise to midnight, but that they have their place with their brothers in the fight of Labor. They become comrades and equals on this battlefield.

And so much we know today: That seventeen thousand women have bettered their conditions and that the spirit of solidarity has entered the hearts of forty thousand Singers of the Shirt.

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The U. S. Regular Army

By Louis Duchez.

THE United States regular army as a factor with which the revolutionary working class of this country will have to deal with in the future may well be considered. And this especially since the United States government at the present time is doing all in its power to encourage a reverence for militarism. Several prominent military officials are traveling back and forth across the country boosting the military spirit of America, pointing out the opportunities for young men in the regular army and urging them to enlist. We even see the motion picture trust supported by the government, which furnishes them with large advertising posters—the same as those used in front of recruiting depots—describing the beauties of army life and the honor of a military career. Not only that, but we see the wages of soldiers increased considerably and barrack life in a dozen ways made more agreeable.

The writer wishes to deal with this subject, briefly, from the point of view of one who has served three years in the U. S. regular army, having served with men from every "branch of the service" in several parts of the United States and in Cuba, and receiving an "honorable" discharge with "excellent character" and the remarks, "a reliable man and soldier." (I was a socialist and anti-militarist when I enlisted Was discharged two years and a half ago.)

In the first place, the rank and file of the "regulars" are proletarian in type and attitude. For the most part they are young men who have traveled much—the type which is considered "wild" in their respective communities. The most of them have worked hard in factories, mines and upon ranches. They have felt the grind of the capitalist system—and they got tired of it. They could see where they were producing wealth for others and getting a mere existence in return. And they could see the same tread-mill struggle ahead of them until the end of their days—and the army offered an outlet. Not only that, but it offered an opportunity to "see the world," the burning desire of the men of the regular army.

The men of the regular army are essentially irreligious and unpatriotic. National patriotism to them, with few exceptions, is a farce. A very common remark among "old men" to new recruits is, "Got

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patriotic, did you?" And then to answer themselves by saying, "I guess you were like the rest of us—you got hungry."

Patriotic songs, such as are often sung among high schools boys and girls, have little interest for the "regulars." When they do sing them it is in the spirit of sarcasm and humor. Their favorite songs are those of the tramp and vagrant type.

Not only does the environment of the regular army man tend toward an irreligious and unpatriotic attitude, but his civilian and proletarian training, in contrast with the patriotic forms of the military life, urges

COMRADE DUCHEZ, MOUNTED MESSENGER, CUBA.

a positive conviction. It is for this reason, in a large degree, that in the the socialist movement of America there is such a large percentage of men who have served in the regular army. The act of bearing arms, engendering the fighting spirit in the natures of men who have been trained under the modern machine process, has a tendency to make them revolutionary.

Another trait of the "regular" is his hatred for the militiaman. The militiaman is often spoken of among the "regulars" as a "tin soldier," but the ill-feeling for him is based, in the fact, to a large extent, that the militia is composed, principally, of young men who are clerks and "counter-jumpers," who wear high collars and work cheap, and who have

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capitalist minds. The young men employed at manual labor in the large industries have a spirit of hatred for this same type.

Also, the "regular," especially after serving "one hitch" (a term of three years), does not take well to hard work. That is another reason why many of them become rebels after an enlistment in the army. On scores of occasions the writer has seen men of the regular army walk up to young men who were employed at hard work on the streets or in ditches and "bawl them out" because they submitted to slavish conditions.

Of course, these traits of character found in the "regulars" may not mean much to the revolutionary movement of this country, neverthe-

GUARD HOUSE AT FORT DES MOINES, IOWA.

less they indicate a proletarian spirit on the part of the men. The sign is a healthy one, at least.

Now, as to whether the U. S. regulars would turn against us in a fight with the masters, we should not trust them to do anything else. That's part of their business. At any rate, we should carry on our propaganda among them. Already there is much of it being done and the men are being affected. It's not an uncommon thing to find revolutionists in the U. S. regular army.

But there is a more effective way of winning the good will and support of soldiers than that of teaching them it is a crime to shoot down their fellow working men in a struggle. It is that employed by the men at McKees Rocks.

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There we know how they were tamed—and even helped the strikers club the scabs that were run out of the plant. The same Cossacks (the Pennsylvania state constabulary is made up of men who have served in the regular army) were on duty at Butler, Pa., and New Castle. In Butler and New Castle they were very hostile to the strikers but at McKees Rocks they became "friendly" to the men—the capitalist press told us that.

One of the Cossacks, a man who served three years in the regular cavalry with the writer, for many months in the same barracks, and who was on "duty" at Butler, then at New Castle and also at McKees Rocks during the worst part of the struggle there, said he admired the "fighting spirit" of the McKees Rocks strikers. He also said he was one of the troopers that helped the strikers club the scabs. The same fellow clubbed the strikers at Butler and New Castle. His love was won by the "ignorant foreigners"—won with a hand spike.

This same Cossack told the writer that if all the working men in Pennsylvania "put on the same front" as the McKees Rocks men did there would be no need for the state constabulary, and he wouldn't have to do that "dirty work in order to get a living without having to kill himself in a ditch."

It is the organized power of the workers in the place where that power is exercised that will meet effectively the military power of the master class. It will also win the support and respect of the soldiers as individuals.

HERCULES, ARISE!

By Katharine Rand Stevens.

The Power of Riches, like the Hydra dire
That ravaged Lerna by the Aegean Sea,
Renews twofold those heads of infamy
We cut away; they yield to nought but fire,
Such as the Hero kindled in his ire.
Behold our Hydra—fierce Monopoly!
Oh, for an hour, great Hercules, of thee,
To light the Tyrant-Creature's funeral pyre!

Are all the Heroes dead? Oh, vast and dumb
The stifled, soundless wailing to the skies!
What is it stirs in menace where it lies,
And lights dull fires with fingers crushed and numb?
Lo, there, the Hero-People who arise—
Our Hercules! Behold, the hour is come!

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methods of production in China.

Through years of foreign aggression, war and murder, the Open Door Policy has been established and the bloody march of progress—but progress for all that—has gone steadily forward.

Few of us Americans realize the magnitude of the new movements in China, so boastful are we of our own wonderful economic advance at home. It is true that China has been the slowest of the great world powers to accept the new, to apply modern methods, but she has at last aroused herself and is now welcoming—even seeking and establishing—them.

China is larger than all Europe. The United States, Alaska and several Great Britains might be set down within her borders and room still be left for more. Her population numbers over 430,000,000. A single state within her provinces contains a population greater than one-half the entire population of the United States.

Only a few years ago the first steam engine was introduced into China. Even today hundreds of thousands of coolies are employed in carrying small baskets of coal and other commodities to and fro to their various customers in the empire. But slowly and surely the railroads are robbing them of their old means of livelihood, and already along the route of each new railway is left a small army of unemployed.

As yet China is a house divided against itself. The population that possessed fixed employment under the old regime is loud in its denuncia-

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tions of the new methods. And in many provinces it is still necessary to maintain a guard at every station to protect the railroads. But the roads are beginning to yield immense profits and the government has set its hand to the plow and will not turn back.

But new avenues of employment are opening up to the Chinese workingmen. The establishment of the great steel mills at Hankow, 700 miles south of Pekin, made necessary the employment of over 20,000 "hands," nearly all of whom are Chinese. The same is true in other parts of the empire—the new industries demand men and China is already talking about her industrial centers. The men employed in these steel mills are paid from $5.00 to $40.00 a month. The great steel plant occupies 120 acres. The ore used comes from sixty miles down the Yangtse from a solid mountain of iron. Already there are 250,000,000 tons of iron in sight in the companies' iron mines. The particular spot now being used, alone, contains over 150,000,000 tons. The ore is much purer than our own Lake Superior and the Swedish grades. The mines and river boats employ thousands of additional men. And all these men are head and stomach for the new and modern regime. The steel plant is owned by Chinese. Less than a score of foreign specialists are employed in the mills.

A geological specialist makes the claim that one province alone in China would easily be able to supply the coal market of the world for one thousand years.

One of the ancient Chinese superstitions was that the Evil Spirits were only able to pursue the living in a direct uninterrupted straight line. For this reason the roads and streets of China have been built to contain as many crooks and angles as possible. But with modern improvement came the inevitable changes in religious ideas. For the railroads pursue a straight course and prosperity attends them. Railroads have even been built over the ground made sacred by the bones and graves of their ancestors and good alone has come of it.

Not many years ago China was prone to look down upon her Japanese neighbors, but the victory of Japan over Russia has changed all that. That a despised neighbor was able to utterly rout the Russian enemy, whose steady and aggressive encroachments the Chinese had been unable to withstand, has given them food for thought. Furthermore the unbounded enthusiasm of the Japanese soldiers was a source of utter amazement to the Chinese government, for until very recently patriotism among the army of China was a trait unknown.

Fifty years ago the Japanese might have whipped Russia twice over and the Chinese government be still ignorant of that fact. But the aggressive foreigners had brought with them into China the telegraph and

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telephone, and events it had formerly taken China many years to learn were immediately communicated to her.

All these things filled the Chinese government with wonder and amazement, and today the telegraph extends from one end of the empire to the other, and with it the telephone. Then came the real newspapers. Today the Imperial Palace (formerly lighted by bean oil lamps) is lighted by electricity. And all over China the people are crying for kerosene. Hence the marvelous trade between China and the Standard Oil Company.

And China is just awakening. Already the railroads have made possible the exportation of many Chinese products. And her export trade is on the increase. And with the exportation of products formerly consumed at home, the cost of living is increasing. Statisticians claim the cost of living in China has increased 18 per cent within the last few years, while wages have not risen to meet it.

With the introduction of improvement machinery and new methods of production and its attendant proletariat we may soon look for a socialist movement in China.

The result of the Russia-Japan war has greatly accelerated the new movement in China and with the introduction of every modern machine in the productive industries that movement is receiving greater momentum.

The Chinese government has decided to emulate Japan. To do this the government needs a patriotic army—an interested people. A mighty revolution in educational ideas is taking place. Books are being published, newspapers are springing up, a growing system of compulsory education is being inaugurated.

Thousands of the young men of China are yearly being sent abroad to study. Perhaps one-half of them attend Japanese colleges. An increasing number come to the United States and a political revolution is taking place also.

The new manufacturers in China are growing in strength and power. They want a new form of government that will give them freer hands in widening the scope of their activities. The old traditional laws, petty viceroys and governors hamper and hinder them on every side.

They have pointed out these things to the Central Government. They have pointed to Germany and England, before whom China still bends an unwilling knee; and to Japan nearer home.

Night schools and day schools have been started in China. In increasing ratio the citizens of the empire are to be educated and the prince regent has announced that within a few years China shall have a constitutional government. This announcement was greeted with enthusiasm all over the empire, and the people as a whole are, for the

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first time, taking an interest in the government—a government in which they hope one day to have a share.

The government is not neglecting the study of foreign war tactics Thousands of Chinese youths are studying at foreign military academies. Han Yang, China, has a military academy of her own, numbering 1,000 students. She also possesses a large smokeless powder factory.

All this, with the promise of a constitutional government and their hatred of the foreign invaders, is arousing a spirit of patriotism among

INTERIOR OF A THIRD CLASS PASSENGER CAR.

the people. And doubtless within a few years China will possess as strong and as enthusiastic an army and navy as Japan.

Big things may soon be expected from China. Already she is producing steel of as high a quality as the best it has taken America long years to attain. Each month finds new industrial plans formulated within her provinces. With her millions of workingmen and her limitless wealth she will speedily take her place among the great manufacturing nations. With these new methods of production she will be able to supply the needs of the whole world. Will she be able to conquer the world markets by underselling Germany and England? The Orient is awakening and before many years we may look for the modernization of the whole world. Then Capitalism shall have fulfilled its historic mission and we may hope for the new society when the hand of Labor shall reap the fruits she has sown and the workingman shall at last come into his own.

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Getting Collective Possession of Industries

By A. M. Stirton.

QUESTION that can no longer be ignored in the councils of the Socialist Party is this: "How and by what steps do we propose to take collective possession of industry?"

Time and again have we been told that such questions belong to the future, and it were wise to let the future take care of itself. "The people," it has been urged, "will decide when the time comes."

This wretched sophistry and cowardly side-stepping of a vital question has had, among other evil results, that of postponing the realization of our purposes to a distant and speculative future. "The time" when "the people are to decide" is made to appear so far in the future that no direct steps toward its realization can be taken in the present. Can we wonder that we see the party drifting into a mere advocacy of reform measures and palliatives, not only reflected in our present national platform, but also in the general tone of our party press?

Can we wonder that we fail to reach the industrial workers, the very class on which the realization of our program depends?

Broken fragments of the middle class drift readily into our ranks. We gain recruits in the villages and in the country districts. But in the large industrial centers, in New York, in Philadelphia, in Chicago—in all the large industrial centers—so far from making a satisfying increase relatively to their growth, our vote shows a decided falling off.

The shop mind is eminently practical. The man at the loom and at the forge has to be shown. He listens to our exposition of the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth, but he wants to know "how we are going to get it." The assurance that "the people" will some day "decide" has no argument with him. He wants to hear of a definite and workable plan of action, or he will have none of it. We can't overawe him by quoting Kautsky. He is in no hurry to buy a pig in a bag.

And it is quite impossible to convince him that the mere putting of pieces of paper in a ballot box will solve problems which he finds ourselves side-stepping in our literature and party platforms. "Put the paper in the box and the man will do the rest." He isn't altogether sure

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of that. It is so long since he believed in a Santa Claus of any sort, political or otherwise.

Palliatives in the form of "immediate demands," that do not affect him at all or are pushed by other partisans with equal vigor, appeal to him as little. Taxation reform, old age pensions, improved public sanitation, conservation of natural resources, votes for women, exposure of municipal graft—tempting baits; it's a shame he doesn't bite. The Opportunist has piped unto him and he has not danced. The Impossibilist has mourned unto him and he has not lamented.

With that materialistic, eminently practical shop mind of his he still asks: "How are we going to take possession of all this and run it, even if we do vote for it?" Like Banquo's ghost, that question will not down.

So much so, that our party press is beginning these days to look for a solution, and we certainly hear a variety of suggestions. We are told in the name of the revolution that we must never think of "confiscating" these industries, even if they do represent surplus values exploited from the workers. In the hour of revolutionary victory we must still respect private property in the means of exploitation, and "buy out" the capitalists. At whose valuation, theirs or ours? If at theirs, does the Class Struggle resolve itself into an attempt on our part to make bondholders of profit taking manufacturers? We may be spared our pains. Capitalism itself is doing that for many of them, much to their satisfaction. If at our valuation, wherein is the fact of confiscation altered by a gift on our part arbitrarily determined by ourselves? And what is the logical necessity for that gift if "labor produces all wealth" and is "entitled to all it produces."

But no, we will be told again, sometimes by the same comrades, that we must all get guns and if necessary shoot them out. Especially if they don't submit to the decisions of a socialist ballot, which, at our present rate of progress, bids fair for successes within a few milleniums at least. Whence and by what means are we to get guns? Are the trusts, who now control the output and sale of the necessaries of life, powerless to control the output and sale of weapons also? And suppose that we were all armed—and drilled, too, for that matter—what bearing would that have on the concrete task of organizing and managing industry?

Others again have advocated the slow, expensive, and ridiculously wasteful plan of "competing out" the capitalists, through the duplication of existing plants by a socialist political government elected at the ballot box. Mines, for example. The coal, iron and copper in the ground are all held by capitalists, either as individuals or as corporations. We mustn't "confiscate" any of that, but we may "compete out" the mine owners by sinking mines somewhere else. Railroads, too. Those now

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in existence can be "competed out" of private hands by running lines parallel with them, incidentally adding to the beauties of the socialist landscape. As a pleasing illustration of the economies of Socialism contrasted with the wicked wastefulness of Capitalism, this plan would be highly effective. Nor need we lack for rails or other equipments, seeing that we can purchase these from the trusts, the majority of whose stockholders are also stockholders in the railroads to be "competed out." Competition; blessed word of the decaying middle class! It is to be the savior of the Revolution also!

Meanwhile the captains of industry, realizing that this program was under way, and seeing their finish determined on, could surely be depended on to continue their activities, and not precipitate a crisis for which we were unprepared, by shutting down the industries in their control before the competing out process was completed. To do so would disarrange all our plans, and we cannot believe that they could be guilty of an act so rude. Especially if we had not yet fully "decided" just what we wanted or how we proposed to get it.

And yet the problem of getting possession is infinitely simple. It is nothing more or less than the problem of getting the workers industrially organized, a task which needs not to be postponed a single hour, but which is now well under way in the hands of the Industrial Workers of the World.

When the workers are once industrially organized so that they are competent to control production and distribution, in that very moment they have possession. They need no further process, either with gun, ballot or bargain. They are actually in possession.

This will be evident to any one who seriously asks himself what is the source of capitalist power. It lies wholly in the disorganization of the working class.

It is not in the laws. The laws may be, and for the most part are, hostile to the working class, but they do not enforce themselves. At most they merely proclaim the will of the ruling class; they supply no energy for making that will effective.

It is not in the soldiery and their accomplices, the police and Pinkertons, who are used to enforce capitalist law and shoot down strikers. When the soldiery and Pinkertons start for the scene of labor troubles they don't walk; they ride on trains. Who operate these trains? Workingmen. Many of them with craft union cards in their pockets. The soldiery do not feed themselves nor supply themselves with clothing, arms, nor ammunition. Who clothe, feed, arm and transport the soldiery to shoot down workingmen on strike? Other workingmen. Why do they do this? Because they are not properly organized. If organized at all, it is in petty craft unions that teach the identity of interests

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between capital and labor, and not on broad industrial lines, animated by the spirit of working class solidarity.

When the workers, or even any large number of them, are brought together in one great industrial union, revolutionary to the core, in that very moment the power of the capitalist class is broken. Owing to the fewness of their numbers they can do nothing. They are absolutely helpless. They may cherish their title deeds and fill their safes with parchments yellow with age; an organized working class will neither heed nor care. The actual control of the industries has passed into their hands. And actual control and possession are one and the same thing.

The capitalist class, if they still retain the semblance of political power, may pass laws and issue injunctions. But these laws and injunctions will be about as operative as the edicts of Pharoah deciphered on the pyramids of Egypt. They cannot despatch soldiery to execute their laws, because an organized working class will refuse to arm, clothe, feed or transport them. Indeed the wretched loafers who compose the military organizations will soon desert when food and clothing are no longer forthcoming. Besides, the conditions confronting the capitalist class will not be local, but general throughout the country.

The basis of all power is economic, and with the passing of their economic power, all other power must also pass from the hands of the capitalist class, and as a result the capitalist class itself ceases to be. There is but one thing left for them to do, and that is to go to work at whatever they find themselves best fitted for. Whatever leniency is shown, or allowance made for them because of their lack of skill, will be wholly gratuitous and a matter of generosity on the part of the victorious workers.

The political state must also pass away with the class whose creature it is. Courts and legislatures alike lose their power, and, presently, because of their loss of power, their existence. A complete and radical transformation takes place in the whole social structure. As the disorganization of the workers has been the procuring cause of their enslavement, so also is their organization the procuring cause of their emancipation. The cause is removed, and the effect vanishes with it.

At such a time it would, no doubt, be a considerable convenience to have a political party in power which would be in sympathy with the events transpiring and ratify the acts of the revolutionary proletariat by legislative enactment. As a circumstance tending toward peace and expedition, it would, no doubt, be a convenience to have a congress in power which would declare by legislative act that title had passed from private hands to the collectivity. But this would be by no means indispensable. Whether legalized or not, the thing would have been already

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done. The actual control, and therefore possession, of the industries, would be in the hands of the working class by the mere fact of their industrial organization.

We must by no means imagine that the workers, then embracing the whole population, would be left without legislative machinery by the atrophy of the political state. Quite the contrary. In building up the revolutionary union, and above all, by the skill acquired in the use of the initiative and referendum, they at the same time construct the framework of future industrial administration.

The I. W. W. is thus a two-edged sword that cuts both ways. It takes away the power of the capitalist class, and at the same time confers that power on the worker, and furnishes him with a mechanism for its expression. Such action is, in itself, political. The immediate concession secured through industrial unionism, is permanently builded into the structure of future society. Every blow that is struck for the I. W. W. drives a nail in the coffin of capitalism and at the same time mortises a tenon in the framework of the co-operative commonwealth. Every advantage won is gained for all time.

The Workingmen have no country. We cannot take away from them what they have not got. * * * By freedom is meant * * * free buying and selling—Communist Manifesto.

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Broke at Christmas Time

By James K. Cole.

W'en a feller's flat agin th' wall an' hezent got a sou,
An' things jes sort o'go contrarywise;
He mopes along without a home, a feelin' hungry, too,
Th' tears er jest wellin' to hiz eyes;
He empties out hiz pockets in a listless sort o' way,
An' can't rake up a solitary dime;
It's a queerish kin' o' shiver as he looks inta th' river,
We'n a feller's broke 'long 'bout Chris'mus time.

Ye feel yerself a outcast, ez thru th' streets ye roam,
Ye really don' no wa t' say er do;
An' thoughts jes keep a risin' uv th' luvin' ones at home,
A watchin' an' a waitin' there for you;
W'en th' copper roughly shoves ye, an' sez "now move on, jay,
An' don't 'che dish me eny uv yer whine;"
W'y ye jes can't help wishin' in a broken-hearted way,
Thet you wuz dead, 'long 'bout Chris'mus time.

Peepul pass by heedless uv a dirty wretch like you,
Th' wind, it almost takes away yer breath;
Yer nose iz sorely frosted, yer lips er thin an' blue;
It's times like these a feller thinks uv death,
Th' crowds all bump an' push ye, th' sleet drips down yer neck;
Th' 'lectric lights jes seem t' lose ther shine.
Th' snow iz ten times colder an' ye feel jes ten times older,
W'en a feller's broke 'long 'bout Chris'mus time.

We look into a winda all ablaze with light,
See children rompin' roun' a Chris'mus tree,
A suckin' "all day suckers," ther faces shinin' bright;
Th' ole folks joinin' in th' jamboree.
Then ye think of yer own mother, an' th' story thet she told,
'Bout a babe who came to banish sin an' crime;
An' ye wonder if he'd care, if he wuz here, fer sich az you,
W'en a feller's broke 'long 'bout Chris'mus time.

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The Free Speech Fight. For the moment, the storm center of the class-struggle is at Spokane, Wash. Last month the Review published a vivid story of the beginnings of the fight, written by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a young woman who has already proved herself one of the most effective speakers and writers in the American revolutionary movement. Now the news comes that she has been arrested, tried by a packed jury of big business men, convicted of criminal consuiracy against the State of Washington, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. All this for the crime of editing the Industrial Wage-Worker while the regularly chosen editors were in jail, and raising her voice in protest, at public meetings, against the crimes committed in the name of law by the police and judges of Spokane. Further particulars will be found elsewhere in this issue of the Review. Four hundred men and women are now imprisoned for attempting to exercise the right of free speech guaranteed by the constitution. These men and women are subjected to all the tortures that a brutal police force can devise; men are beaten senseless and women are treated in such a fashion that the United States government will not allow the story of the outrage to pass through the mails. (But the United States takes no step to restrain or punish the Spokane policemen.) The capitalists of Spokane and their servants in the police department are now trying to railroad to the penitentiary on conspiracy charges eleven members of the Industrial Workers of the World, including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Her case is especially outrageous, since she is soon to become a mother. She is now out on bail, pending an appeal to the higher courts. It is of vital importance to the whole working class that the best legal talent be secured to fight this and the other conspiracy cases. Money is needed now, and large sums of money, yet every little will help. Protest meetings should be held everywhere, collections taken up and subscription lists circulated. Don't wait; the money is needed now. It can not be safely sent to Spokane, since no revolutionist in that city can tell how soon he may be thrown into jail and any money found on him confiscated. So the Industrial Workers of the World have appointed a special treasurer

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for the relief fund and stationed him just over the Idaho border, a few miles from Spokane. His address is **Fred W. Heslewood, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho,** and his responsibility is vouched for by Vincent St. John, General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. **Send what you can to Heslewood today.**

A Sickening Story. The fire at the Cherry mine, the inside story of which is told in the first pages of this month's Review, throws a ghastly light over the deadly shams of our capitalist civilization. University economists wisely ask what **incentive** there would be to do good work "under socialism," and some of us have toiled over uninteresting even if accurate answers to the question. But in the name of human life and all that makes it sweet, **what is the incentive now?** It is **Profit!** Profit for the capitalists and the lash of hunger for the workers. Under these incentives, four hundred men have been wantonly killed for the sake of the profit that the mine owners expected to realize out of two extra hours of these men's labor. Most shocking of all, these were **union men, working under the rules of their own union,** who allowed themselves to be slaughtered. The facts given on another page seem to point irresistibly to the conclusion that the officials of the U. M. W. A. had every opportunity to know that the lives of the men in the Cherry mine were endangered by the breaking of laws that had been passed through the efforts of these same union officials or their predecessors. Yet they made no complaint against the mine owners, until the murder had been accomplished. It is easy to understand why the miners at Cherry had made no complaint. It would have meant the speedy loss of their jobs. But how about the officials of the union, what would they have lost? **They would have lost their profitable partnership with the mine owners,** who took and who still take the union dues out of the pay of every miner and turn them over to the union officials. This is the type of union that some of our comrades on the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party think "comes much nearer representing the working class than the S. P." It is indeed true that the rank and file of these unions are representative working men, while the membership of the Socialist party is mixed, only about 70 per cent being industrial wage-workers. But it is also true that the laborers of the craft unions are misrepresented by their officials, and that to bring the Socialist Party closer to the policies desired by these officials would be a backward step that would prove simply suicidal.

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The Party Election. For the last two years, the executive policy of the Socialist Party of America has been largely controlled by men who think, no doubt with perfect sincerity, that the interests of the party can best be served by catering to the "leaders" of the American Federation of Labor, who, as it happens, have been strangely unresponsive. We have it on excellent authority that the N. E. C. deliberately excluded the Communist Manifesto from its official list of books recommended for study, on the ground that it was "out of date," while a pamphlet by a Wisconsin comrade entitled "Constructive Socialism" was officially endorsed. We have already commented on the passage of a recent referendum proposed by a member of the N. E. C. which is an appeal for the votes of farm owners who are more concerned about keeping their farms than overthrowing caplitalism. Apparently some members of the present executive committee if re-elected will try to make ours a "sane" party standing for the immediate interests of small land owners and the American Federation of Labor, and to "drive from our ranks" those who are "seeking to raise rebellion." Twenty-seven names will appear on the official ballot:

Louis Duchez	B. Berlyn	Edward E. Carr
Otto F. Branstetter	James H. Maurer	John M. Collins
James H. Brower	George H. Goebel	Victor L. Berger
William McDevitt	J. E. Snyder	John M. Work
Lena Morrow Lewis	James F. Carey	Morris Hillquit
W. J. Bell	Thomas J. Morgan	John Spargo
John W. Slayton	Sumner W. Rose	Robert Hunter
Morris Kaplan	F. G. Strickland	Carl D. Thompson
Stanley J. Clark	Adolph F. Germer	A. M. Simons

Fortunately the contest is to be fought out on principles and not personalities. The Review has no friends to reward nor enemies to punish. We should decidedly oppose any motion to expel from party membership any one of the comrades whose names will appear on the ballot. But we believe the good of the party demands the retirement of several members of the present executive board, and the election of comrades who can be counted on positively to act in a way that will help make the Socialist Party a real power for the Revolution. Do not forget that if you wish your vote counted you must number all the names from 1 to 27 in the order of your preference, and that if you omit or duplicate a single number, your ballot can not be counted. If every reader of the Review who is a party member will take care to vote, giving the low numbers to the men he wants to elect and the high numbers to those he wants to defeat, the charge that ours is a middle-class party will be disproved.

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ENGLAND. The "Socialist Budget." At last the budget fight has reached a climax. For long weeks the English and all those interested in the English have been asking which would prevail, the class-conscious conservatism of the Lords or their political discretion. And now the question is answered. On November 30th the budget was put to its final vote in the upper house, and class-conscious conservatism won. Loyd-George's measure was rejected by a vote of 350 to 75. Parliament was, of course, promptly prorogued and the members hurried back to their constituencies to prepare for the coming campaign.

In some respects this will be the greatest political battle within the past fifty years of English history. It makes little difference whether the budget is itself the important measure that some suppose it to be. At any rate the discussion of it strikes deep into the fundamental notions of property. And this budget will be the storm-center during the approaching parliamentary campaign. No matter what the outcome may be, thousands will be set to thinking. And Socialists ask nothing better.

In the first place, there is the question as to the status of the House of Lords. The English constitution is nothing but a body of traditions more or less definite, but if these traditions are clear on any point, it is on the matter of the control of the exchequer. Since the 17th century, the budget has been in the hands of the House of Commons. So the recent action of the Lords amounts to a revolution. It is true that the upper house did not show the utter disregard for precedent that some of its members desired. Lord Lansdowne moved that the budget be "suspended" until an appeal could be had to the country. That would have meant that the peers took it upon themselves to dictate a dissolution of Parliament and a new election. This they did not dare to do. But simple rejection in itself means a revolution in the relation of the two houses.

The Liberal talk against the upper house is, however, to be taken with more than a grain of salt. No one who has been watching events in England imagines for an instant that we shall see a really serious attack on the citadel of English conservatism. There will be an election

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in January or February, both houses will reassemble, and the budget problem will be taken up again.

What then, from the socialist point of view, is the meaning of this new situation? What is to be gained from it? The only thing that is to be gained is advancement of knowledge. The budget provides, as has often been explained in detail, for an inheritance tax, an income tax, and a tax on the unearned increment of land. The determination to impose such taxes, even though the government was driven to it by dire stress of mounting expenditures for army and navy, indicates an advance in public thinking about property rights. And measure that opens men's eyes to the fact that it is society that creates wealth is sure to make for progress. And this is the best that can be said about the budget. Socialistic it is not, and all the sophistry of Liberals and Conservatives combined cannot make it appear so. On one point in the taxation problem the weight of socialist opinion swings toward a very definite position. In countries where the matter has come up for decision it has been almost uniformly decided that, unless there is some definite purpose to be attained by acting otherwise, it is illogical for socialists to vote in favor of any bourgeois budget, no matter how liberal. Such action is naturally regarded as handing over money to our enemies. As a matter of principle socialists have regarded the endorsement of a bourgeois budget as the surrender of power to the hand of an enemy. No matter how money is raised, the important question always is, how is it to be expended? I gave the figures that bear on this point last month. The measure under discussion is designed to raise some $550,000,000 annually. Of this immense sum less than $50,000,000 are to be expended for useful enterprises. The rest? That is to go for army and navy or to pay interest on the debt incurred for the sake of the army and navy in the past.

And this is supposed to be a "socialist" budget! This has roused the enthusiasm of our German and French comrades. For this Keir Hardie and the other Laborities are to stir up the working-class of England.

Just what effect the approaching campaign will have on the alignment of socialist groups in England remains to be seen. The leaders of the Independent Labor Party are for the budget; the Social Democratic Party men are against it. If one is to judge from present appearances, the Labor candidates, when the time comes for the campaign, will stand with the Liberals. In a recent article in *Justice* Victor Grayson puts the problem this way: "I hope I may be permitted to say that a Liberal-Labor alliance was not precisely what the socialist movement started out to accomplish. Mr. Henderson thinks that there will have to be a special national conference of the Labor Party called to consider the matter. I

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ask socialists if this will be enough. Can the delegates appointed to attend that conference speak with authority for the rank and file of the Independent Labor Party? And will not the I. L. P. branches want a say on the question of whether or no they will be ignominiously absorbed by their ancient enemy?"

Of course, it is just posible that the attitude of the rank and file of the I. L. P. will force the Labor Party leaders to desert their own Liberal allies. But just now this is a consummation to be wished rather than expected.

SWEDEN. The Great Conflict. The tremendous industrial struggle upon which the gaze of the world has been centered during the past four months is not ended; it has merely entered upon a new phase. Nearly all the men have gone to work. Factories have been reopened. Life has resumed its usual aspect. But all this is merely apparent. Nothing has been settled.

Just at present both sides claim a decisive victory. The Employers' Association, on its side, points to the fact that the men have returned to work on the old terms, that an agreement has been made to go on for a year without any definite settlement of the problems that have been raised. The men, on the other hand, have won the point they struck for. It will be recalled that on July 28 and August 2 about 80,000 men were locked out by the Employers' Association. This was a final attempt to break up the unions. In answer the central committee of the unions called out over 300,000 men. The strike was called, then, in answer to a lock-out. On November 13 the lock-out was formally called off. The men were taken back unconditionally. So the men, too, claim the victory; they have won the thing they struggled for.

But disputing about laurels is worse than useless. The employers have been using every means to force the men into signing long-time contracts. In this they have failed. Neither side is bound to keep the peace for any great length of time. Another actual strike may break out in the near future.

But whether this occurs or not, the fight is certain to be kept up on the political field. The government has all along taken the part of the employers. To be sure public opinion has forced it to deal more and more fairly with the men. But time and time again the official arbitrators have acted merely as the agents of the capitalists. Sweden has, however, a democratic electoral law. When the time comes for the election of the next parliament the men who have found the government against them will have a word to say at the ballot-box. Then the results will be worth watching.

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Indeed the value of the ballot was never more clearly shown than in this great conflict. Without the training they have gained in national political battles the workers could not have fought such a consistent and varied fight. And now they lay down the strike only to take up their political weapon.

On the other hand the workers all over the world rejoice to see a demonstration of the fact that the strike can be made an effective weapon against the highly organized combinations of modern capital. This has been a bitter struggle. The details of it can probably never be realized by those far removed from the field of action. Money flowed in from distant lands, still thousands suffered from actual hunger. Among those who quit their employment were thousands of non-union men and scab-unionists. Yet those who yielded even to the pangs of bitter suffering were too few to count in the great reckoning of this tremendous army. Here we have an everlasting answer to the cynic and the pessimist. The working class can be marshalled into line to fight for its great, common purpose; it can remain true to the uttermost. And, even in the narrowest sense, it can win substantial victories.

The International Socialist Bureau. The International Bureau met at Brussels November 7 and 8. The most important matter taken up was the program of the next international congress. The congress is to meet at Copenhagen August 28 to September 4 of next year. The problems to be discussed are as follows: 1. The relation between the Socialist Party and the co-operative societies. 2. International courts of arbitration. 3. International co-operation. 4. The unemployed problem. 5. Capital punishment, especially as applied to cases of political activity. 6. Relations between the national parties and the International Bureau. The advisability of including the agrarian problem was discussed at great length. The decision reached was that this problem has not yet been sufficiently studied to furnish a profitable subject for discussion. The prevailing opinion seemed to be that the various national parties should immediately begin preliminary studies and that the results of these should be compared at the international congress of 1912.

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WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

When dispatches were received in the convention hall on Monday morning of the last week's session of the American Federation of Labor, at Toronto, announcing that Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison would probably be compelled to begin their prison sentences before the week was ended, it was taken for granted that those officials would be re-elected without opposition while on their way to jail. All opposition that had developed on account of the electrical workers' controversy and for other reasons disappeared like a morning mist before the sun.

"Gompers is being elected president for life by the courts," was the declaration heard on all sides. Not that Gompers could have been defeated in this year's convention, even if the courts at Washington had not precipitated the crisis, but the opposition would have been more formidable than at any time during the past fifteen years.

On account of the complications in the electrical workers' controversy and the tearing up in state and central bodies, the slowness of the administration in the matter of making some political progress, as well as some personal views or grievances that had developed, there was considerable talk at the beginning of the convention of making changes or at least casting protest votes against the official family. And this talk did not come from the Socialists wholly by a long shot, although the "reds" are usually credited with being the disturbers.

After numerous conferences were held it was agreed that an attack upon the administration at this juncture would be misinterpreted—that the votes of the opposition would be twisted into an endorsement of the judicial decrees committing the labor officials to prison. Furthermore, Gompers and his colleagues have, throughout the legal battle in the famous Bucks stove case, labored unceasingly to broaden the contempt case and characterize it as an invasion of free speech and free press. And if there is anything that appeals to the intelligent radical it is that same constitutional provision, and he doesn't like to be placed in a false light when such a crisis has been reached.

So there was nothing for the opposition to do but bottle their wrath, cuss Van Cleave and the courts for their meddling, go along with the conservatives, and live upon the hope that some day this judicial sparring would come to an end and permit the unionists to center their attention upon the solution of their own economic and political problems.

When the opposition to Gompers and his executive council melted into nothingness it carried the anticipated debate upon socialism with it. A counting of noses showed that at the very least 10 per cent of the vote would have been cast for the Socialist resolution introduced by several members of the miners' delegation, and some estimated that fully 41,000 votes, or about one-fourth of the convention, would have gone that way. But the necessity of maintaining absolute harmony and presenting a solid front to the common enemy become apparent to radicals and conservatives alike, and consequently the usually interesting debate upon Socialism, which always attracts the largest attendance during conventions, was held in abeyance.

On their part the conservatives, who are in control of the Federation machinery, were no less inspired with the desire for peace and harmony, as is demonstrated in the action taken to adjust the electrical workers' controversy, which became a nation-wide issue among the union people. It had become customary in such internal wars to dig up ancient history, to criminate and recriminate and to prove to one's own satisfaction that the other fellow is a scalawag and that the big I-am can do no wrong. When this momentous question that bid fair to develop into a small-sized insurrection came upon the floor, although the peace dove blinked on high, a hush fell upon the assemblage such as is experienced only in witnessing the desperate villain in a melodrama creep

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toward the train of powder, torch in hand.

But no explosion came. The committee merely presented a few commonplace facts and advised that an arbitration committee of three—one to represent each faction and a third to be selected by President Gompers—be named to reunite the factions. One of the factional chiefs (McNulty) made a weak attempt to "start something," but the chilly reception that he received caused him to change his tune and he sang harmony before he closed. Thus the position of defiance to the A. F. of L. executive council assumed by the state bodies of Iowa and Ohio and city central bodies in Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit and other places was partially vindicated at least. The executive council had ruled that the Reid faction must surrender unconditionally and join the McNulty wing, which was and is in the minority. This ruling was challenged by the central and state bodies and their charters were revoked. But the central bodies still refused to be coerced, and demanded that both factions be amalgamated or neither recognized. Consequently in adopting the amalgamation idea the executive council's February decision was annulled.

It is quite likely that peace will be restored among the electrical workers, but the central bodies that defied the powers that be, forced the issue and compelled recognition of the Reid factions case, were martyrized. They had disobeyed the law regarding the harboring of rebels, were judicially spanked and told to go home and be good little boys.

Another important step in the line of industrialism was the revocation of the charters of the car workers and amalgamated workers. The former were told to merge with another organization in that trade and the latter were instructed to join the carpenters. On a technicality the elevator constructors were given a temporary lease of life, but they will become a part of the machinists in the near future. A few years ago when the radicals advocated industrialism they were ridiculed, but the crafts are getting together now, as they are beginning to see pretty clearly the centralization of capital, the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the self-evident necessity of presenting a solid phalanx during disputes.

Likewise it was unpopular a few years ago to suggest practical affiliation with the organized workers of Europe through a central bureau, but it was unanimously decided to join the International Labor Secretariat and thus keep in touch with the working class in the old world.

There was little of the sensational or contentious and acrimonious discussion at the Toronto meeting. For the most part the proceedings were marked by a calm, thoughtful and dignified spirit. The shadow of the bastile appeared to have fallen upon the assemblage. The merciless attacks of the United States Steel Corporation, the American Tobacco Co., the National Association of Manufacturers and other combinations of capital had a strong tendency to bring the delegates to a realization that something more than passing resolutions and delivering grandiloquent speeches were necessary to meet the present situation.

But the delegates were no less determined to face every problem confronting the union movement and to redouble their efforts to organize the working people for the purpose of battling the common enemy. Not one but predicted that if Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison go to prison next year's convention will be the greatest labor gathering ever held on this continent, and that the growth in membership will break all previous records. In fact many delegates hoped and prayed that the three officers would be jailed before the year is out.

That the trade unions of the country are confronted by some hard problems in the shape of opposition from the class-conscious capitalists is nothing new to those who have watched developments during the past few years. What with centralization of capital into huge trusts and combines that in the very nature of things would ride roughshod over labor to squeeze profits out of the toilers; what with the steady and constant introduction of labor-saving machinery to cheapen production and increase the standing army of the unemployed upon which to draw in times of strikes; with hostile courts annuling laws meant to protect the workers, hurling injunctions in every industrial crisis, legalizing the blacklist, outlawing the boycott, imprisoning men who dare to protest against oppression, and mulcting union treasuries for alleged dam-

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ages sustained by employers; with Congress and State legislatures turning a deaf ear to all cries for relief for the under dog in the unequal struggle, and governors and mayors standing ready to hurl the militia and police against those workers who still possess the manhood to revolt against slavish conditions; with the unions overrun with sneaks and spies ready to betray their fellows for a few pieces of silver and strike-breaking agencies in all the large cities recruiting scabs and thugs to assist in beating back labor and holding it in subjection—gentlemen, the situation is tough, damned tough.

But now several more moves are being made calculated to assist in the apparent well-planned scheme to force labor into hopeless slavery, and these moves are, as in most instances when labor is to be the victim, clandestine in their nature or at least appear innocent enough on the surface. In New York a National Employment Exchange has been launched. It is a very philanthropic institution outwardly. J. P. Morgan, John Rockefeller, Jacob Schiff, E. H. Gary, W. H. Moore, John D. Archbold and about a dozen other public-spirited citizens have contributed $100,000 for the purpose of providing an agency through which the unemployed can be furnished with work. Branches are to be started in all the leading industrial centers. But it so happens that the promoters of this national exchange control millions of jobs, and they are simply forming a huge job trust. Heretofore the railway magnates and mine and mill barons have spent large sums of money in contracting with independent agencies to procure working people or in advertising in the newspapers for help wanted. In the future the applicants for jobs must pay for them, and so instead of paying out money to secure workers the philanthropic capitalists will sell their jobs and clean up a nice profit in the bargain. Moreover, through the adoption of an index card system containing all the data desired of applicants, the "agitators' and "undesirables" can be kept among the hungry until they repent of their evil ways and acknowledge that the golden calf is the only true god to worship.

Another project that is being launched sails under the title of the Employers' Indemnity Co., incorporated under the laws of West Virginia. The promoters of this institution are also great captains of industry, closely associated with the United States Steel Corporation, the National Association of Manufacturers and similar combines that have well-known labor records. This company proposes to insure its stockholders, whose names are to be kept secret, against strikes and labor troubles of every character. On a premium of $300 a year the employer is guaranteed protection to the amount of $30,000 a year. Thus if a strike should be called in his establishment and last 300 working days, the boss could keep his shop locked, sit back in an easy chair and draw $100 per day. More than that, the promoters of this new scheme have taken the United States government reports and made their estimates that strikes average about 25 days, and on this basis the employers would not only receive the financial protection indicated, but would actually pull down 36 per cent on their investments in the indemnity company.

While some Socialist writers claim, and probably with good reason, that the average capitalist is ignorant on economics and social science, yet it must be admitted that the plutocrats or their hirelings are gradually working out scientific schemes to protect their class interests economically, while politically, as everybody but an old party slave knows, their money has talked for a good many moons. On the other hand, if we study the efforts that are being made by the so-called leaders of labor to meet or circumvent the plans of the plutes the situation becomes truly pitiful, even tragical. "Don't you ever become weary of your helpless and almost hopeless struggle against the inevitable?" A captain of industry asked me recently, as he recounted some of the advantages that his side possesses in this irrepressible and seemingly everlasting contest.

I was compelled to admit that the situation looked deplorable at times when all things were considered, but it's always darkest before dawn, and besides the capitalists themselves are giving us so many object lessons nowadays that the workers are bound to be enlightened, whether they will or not. There is only one really serious danger, and that is, judging from past history, when revolutionary thought gets in full swing it may travel too fast for the Socialist movement to guide it.

When the strike of the tinplate branch of the Amalgamated Association of Iron,

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Steel and Tinplate Workers began last June it was pointed out in the Review that while the struggle was primarily inaugurated to resist the introduction of the open shop (or non-union) policy of the United States Steel Corporation behind it all was a threatened reduction of wages in the face of advancing prices for the necessities of life. This fact was entirely ignored by all except a few newspapers, the bulk of the press sermonizing on the justice of the open shop and alleged fair treatment of union and non-union workmen alike.

But now the steel trust managers, feeling that they had successfully educated their scabs to produce tinplate, have been posting notices in some of the mills, notably at New Castle, shifting their strike-breakers from a day wage to a piece or tonnage system. According to the best informed mill workers, the average reduction under this latter system will be nothing less than 29 per cent. Last summer the trusts' reduction scheme was estimated as ranging between 2 per cent to 24 per cent. Now the cut runs from 10 per cent to 45 per cent.

The iron and steel hog is evidently striving to squeeze a hundred per cent dividends per annum out of its workers on the actual capital invested, in order that its votaries may purchase more wives and chateaux in France and become social lions among the rotten nobility of the old world, not to speak of buying American politicians from President down.

Many of the strike-breakers went on strike when the new order was posted and then the managers seduced some of the hungry strikers to take the places of the strike-breakers.

The middle of the past month representatives from the principal international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. held a conference to adapt ways and means to combat the open shop policy of the United States Steel Corporation, and action was taken to shift from a defensive to an aggressive policy and move heaven and earth if possible to organize the thousands of non-unionists employed by the trust, secretly or otherwise, and continue a running fight on the octopus indefinitely.

Some time ago a wild yarn was set afloat and printed quite extensively that the Carnegie Steel Co., guided by Civic Federation influence, contemplated changing its policy toward organized

Aeroplanes and Social Revolution

IN a new book, entitled "Vehicles of the Air," which was given a **two-page review** in a recent issue of the **Chicago Tribune**, capitalist organ, Victor Lougheed, former editor of **Motor**, atuomobile magazine, said, regarding the sure escape for "criminals" which the aeroplane promises:

"Perhaps the solution will be a greater effort on the part of society as a whole, and especially upon the part of the now more powerful and arrogant elements within it, so to ameliorate and improve the conditions of the "criminal classes," so-called, and more particularly of the poverty-stricken classes—from which nearly all criminals are recruited by the reactions of oppressive environments—so that less crimes will be committed, not because of policing and punishment, but because of reduced incentive."

With this book, "Vehicles of the Air," its 550 pages of pictures, drawings and descriptions, **you**, with an ordinary set of carpenter's tools, can build an aeroplane (except the engine) that will **fly**. There is no patent monopoly and **there will be none**.

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labor and was inclined to beg the labor officials to unionize its mills. There have been a good many jokes sprung in labor affairs, but this pipe-dream was about the limit. The comical feature about it was that the Carnegie Co. would invite the formation of craft unions in order to head off the organizing methods of the I. W. W.

Everybody knows that the Carnegie Steel Co. spells United States Steel Corporation, and certainly this latter combine has given sufficient evidence during the past few years that it doesn't give a continental dam whether the workers are organized along craft or industrial lines—they must be smashed as collective bodies. That fact has been pointed out in this department before and ought not to require repetition. All unions look alike to Morgan, Corey, Gary & Co., and it's a safe guess that they never bothered their heads enough to inquire about the relative merits of craft and industrial unionism.

The present trades unions largely are evoluting slowly and logically along industrial lines, as that method is the best as far as it goes, but, ladies and gentlemen, the millennium will still be a long way off when that has been accomplished. There must be intelligent political as well as industrial action.

It looks as though the United Hatters of North America have won their long battle for self-preservation as an organization. Originally 59 concerns banded together as the Hat Manufacturers' Association and posted a forfeit (reported to have been $25,000 each) to enforce the open shop.

After a fierce struggle a break occurred among the Connecticut manufacturers, the bulk of them making peace with the union and were promptly sued by the remaining open shoppers for the forfeit. Then came some important desertions in New Jersey, and New York, until less than a dozen of the union smashers remained. The latter hope to replenish some of their losses by securing the forfeits through action in the courts, but it is likely that the reunionized firms will give them a merry battle.

The United Hatters lost but few of their members, and at present less than 10 per cent of their members are still on strike, and these are being cared for by assessments on those at work and contributions coming in from other organizations.

The indications are that the Hat Manufacturers' Association will go the way of the United Typothetae of America, which attempted to destroy the Typographical Union, and it will be due to the class-consciousness of the workers displayed upon the industrial field at least. Perhaps ere long this same spirit will be manifested on the political field, but meanwhile credit is due to the men and women who have made sacrifices for the labor cause.

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NEWS & VIEWS

A LABOR PARTY. The two letters on this page from Lena Morrow Lewis and William McDevitt arrived too late to print with the other letters from candidates for the National Executive Committee in the front pages of this month's REVIEW, and we therefore make room for them here:

Lena Morrow Lewis. Replying to your question as to whether or not I am in favor of merging the Socialist party into a Labor party would say if you mean the Union Labor party such as we have had to contend with in San Francisco, by all means *No!* Or do you mean by your question the adopting of the policy of the Labor Party in England? It seems to me that the Labor party in England has been more concerned about getting some individual into Parliament to effect some reform rather than to hasten the downfall of Capitalism. So many of our members utterly fail to grasp the real object we are working for—the election of a new class (serving its own interests) to political power. If the election of *Individual Socialists* does not serve to hasten the overthrow and downfall of of the Capitalist System and insure the political supremacy of the *working class*, then we are making no real progress. In the present organized, political party, with its dues-paying membership, and machinery of government, we have already a movement capable, if properly directed, of being developed into a mighty force sufficient to establish the working class in power. Not until the workers learn how to act together to do things democratically, will we ever have a real Social Democracy. The organized Socialist Party affords the opportunity in its round of routine business to develop the ability to do things together. To the extent that the propaganda carried on by the organization tends to make Social Revolutionists, to that extent will the party serve the interests of the working class.

If we develop a strong, efficient organization of dues-paying Social Revolutionists, we will have no trouble in finding a sane and sensible way to establish the political supremacy of the working class.

(Member, Local, San Francisco.)

William McDevitt. In response to your question whether I should favor turning the Socialist Party into a Labor Party I wish to reply:

Having studied, through constant reading of London *Justice* and other Socialist organs of Great Britain for many years, the trend and attitude of the Labor Party of England; having also lived in this city under a Labor Party administration, and having had an inside view of the political chicanery of the McCarthy Labor Party of San Francisco; being also very familiar with the ignorant or conscious reactionary principles of the men who as controllers of the present A. F. of L., would be looked to and followed as the leading spirits in a Labor Party; having, in short, been taught by long experience, that a so-called Labor Party is simply the most effective method of blanketing, smothering and stifling the revolutionary principles of Socialism, I avow myself an uncompromising foe to any project that proposes to fuse the Socialist Party with a Labor Party.

Personally I believe that the rank and file of labor in the A. F. of L. will soon be ripe for the support of a sound and stalwart Socialist Party; but the present leadership of the A. F. of L. is either appallingly ignorant of proletarian economics, or else is *hopelessly rotten.* It is too late now—the Socialist Party is too fully developed—for us to build on a Labor Party. Let labor *join our ranks*, build its hopes and its ideals on the hopes and ideals of the Socialist movement. That way lies sound progress; the other course, the course of retreat, the surrender of the vanguard of the militant proletarians to the reactionary laborite politicians, can spell nothing but defeat, confusion, and disaster. Let the Socialist Party beware of the Delilahs, like Gompers, Mitchell, McCarthy, and all that reactionary ilk; these would simply shear Sampson of his power and carry him blindfolded and bound into the camp of Taft or Bryan or, if possible, worse enemies to the real cause of labor and the Social Revolution. Yours for labor solidarity and not spineless jobhunting.

San Francisco, Cal.

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Hillquit-Stokes Correspondence

The following letters, which are sent us by Comrade Stokes just as we go to press, should be read carefully by every party member before casting his vote in the election now going on:

320 Broadway, New York,
November 30, 1909.

Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, Caritas Island, Stamford, Conn.:

DEAR GRAHAM:—Comrade Wentworth just sends me a letter received by him from William English Walling, which seems to be one of a number sent by the latter to party members all over the country. The circular is based upon a private and confidential letter written by Simons to Walling, and the inferences drawn by Walling from that letter are, among other things, that the majority of the present National Executive Committee proposes to perpetuate itself "without regard to what action the party takes," and also "that the present majority of the Executive Committee will not hesitate in case they are defeated in the coming election, to attempt to take possesion of the party machinery and the party press, or, failing that, to attempt the organization of an "Independent Labor" or "Social Democratic party." In referring to the letter of Simons, upon which these inferences are based, Walling says: "I have shown it to J. G. Phelps Stokes and others here, to whom it conveys the same impression as it does to myself."

I am very little concerned with Mr. Walling's nightmares, nor with his ethics in publishing a private letter addressed to him in confidence by one who apparently considered him his friend, but I am intensely interested in learning whether you are quoted by him correctly.

I cannot believe that you really agree with Walling's morbid construction of Simons' letter, nor with his method of publishing distorted fragments of it, or publishing it at all, and for my own satisfaction, I will ask you whether you could care to tell me if Walling was authorized to use your name in connection with his circular and what your real attitude on the subject is.

Cordially yours,
MORRIS HILLQUIT.

STAMFORD, Conn., December 2, 1909.

Mr. Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York City:

DEAR MORRIS:—I must reply to your letter both "Yes" and "NO."

Simons's letter did certainly astound me, and having in mind the attitude which he took at that last meeting of the Executive Committee which I attended in Chicago (when I submitted my report on Methods of Propaganda) and reading very carefully Simons's astonishing statements which Walling quoted correctly and at much length, I could not escape interpreting the spirit of Simons's letter essentially as I understand that Walling interpreted it.

However, I expressed to Walling my dissent from his first-suggested view that the present Executive Committee intends "to perpetuate itself without regard to what action the party takes." Walling agreed to modify that statement by inserting the words "if possible." The words "if possible" may be variously interpreted. I have not the remotest idea that if it came to an actual "showdown" any member of the Executive Committee would seek or desire or be willing to retain office if the majority of the party membership voted against him; although Simons's statement that the Executive Committee ("we") "would not surrender" would seem to warrant an apprehension even so extremely serious as this would be.

But many other things seem to justify apprehensions as to certain apparent tendencies on the part of various members of the Executive Committee.

For instance, Simons's emphatic statements in his letter regarding the necessity of capturing the American Federation of Labor, in connection with which he said: "We must not jeopardize action for the sake of our own peculiar ideas." But Simons does not appear to stand alone in this attitude.

As to Bob Hunter's hope that a Labor Party can be established somewhat on the lines of the British I. L. P., I can-

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not entertain the slightest doubt, and I don't see how you can either. He expressed that hope very specifically to Rose and me on the occasion of the visit which you and he paid us early in the summer, and you expressed no dissent, but on the contrary vigorously supported his arguments. I have an entirely clear recollection of this, as has Rose, who was present with us at the time.

As to Victor Berger, while I have a very high opinion of the value of the services he has rendered in the movement (and I am glad to say the same of the services rendered by all the members of the Executive Committee) yet his continued omission of all reference to the class struggle in the membership pledge in Wisconsin (despite the demand of the Party, as expressed in its Constitution, that expressed recognition of the class struggle shall be one of the requirements for membership) and his requirement that all applicants for membership in Wisconsin shall apply for membership not in "the Socialist Party" or even in "the Social Democratic Party," but in "the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin," and his repeated statements both in Convention and out and in his paper, regarding the trade unions and politics, and his report on Trade Unions at the last meeting of the Executive Committee which I attended, in which report he recommended that if an independent Labor Party were formed by the trade unionists the Socialist Party should give it what tacit encouragement it could,—"should look upon it with entire friendship"—(which recommendation, you will perhaps recall, I declared would create a "public scandal" and so opposed that Victor withdrew it) all this and much more makes it impossible for me to doubt that Victor too would welcome an "Independent Labor Party," to say nothing of a "Social Democratic Party" such as he has organized already.

From a fairly close acquaintance with John Spargo I am unable to doubt that he would stand with Simons and Bob and Victor if it came to a show-down. I am unable to feel sure as to which side you would be on, though I confess to the impression that you might stand with the four whom I have mentioned. On the other hand, I don't believe that either Work or Floaten would.

You are mistaken in thinking that Walling published Simons's letter. He did not do so, nor did he publish any fragments of it. He thought it of sufficient importance to discuss with a very few comrades whose judgment and discretion he thought he could trust. I advised him against this at first; but he expressed the view that the bearing of the letter upon certain evident tendencies in the party was so great that it, or at least its essential features, should be discussed frankly by a very few comrades who would not be likely to distort or misconstrue it. After some consideration I felt that he was right, and I still think so. With three or four exceptions the letter was sent only to his personal friends. The three or four exceptions were comrades whom Frank Bohn, and I suggested as likely to be equally interested in the discussion, and competent to consider it fairly.

Walling wrote Simons very frankly concerning the whole affair, and informed him that these letters had been sent. Whether or not Simons's letter (or Walling's letter concerning it) will be published, will, I suspect, depend a good deal on the advice that Walling receives from the comrades to whom he has written. But Walling would not think of publishing his own letter without publishing Simons's too.

I should be very glad if you show this to any one you like, or publish it if you think it of sufficient interest.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

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320 Broadway, New York.
December 3, 1909.

Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, Caritas Island, Stamford, Conn.:

DEAR GRAHAM:—I have your letter of December 2nd. All I can say in reply to it is that you seem to me to be exceedingly indulgent to Mr. Walling and surprisingly uncharitable towards your comrades whom he attacks. The views of Hunter, Berger Spargo and mine on the subject of the possible organization of a Labor Party are entirely irrelevant to the matter under discussion. I have at all times maintained that the prime object of the Socialist Party is to organize the workingclass of this country politically, that it would be very desirable to have the Socialist Party as such perform that task; that it has so far not succeeded in doing so, and that if a bona-fide workingmen's party should be organized in this country for political purposes on a true workingmen's platform, and upon the principle of independent and uncompromising workingclass politics, our party could not consistently oppose such an organization, but that it would

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have to support it and co-operate with it. This, as I understand it, has also been the position of Hunter, Berger, Simons, and Spargo, and if I am not mistaken, this is to-day the position of the overwhelming majority of the members of our party. At any rate, I always considered, and still consider, it the only sane and logical attitude for Marxian Socialists to take. None of us ever made a secret of these views; on the contrary, we have been discussing them in private and public very freely, whenever an occasion presented itself. With these views you or Walling may disagree, and I will have no quarrel with either of you on that account.

What I contend is:

1st. That Simons's letter to Walling, no matter how extravagant and extreme in expression, contained no more than a statement of the position outlined above.

2nd. That the letter, at any rate, was a personal letter of Simons's, for the contents of which neither Berger, Hunter, Spargo nor I, were in any way responsible.

3rd. That the letter was of a confidential nature, and not intended for circulation or publication.

4th. That Walling committed a dishonorable act by circulating the letter.

5th. That he distorted the sense and meaning of the letter, by reading into it an admission of the existence of a conspiracy on the part of some members of the National Executive Committee to take hold of the party machinery by force, and to attempt the organization of a rival Party.

6th. Walling distinctly asserts that he has shown Simons's letter to you, and that the letter conveyed the same impression to you as it did to him, i. e., the impression of a conspiracy on our part for the purposes mentioned.

Whatever impressions you got from private conversations with any of us has nothing to do with the case: the queston is: Can Simons' letter legitimately be interpreted as an admission of the existence of a conspiracy on our part as asserted, and do you so interpret it?

I must confess I hardly expected you to make such fine distinctions in the meaning of expressions as you do. I do not see that the words "if possible" in any way modify or attenuate Walling's original statement, nor do I see much justification for your narrow interpretation of the word "published." To "publish" means to make public, and Walling certainly did make public portions of Simons's confidential letter by copying them and sending them broadcast all over the country. For that matter, I would have thought it a much manlier course, if the word "manlier" can at all be applied to such case, for Walling to have published his letter in our papers. That would at least have been an open attack, and would have given Simons and the rest of us an opportunity to meet it as publicly. It may interest you, perhaps, to know that Simons' letter to Walling was read by Comrade Myers at the last meeting of the General Committee of Local New York and was printed verbatim in the Volkszeitung of last Monday. On the whole, the entire proceeding seems to me so outrageously underhanded, that I am simply amazed to find you defending it in any way. Thank you for your permission to publish your letter. I do not expect to take advantage of it. When I wrote to you that I wanted the information for my own satisfaction, I fully meant it, and I am in the habit of permitting my friends to publish whatever they themselves deem proper. Bad as I may be in other respects, I have never yet circulated or published a private letter written to me by a confiding friend.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

STAMFORD, CONN., Dec. 11, 1909.

Mr. Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

MY DEAR MORRIS—The more I think of the situation discussed in Simons's letter to Walling, the more serious the situation appears to me to be, and the more I am impressed that the rank and file of the party do not understand your views or the views of other members of the Executive Commitete upon the Labor Party issue.

I have particularly in mind the following statement by you in your letter to me of December 3rd:

"I have at all times maintained that the prime object of the Socialist Party is to organize the working class of this country politically; that it would be very desirable to have the Socialist Party as such perform that task; that it has so far not succeeded in doing so, and that if a bona-fide workingmen's party should be organized in this country for political purposes on a true workingmen's platform, and upon the principle of independent and uncompro-

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mising working class politics, our party could not consistently oppose such an organization, but that it would have to support it and co-operate with it. This, as I understand it, has also been the positon of Hunter, Berger, Simons and Spargo, and if I am not mistaken, this is to-day the position of the overwhelming mapority of the members of our party. At any rate I always considered and still consider, it the only sane and logical attitude for Marxian Socialists to take. None of us ever made a secret of these views; on the contrary, we have been discussing them in private and public very freely, whenever an opportunity presented itself."

It seems to me of more than ordinary importance that this clear expression of your personal views and attitude should be frankly laid before the members of the party at this time, and that the views of the other members of the Executive Committee should be similarly publicly expressed by them, in order that we may all know just what the position is that each candidate takes in regard to this most important matter when we cast our votes in the pending election.

I note also your statement in your letter that "you are in the habit of permitting your friends to publish whatever they themselves deem proper." It seems to me both proper and desirable that either your letter to me of December 3rd or this my letter to you, be published at this time—whichever letter you prefer, or both, if you desire it.

I should be glad to receive an expression of your wishes as regards this.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

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320 Broadway,
NEW YORK, Dec. 11, 1909.

Mr. J .G. Phelps Stokes, Caritas Island, Stamford, Conn.:

DEAR GRAHAM—The publication of Simons' letter and Walling's comment on it seems to call for a public statement on the subject from me, as one of the parties attacked by Walling. I have said all I care to say on the subject in my letters to you, and I presume your letter to me contains your complete explanation of your connection with the matter. Under the circumstances, I am inclined to think that it may be proper to publish our correspondence, and I am writing this to ask you whether you have any objection to such publication. Of course, if you have the slightest objection, I will desist from it.

Sincerely yours, MORRIS HILLQUIT.

STAMFORD, CONN., Dec. 13, 1909.

Mr. Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

MY DEAR MORRIS—I have your letter of the 11th instant and have no objection to, but on the contrary approve, publication of the entire correspondence that has passed betwen us in regard to the Simons-Walling matter. I must ask you to include this letter with the rest, since one item that was inadvertently omitted from my letter to you of 2nd instant has become of some slight importance in view of the publicity that has now come to the whole affair.

Walling's statement of his understanding that the present Executive Committee "are determined to maintain themselves in office against all opposition," I objected to when he read it to me and characterized it as "hyperbole," and Walling agreed that it should and would be modified. In re-drafting the letter (I did not know that this was being done, or intended), Walling added half a dozen or more statements toward the end that I should not have added.

Your statement in your letter of December 3rd that Walling "committed a dishonorable act in circulating the letter" of Simons to the extent that he did, I must furthermore take exception to. Opinions may doutbless differ, but to my mind the dishonorable act, if there be any, is on the part of such elected officials as appeal to conventional standards concerning "sanctity of personal correspondence" to prevent their private views on matters of vital party concern from being laid before their constituents.

To my mind, an elected official, especially one seeking re-election, is dishonorable if he seeks privacy for any of his views concerning the interests of his party. I do not respect that standard of alleged "ethics" and "honor" that would justify any elected official or candidate for election in keeping, or desiring to keep, from his constituents any of his views or utterances or actions dealing exclusively with party affairs.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

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320 Broadway,
NEW YORK, Dec. 14, 1909.

Mr. J .G. Phelps Stokes, Caritas Island, Stamford, Conn.:

MY DEAR GRAHAM—My first impulse after seeing Simons' letter to Walling and the latter's comments published in the "Call," was to publish our correspondence and I wrote to you accord-

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ingly. I have since examined that correspondence again, and from such examination as well as from the tone of your last two letters, I have concluded that no good purpose would be served by such publication.

The recent discussions in the "Call" have unfortunately assumed the character of a personal and acrimonious controversy, which is neither helpful nor instructive nor creditable to our party and movement. The Walling incident has contributed very largely to impart that character to the discussion, and little will be gained by prolonging it. I still adhere to my characterization of Walling's conduct in this matter, and I am little persuaded by your new code of ethics based upon the doctrine of "the end sanctions the needs." But with all that, I do not believe on second thought that Walling's conduct or our conceptions of propriety are of practical interest to the movement. Furthermore, you take occasion in your letter to refer to certain statements made to you in private conversation by Hunter, Spargo and Berger. These statements may sound different and convey somewhat different impressions when formulated by you and taken out from their context, and I do not think I want to be a party to their publication in their present form, at least not so long as their authors have not been consulted about it and have not approved of the statements in their precise formulation as representing their views. The members are, of course, entitled to know the views of their elected officers and candidates for office, upon all questions of party policy, but there is really no good reason why such statements should be intermingled with a whole lot of irrelevant and controversial matter. Comrade Kerr has recently addressed to each member of the National Executive Committee, and, I believe, also to all candidates for election to the Committee, the direct question whether they would favor a merger of the Socialist Party with a Labor Party, and the answers will be published in the next issue of the International Socialist Review, which, I believe, is to be appear very shortly. For your information, I enclose a copy of my statement, which is in substance identical with the statement contained in my letter to you, except that it is more explicit and direct, and has the advantage of being free from the element of personal controversy. I understand Hunter, Spargo, Simons and Berger have likewise sent in their answers to the Review. If the other party papers think it worth while, they will be at liberty to reprint these statements.

I can't help resenting somewhat your admonition to me "to frankly lay my personal views before the members of the party." I have never lacked in frankness and outspokenness, my dear Graham. Whatever views I hold on the subject of party policy and party tactics, are, of course, such which I consider most conducive to the welfare of our party, and I naturally endeavor to give them the widest possible publicity, instead of suppressing them. This, of course, holds good of you as well as of me and of Hunter, Berger, Simons and Spargo, as well as of either of us.

Fraternally yours,
MORRIS HILLQUIT.

STAMFORD, CONN., Dec. 15, 1909.
Mr. Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

MY DEAR MORRIS—I have your letter of 14th instant and note that on second thought you do not think it worth while to publish our correspondence concerning the Labor Party matter. I note especially your statement that I have taken occasion in my letter to refer to certain statements made to me in private conversation by Hunter, Spargo and Berger, and that these statements may sound different and convey somewhat different impressions when formulated by me and taken out from their context, and that you do not think that you want to be a party to their publication in their present form, at least not so long as their authors have not been consulted about it and have not approved of the statements in their precise formulation as representing their views.

I have not formulated or attempted to formulate, precisely or otherwise, any such private statement in any of my letters to you. Plainly you are in error as regards this.

I feel so strongly that there are issues involved in this controversy far deeper than mere "personsalities", and infinitely more important, that I am most anxious that all the light possible be shed upon it at this time in view of the election that is pending. As to your statement addressed to the International Socialist Review, it does not seem to me to be as clear or explicit as your statement concerning the same matter in your letters to me.

I do not profess to be more competent

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than any one else to judge whether or not an independent Labor Party would be desirable from the Socialist's standpoint; but I do believe that the time is exceedingly opportune for immediate consideration of this most important and living question by the entire rank and file of our party.

In view of all the circumstances alluded to in our letters, I believe that our entire correspondence up to date should be offered to the Socialist press for publication, and since you appear indisposed to assume responsibility for such publication, I must assume that responsibility myself.

It is especially with a view to promote in our party harmony of the deep-seated and well-founded kind, that I am urging such publication. Superficial harmony, based on misconceptions of the facts, would, it seems to me, be far worse than useless.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
(Signed) J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

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A PARTY, NOT A SECT. The rapid rate at which economic evolution is proceeding in this country is vividly set forth in the striking series of articles "John D." has been contributing to our columns. The Socialist party is destined in the near future to play a very important role in this country. We have important work to do. We are to be a real political party, and more than a mere political party, for our goal is Revolution.

We must face our great destiny. We must realize that we must cease to be a mere sect. The steadily growing financial insecurity of the Middle Classes, and the disintegration of bourgeois thought which is fast losing all respect for traditional theory, are sure to drive more and more non-proletarian elements to us. These we must corially welcome assiduously educate and train, and utilize to the utmost in our ever-growing work of propaganda, education and organization.

We must prove by our acts that we have grown into a party big enough to welcome and assimilate widely divergent elements. The Socialist party is, first and foremost, the party of the workers; but it has room and a warm welcome for the millionaire and parlor Socialists, too. Aye, it has room for intellectuals, provided they have confidence enough in their own intellects not to feel compelled constantly to assert their intellectuality. Such intellectuals are sure of a hearty welcome in the party of the proletarians, whose aim it is to make every worker an intellectual.

The party has room for the Marxist and the Christian Socialist; it has room for the I. W. W. man and the A. F. of L. man; it has room, too, for those who are still unfortunate enough to be unorganized.

Would it prove big enough to contain "leaders" who should sow seeds of suspicion broadcast by wild talk of "spies" and "agents provocateurs" whenever they should find their power in the organization imperilled, while they themselves should actively engage in plans to emasculate the party? Fortunately, we are not yet forced to answer this question, and we hope may never be compelled to face it. But should the question be forced upon us, our answer is ready.—Editorial in *New York Sunday Call*, Dec. 5.

A QUESTION OF TACTICS. Comrade S. W. Motley of Twin Falls, Idaho, asks us to answer through the REVIEW the question whether Socialists violate the principles of Socialism or the tactics of the Socialist Party by voting against saloons in a local election when political parties are not making an issue of it in a regular campaign. If by the question he means voting for the aldermanic candidates of a capitalistic no-license party, then the violation of Socialist principles and tactics is exactly the same as would be involved in voting for Republicans or Democrats. If he means voting against license on a local referendum, then a party member can vote as he likes without forfeiting his membership in the party. But Socialists should remember that "no license" under capitalism tends to make jobs scarce and to depress the standard of living of wage-workers; it is moreover a species of that governmental regulation of persons which international Socialism aims to abolish.

ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN comrades are requested to take notice that Comrade William Gribble of Toronto, who has lately been working in British Columbia as organizer for the Socialist party in Canada, will soon be coming eastward. Those desiring to make dates for him should write at once to C. M. O'Brien, box 647, Calgary, Alta.

SOCIALISM IS WORTH STUDYING.

Anybody can talk about it, but it takes some study to talk about it intelligently. Fortunately the standard socialist books are cheap. We will mail you free of charge a book entitled "What to Read on Socialism," which tells all about them.

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A WAY TO SELL LITERATURE. I want to tell you of a way I have taken to sell literature. It may be of use to others. I am a very busy man—works every day in the week and am also doing at least three hours' work a day at home, so I don't have much time to get out. Again I have found that often when I have started out to see six or eight people in an evening, two or three seem to be the limit. They all want *to talk it over*, and it is hard to get away. So I have adopted the following plan.

I get some large envelopes, put a Socialist book or pamphlet in each, and with it a letter somewhat like that below. Each envelope is addressed, and my boy delivers them all in a short time. This is the letter:

"Dear ———: I have so much to do that I find I must take some way to save time and I am taking the following way to do so. I am very much interested in spreading information as to what Socialism really is. You know there are many people who are misrepresenting Socialism — some through ignorance, some for other reasons. Now I hold it is important that every one of us *know* what Socialism is. If it is a good thing we want it; if it is a bad thing we want to fight it. It is an important question for us, and it is important that we know where we stand. And we cannot, until we know what Socialism is. Even if you want to oppose Socialism, how can you do so until you know what Socialism is?

"As I have said, I am interested in spreading the truth about Socialism, and I am sending you this little book, in hopes you will read it carefully. The book is for sale, and if after reading it, you feel you would like to keep it, you may do so by paying the boy who will call, ——— cents. But remember, reading the book puts you under no obligation to buy. I hope you will read it any way. I don't want you to buy the book unless you really want it.

"On ——— the boy who brought this will call and you may give him either the book or its price, just as you please. *Read it anyway.* Yours for Socialism. ———."

I set the date when the boy will call far enough ahead to give everyone a fair chance to read the book. Of course, I get some of them back, but I have met with very good success, and I think other busy comrades may make use of the suggestion. Yours for the Revolution.

WILLIAM E. DIXON.

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THE LAST GOVERNMENTAL REVOLUTION. I have just read "Unionism and Socialist Politics," by B. E. Nilsson in the November Review.

He almost but not quite touches a very vital point that I have wanted to see Socialists emphasize but so far have never seen mentioned by any one. I mean the political revolution the United States has passed through within the last thirty or forty years.

All who have read Ancient Society, by Morgan, know that modern governments are based on territory and property. To those who have not read Ancient Society I would say that there are but three ways one can come in contract with his government: As a taxpayer through his property; as a voter within a given territory, or he may commit a crime and the courts will take cognizance of him.

The first two ways mentioned prove Morgan's contention that modern governments are based, as stated above, on territory and property.

There is not an intelligent man in the United States who does not know that the great industries—the trusts—dominate every branch of our government. All realize that they, the "trusts," own the Supreme Court, body and soul, and dictate who shall be eelcted president and who shall make the laws, both State and national.

This being true it is readily seen that our government instead of being a republic is an industrial oligarchy, and when the middle class bourgeoisie understand this they will be more ready to listen to socialists whose wish is to change to an industrial democracy.

Yours for the next revolution,

G. R. HUFF.

WANTED—WOMEN. The need of more interest in the party organization is well understood, but how to stimulate interest is the problem. We cannot expect attendance at local meetings unless they are made interesting. Men alone make a very uninteresting meeting. We need more women in the organization. Woman can arrange entertainments, suppers ,dances and picnics. Why are there not more women in the Socialist Party? A great many families of the working class can not afford to pay dues for two; in these cases the man alone is a member of the party; his wife is disfranchised; yet it is her money as well as his that pays the dues. If she attends the meetings, it is as a spectator, while all the time she is helping pay the dues. The red card of the Socialist Party should carry the name of the man and his wife, provided she is a Socialist, with voice and vote on all party matters. Yours for the Revolution.

W. E. ELBE.

Mt. Vernon, Wash.

A CORRECTION. A mistake is made by B. E. Nillsson, on page 402 of the current REVIEW. ,Here it is, "The 'Appeal to Reason' frequently uses the phrase 'Let the nation own the trusts.'" Have carefully read the "Appeal" for seven years and cannot now remember of ever having read that phrase. It should have been credited to Wilshire's magazine and not to the "Appeal." The "Appeal to Reason" is the best paper in the United States for the purpose for which it is intended, *i. e.*, the stirring up of discontent. Yours fraternally,

A SUBSCRIBER.

MUNCIE, IND. The following resolutions were passed in a mass meeting of working people Sunday, Dec. 12, 1909:

WHEREAS, The ruling class of Spokane, Wash., consisting of employers, employment agents and city authorities, has entered into a criminal conspiracy by enacting an unconstitutional anti-free-speech ordinance, discriminating against the Industrial Workers; and

WHEREAS, The Industrial Workers of the World has gained power through organization and education and is destined to abolish wage slavery, employment shark robbery and "law and order" brutality, and once for all emancipate the proletariat from all sytems of exploitation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to back our fellow workers now incarcerated in the dungeons of Spokane, morally, financially and in every other way possible; and be it further

Resolved, That we request publicity of these and similar resolutions in all working class papers and periodicals.

BOOKS FOR THINKERS.
Lay Sermon. By R. G. Ingersoll.
One of the finest addresses in favor of the working men of the world ever delivered. Price 5c (1c and 2c stamps). 40-page catalog for stamp. **The Liberty Co.**, Sta. D, Box 4, Cleveland, Ohio.

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MODEL SANITARY HOUSE.

Sanitary Houses. The model of the new ideal sanitary concrete workingman's home, awarded the gold medal at the International Tuberculosis Congress recently held in Washington, D. C., is shown in this illustration. The entire building, with the exception of the tile decoration of the roof and the cast-iron window frames is of concrete, cast in forms. It was designed by a Washington architect, and can be built for $1,200.

The great feature of the house is the extraordinary arrangement for perfect sanitation. To clean the rooms a hose is turned on the walls and floors and the water is drained off by tiled spouts discharging on the lawn outside. There is no handling of coal or ashes, no shelter for vermin or insects, and waste heat from the cooking range warms the house. Coal is hoisted by chain block, dumped through a coal hole in the roof, and fed automatically into the stove. Ashes drop from the firebox into a can and are then removed from the outside. Garbage is disposed of in a cast-iron chamber in the smoke flue, where waste is dried, then dumped by use of a damper into the firebox. A roof-garden furnishes outdoor sleeping apartments.

A block of these houses is now being built in Washington.

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Do You Want the Review? For a year we tried an experiment with the *Review* which would doubtless have worked well with an equally readable magazine appealing to the "respectable" rather than the "undesirable" citizens. We supplied it returnable to some thousands of newsdealers. We gave the plan a fair trial. Some copies were sold each month in that way, but at a cost far in excess of the amount received from the newsdealers' sales.

Hereafter no dealer will have the *Review* for sale unless he pays for every copy sent him, whether sold or not. Naturally, therefore, dealers who are not socialists will refuse to sell the *Review* at all, unless they can be assured of a sale that will secure them against loss. Here is where you come in.

If you prefer to buy of a dealer, and want to have him sell the *Review* to others, give him a definite order for one copy a month at ten cents, and promise to take one or two more off his hands at cost if he can't sell them.

Bundle Orders. Our important and increasing sales this last year have not been through dealers but through socialists who have ordered copies to sell at street and hall meetings, from house to house, or at the shops where they work. These orders have doubled twice during the year and should double again in the near future. We send *ten copies to one address* for *sixty cents; forty copies* to one address for *two dollars;* more at the same rate. This includes postage within the United States; a cent a copy must be added for postage to Canada and two cents for postage to other countries. If you can not use so many as forty of one issue, $2.00 will pay for twenty copies two months, ten copies four months, or five copies eight months, but you can not get this low rate on an order for less than $2.00 worth.

A Dollar a Year. The surest, safest and most convenient way to get the *Review* is to send a dollar for a year's subscription. We want to enlarge the *Review* again in July. We can do it easily if half of our present readers will each send a dollar for a year's subscription. Don't wait. Cut out this blank, write your address on it, buy a postal order for a dollar and send it on:

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CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,
118 Kinzie Street, Chicago.

Enclosed find $1.00 (if in Canada $1.20, England $1.36) for which please send me the REVIEW one year.

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Our Record for November. Ours is the only periodical we know of that publishes its actual receipts and expenditures each month. We can afford to do this because we pay our bills promptly, and also because we have no dividends and no fancy salaries to cover up. We have all along been hampered by lack of capital, and a number of comrades have helped us with loans. These we are beginning to pay off, as the month's statement shows.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Cash balance, Nov. 1.....	$ 759.56	Manufacture of books.....	$ 393.66
Book sales	2,317.04	Books purchased	343.63
Review subscriptions and sales.	914.95	Printing November Review....	552.21
Review advertising	112.82	Review articles, drawings, etc..	68.45
Sales of stock	120.24	Wages of office clerks.....	349.15
Loans from stockholders.....	505.70	Mary E. Marcy, on salary.....	80.00
E. Peterson, for Swedish strikers	4.00	C. H. Kerr, on salary.....	125.00
Donation: H. R. Kearns.....	1.00	Postage and expressage.....	438.50
		Interest	13.50
		Rent	70.00
		Miscellaneous expenses	98.58
		Advertising	650.28
		Copyrights	27.00
		Loans repaid	1,211.51
		Swedish strikers' relief.....	4.00
		Cash balance, Nov. 30.....	309.84
	$4,735.31		$4,735.31

The edition of the *Review* this month is 22,000. If each reader would send a dollar for a year's subscription and another dollar for books, we could pay off all loans and have enough working capital left to double the circulation of the *Review* and the output of books during 1910.

If we are doing the work you want done, take hold with the rest. We have already made a big success. With your help we shall double our work again during 1910.

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Volume I is entitled **The Process of Capitalist Production.** It gives in full detail an explanation and analysis of the process by which the wage-worker is compelled to labor for the bare cost of living, while the **Surplus Value** which he produces is taken from him by the capitalist. Cloth, 869 pages, $2.00.

Volume II treats of **The Process of Circulation of Capital.** It deals with the function performed by merchants an dbankers, with the turn-over of capital, and with the reproduction and circulation of the aggregate social capital. Cloth, 618 pages, $2.00.

Volume III, just published, tells of **The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole.** It takes the general principles established in the first two volumes, and applies them to the actual facts of society as it is today. This volume explains better than any other book the causes of **Industrial Crises.** It shows why it is that the small capitalist is being gradually wiped out, and frequently gets an income smaller than the wages of a skilled laborer. Finally, it contains an exhaustive discussion of subjects which those who know Marx only from Volume I accuse him of neglecting—namely, **Land, Rent and Farming.** Cloth, 1,048 pages, $2.00.

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THE INTERNATIONAL
Socialist

Vol X. FEBRUARY, 1910 No. 8

Fighting to Live

By Tom A. Price.

ARRASSED by a subsidized police force which drives them from corner to corner at the behest of their employers, disputing their right to live and move and exercise free speech upon the streets once resonant with the peal of Liberty's bell; lashed by the slave whip of necessity in the hands of manufacturers who grudge them a paltry dole sufficient to keep body and soul together, three thousand girls in Philadelphia are fighting against tremendous odds for the privileges which, according to the frequent boast of American orators, are elementary —the common heritage of all.

It is no longer a question of higher wages, important as that feature of the struggle is and has been from the beginning. It is a question of emancipation from something infinitely worse than hunger, a condition far more distressing than want.

Without sympathy save among those of their own order; without resources; without a knowledge in many cases of our language, much less our laws, these girls have shown a heroism, a devoted self-sacrifice, which should command the admiration of all men. With fear of neither confinement nor bodily harm in their minds they go forth every day to do picket duty under the very eyes of the police whom they know are against them, not only as a matter of policy but as a matter of absolute necessity. They know that it is not possible for a "cop," wearing the uniform of the great "City of Brotherly Love," to permit them to claim a single right which is theirs under the law which no one violates oftener than the very men who are sworn in to uphold its provisions. They know they have no

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redress from the insults and the assaults of these blue-coated minions of wealth. They know they must risk violence at the hands of scabs and that they may not oppose force with force without running the risk of spending a night in a cell.

But no girl among the striking shirtwaist operators is daunted by these conditions. Every day deluded workers who have been listening to the insidious arguments of the manufacturers and have remained at their machines are won over to the cause by the cogent, vital arguments of these fearless pickets. It has been found that a plain statement of the

—Philadelphia Evening Times.

STRIKERS NOT PERMITTED TO GATHER BEFORE HALL.

facts will undeceive the most dyed-in-the-wool scab. Is it any wonder, then, that the employers have called upon the police for protection? They need it.

The action of these pickets is noted by the press of the city, with one exception, as brazen effrontery. By the general public—educated as it is by subsidized papers—their action is called a foolish defiance of that still more foolish economic law which would regulate wages rather than rewards by the exigencies of supply and demand.

The policeman at the crossing makes the girls move on. And they

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are moving on. Moving on in an ever-increasing army which will undoubtedly snatch the victory from a band of lawless, pitiless, ghoulish capitalists who try to insist that their's is the right to amass money at the expense of a people whose country is called the mother of liberty and the greatest nation in the world.

Magistrates accept accusation as prima facie evidence of guilt. And the girls are guilty. They are guilty of thinking and feeling and fighting. They are guilty of demanding that intangible thing that our revolutionary army fought for and which colonial leaders handed down to a nation which

--Philadelphia Evening Telegraph.

GROUP OF PICKETS.

has guarded it so loosely that a few men have been able to place it out of sight in a coffer of gold where the value of its chains make Liberty no less a prisoner.

Strikers here do not riot, although in any day's papers accounts may be read of such occurrences. It is the employer who, in his hours of enforced idleness, incubates conspiracies in his counting rooms and hatches riots on the streets through his paid agents—cowards who would never brave a battle without the assurance that police were ready to protect them as soon as danger should appear.

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Under the leadership of heroines like Pauline Moscovitz; cheered in their struggle with want by the impassioned oratory of Mother Jones; urged to fight on by members of other labor unions which are helping them personally and with funds, the girls have become so imbued with the spirit of victory that it would be impossible to call the strike off now even should every leader advise such action. Promises will no longer attract these workers. Probabilities are rejected before they are offered. Nothing will be accepted but the right to live like human beings should live in a humane country.

Mother Jones. This little woman whose heart is as big as the nation and beats wholly for humanity, came to Philadelphia while the trumpet was still reverberating after the call to arms had been sounded. Under her bold leadership the fighters were organized before the manufacturers had fairly realized that their workers had at last been stung to revolt by the same lash which had so often driven them to slavery.

In impassioned speech after impassioned speech Mother Jones urged the girls on to battle. Shaking her gray locks in defiance she pictured the scab in such a light that workers still shudder when they think of what she would have considered them had they remained in the slave pens of the manufacturers. Every man and woman and child who heard her

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to the union
which they
love.

—Philadelphia Evening Times.

PAULINE MUSCOVITZ.

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Marie Comaford and Mary Miller, whose pictures accompany this article, have been on the streets constantly since December 22, selling papers every day. Their labor has been so generously rewarded by those who sympathize with the cause that they have been able to turn over to the union large sums every day.

During the first days of the strike those who had entered the battle fought silently, but when tales reflecting on their sincerity of purpose and veracity were scattered broadcast by the sneaking agents of the employers the strikers opened up their hearts to the writer and told him stories of slavery which were almost unimaginable in their horror. Their state-

ments portray a scheme of things such as should bring the blush of shame to the face of every Philadelphian.

I learned that the reptilian employers here send agents to the immigrant ships before they are docked, there to shoot the venom of the sweatshop into the lives of innocent girls who know nothing of the deceit which these men cloak under fur overcoats and a benignant smile. The little hoards of these immigrants have been snatched from their hands and placed in the coffers of millionaires on the pretense that it is an equitable charge for "teaching them the business."

Men as well as girls are mulcted of their all in the same manner. A. Goldfein is one of these. When he entered the "land of the free" six months ago he was accosted by a labor agent and told that he might learn

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to be a cutter and make big money if he would pay $25 for the privilege. He paid the money and was sent to the factory of Beyer, Frank & Company. Here he was assigned to a bench and told that to begin he would receive three dollars a week. He is a grown man, intelligent, and he has been working at that same bench during six months. He still draws three dollars every Saturday night, and no more. It took the man more than eight weeks to earn back the money which he had paid for his job.

And these toilers, after paying for their jobs, are assigned to work in filthy and ill-conditioned factories where the air is foul and there is no adequate sanitary equipment. It is on record that in one of these places there are 250 men and women employed. Two hundred of these are women. Yet there is but one toilet for each sex! And to cap the climax the place is on an upper floor and during the greater part of the day there is not enough pressure of water to carry it into the closets. The sinks are not flushed for hours at a time.

Out of this place workers have been ordered frequentlly by physicians who tell them remaining means certain death. They go if it is possible to obtain another job. Otherwise they stay, and finally die in their places. These men and women are as much murdered as were the miners who died in their pit at Cherry, Illinois, and the employer is as much a murderer as any other man who slays wantonly.

Health has been driven from the factories by pestilence using the whip of filth. Germs of disease fester and multiply in every crack. Yet the great State of Pennsylvania sits back complacently and sees its Bureau of Factory Inspection in the hands of a group of incompetent jobsters who hold their offices as payment for the crimes they have committed for the party in power. Manufacturers receive word long before hand when an inspection is to be made and the place is cleared up for the occasion. This happens only once or twice a year and in some instances the factories are never even swept at other times.

Child labor laws are laughed at. Children of any age may work if they will. Places are provided where they can stunt their growth and dwarf their minds by sitting at a bench all day for the purpose of earning the price of one lunch eaten by the manufacturer who washes down each mouthful of food with a gulp of the blood of his victims. Factories are inspected but the inspectors never see these children. Regular hiding places are maintained for the tots. Big packing cases are kept in the lofts. As soon as the word is passed up that an officer is on his way to go through a farcial travesty on an inspection the little ones are made to get into the packing cases, which are then turned so the open side will be towards the floor.

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These litle girls are among the most ardent of the workers for the cause. They do picket duty and are at all times ready to instill life and hope into the mind of any doubter who may have been induced by implied threats to remain at work. In winning to the cause the women of public note who have given their aid to these girls have played an important part. Speeches made by them at various meetings of women's clubs have met with ready response in every instance.

If ever the competitive system was shown to be archaic, unscientific and utterly unequal to the demands made upon industrialism as it now exists in the world, we have a striking example of its futility in this city —a city of great private fortunes, immense enterprises and almost unprecedented productiveness.

Only last summer we were assured that as soon as the tariff question was settled by the "law-makers" at Washington—"law-makers" who devoted their efforts mainly to what we are told was the protection of home industries—an era of peace and plenty would dawn. Capital, assured of a reasonable profit, would strike hands with labor certain of an adequate wage.

The question was settled and we have been waiting for the dawn. We are still waiting. Labor was never before so restless or so poorly paid, the cost of living considered, and capital was never before so arrogant in its own conceit, so grudging of the dole it provides for the creators of wealth.

The striking shirt-waist girls are between the upper and the nether mill-stones. They must not only fight the wolf of hunger, forever nosing about their doors, but they must combat daily a subsidized police force which, fawning upon the man who has, browbeats and bullyrags, at almost every corner, the girl who has not.

As an observer on the ground I am not unduly impressed by the affected sympathy of certain society women for the toilers. I have seen these fads flare up and fade away before. I have studied the society woman somewhat on her native heath.

She figures more gracefully, to my mind, as center rush at a bargain counter onslaught than as a protagonist of labor. Like women of another class, whom we do not mention in the drawing rooms of society, she has a past which inspires little or no confidence in her professions. I speak of the professional society woman. Of course there are good women among the socially elect, just as there are bad women among the members of the workers' army, but exceptions prove nothing, not even a rule.

Miss Anne Morgan, daughter of J. Pierpont Morgan, a most estimable spinster, I am informed and believe, seems to have received a faint

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glimmer ot reason, a glimmer that may develop into a full flame later on. I hope so. She is credited with a resolve to start a shirt-waist factory with a million capital and run it on the profit-sharing basis. Miss Morgan with her father behind her might make a go of such an undertaking, but profit-sharing between a private capitalist and a retinue of employes is a half-way measure at best. It tends to breed condescension on the one hand and on the other it brings out the worst traits of human nature, sycophancy and dependence. It destroys initiative and promotes individual inertia.

Co-operation is better and is a decided step in advance, but the trouble is co-operation proves too much for the dilitante philanthropists. Their interests are centered in private graft, miscalled individualist, and they know that a real success along such lines is likely to provoke inquiry among the "proletariat."

"If," the man of common sense is apt to inquire, "co-operation is a success on a small community scale, why would not government co-operation be a good thing for the people as a whole?"

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they the slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this depotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.—Communist Manifesto.

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Revolutionary Social-Democracy.

THE CURSE OF COMPROMISE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

By H. M. Hyndman.



HAT I feared and predicted would happen with the Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party, here in Great Britain, has unfortunately taken place. In order to make sure of retaining their seats in the House of Commons at the General Election, both the Labor Party and the I. L. P. have come to terms with the Liberals in a manner which must shake all confidence in them in future. When a body of men, returned to Parliament to represent labor interests exclusively and independently, enter upon a whole series of bargainings with the national and local organizers of one of the great capitalist factions, not for the purpose of gaining social advantages for the laboring class, but to assure political and personal benefits for themselves, they do an amount of mischief to the whole movement which I am quite ready to believe they do not fully comprehend.

Now, so far as I am concerned, I am quite ready to admit that, if by the help of Liberal votes in the House of Commons, it were possible to obtain that most important, perhaps, of all our stepping-stone, or palliative measures for the existing competitive anarchy, namely, the complete organization of all unemployed labor co-operatively by the state on useful work, thus taking "the fringe of unemployed labor" off the market, it might be well worth while to sink the class antagonism, for the moment, so as to gain this immense boon for the disinherited majority. But I hasten to say that no capitalist government of any kind, in any country, will honestly enter into such an engagement with the intention of carrying it out in letter and in spirit. This for the simple reason that to take such a course would mean the cutting of the ground from under the feet of capitalism in the immediate future. Still, assuming such an arrangement to be possible, I should certainly consider any Labor Party justified in backing the government that proposed to enter into it, if sufficient security for good faith were given.

Similarly, in regard to the maintenance of children at public cost, in our elementary schools, out of public funds. One of the very greatest difficulties we have to encounter in this country, in the way of education, is that very large numbers, in some districts the majority, of the children who attend the public elementary schools are quite insufficiently fed and clothed to be able to take advantage of the education gratuitously pro-

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vided. Here again, therefore, if any government would undertake to introduce and pass a compulsory measure enforcing the adequate feeding and clothing of the children, as part of the educational work, I should applaud the Labor Party for supporting the administration which brought forward such a bill, whole-heartedly and ungrudgingly.

Consequently, I have no blinding prejudice against agreements of a temporary character with the dominant plundering class, provided something important is to be gained for the people at large; although, of course, I am as well aware as the most intransigent of impossibilists that even children of the workers who are well fed, well clothed, well housed and well educated only grow up to more effective wage-slaves for the capitalists under the conditions of our time. That fact does not, however, check me for an instant in advocating that which I believe to be exceedingly beneficial to the whole community and tending to bring up men and women more competent, physically as well as intellectually, to push ahead the social revolution.

It is, nevertheless, to my mind absolutely indispensable to maintain, even so, the attitude of distrust and antagonism, when some partial advance is being secured. The class war is going on all the time: the enemy is still the enemy, even when, for his own ends and to save his own skin, he gives way upon this or that point. "No compromise" must be our motto and our policy from the first and all through. Let us take all we can get, but never let us sink our principles, or lower our flag, for any consideration whatever. Least of all let us do so to gain some mere political advantage, or to keep brigaded in our ranks numbers of men and women who do not accept the revolutionary socialist creed or recognize Social-Democrats as their brothers in the greatest struggle the world has ever seen. Such people, however well-meaning and humane they may be, are ready-made tools for the political intriguer and the capitalist wire-puller. They will go over in masses to the enemy when the fight gets really hot: not because they are intentionally treacherous or constitutionally cowards; but because they have not grasped the principles of Socialism; because they have not understood that between the capitalist class (with its sleeping partners, the landlords) and the wage-earning class no peace is ever possible except through the complete victory of the latter; or, because they fondly imagine that there is some nice, ethical, evolutionary method of making twelve o'clock at eleven by dexterous manipulation of hands on the dial of social progress. But whatever may be the cause of their backsliding their defection will be equally disastrous—as it is proving to be in Great Britain now—to those who are foolish enough to rely upon mere numbers, irrespective of conviction, for victory, and who will persist in believing that the capitalist pirates are at heart overflowing with the milk of human kindness.

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That is why I have always said in England, and say again now in America, that I would far rather be fighting as one of a resolute army of ten thousand convinced and determined revolutionary Social-Democrats, who are content to achieve eternal life in the glorious future which their work and death will help to hasten on for mankind, than I would spend my days in pretending that paltry political successes, gained by a motley mob of a million confused and wavering wage-slaves who are content to hug their chains and glorify their subsidized "bosses," are worth striving for. And I say this as an old man of 68, with just upon thirty years of unremitting and wholly unremunerated Socialist propaganda behind me. I cannot hope myself to live to witness the realization of the great material ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth, spreading nationally and internationally throughout the civilized world. But I know with the certainty of scientific conviction that its coming is not far ahead and that by the intellectual action of class-conscious capacity upon social conditions humanity will conquer forever its mastery over the means of creating wealth and gain for all time the power of uplifting the individual human being to a level undreamed of hitherto.

Holding these views as the necessary foundation of our Socialist religion, it is easy to understand that I look with sadness, not unmingled with contempt, on the manner in which the Socialists of the Labor Party have surrendered to the capitalist Liberals on the budget, on the House of Lords and on the General Election. I cannot blame men like Henderson, or Shackelton, or Hodge, or others of the trade union leaders. They have never pretended to be Socialists. In fact, they have directly repudiated the imputation. They want to get what they can under capitalism; they have no sound economic basis for their political action: their independence means a quarter-of-the-way-horse laborism and nothing more. Very well. I know where these men are. I respect, though I deplore, their honest limitations. They have been and to a large extent are still Liberals and Radicals; cursed, many of them, with a Nonconformist conscience and a teetotal fetichism of the most narrow kind. Naturally, such men at a critical juncture "go Liberal" as Grant Allen's cultivated negro "went Fauti." It is the call of the blood.

But this excuse is not available for the avowed Socialists of the Labor Party. They are never weary of insisting upon the purity of their Socialism, especially at International Socialist Congresses, at the International Socialist Bureau and at public meetings, national and international. Nay, they claim, nowadays, to be in the direct apostolic succession from Marx and Engels, who are called up from their graves to bear witness to the impeccable revolutionism of Keir Hardie, Ramsey Macdonald, Philip Snowden and the rest of them. And Bernstein and Beer chant

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an amen chorus in various languages, as inspired prophets of Israel voicing the opinions of the dead.

Now I do not wish to weary the readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW with the details of English politics; but it is worth while to consider for a short space the sort of budget, the set of financial proposals, which our Socialists of the I. L. P. regard as "Socialistic," and so favorable to the Poor Man that the members of the Labor Party, one and all, are justified in voting for it and in sinking their own independence in the Liberal Party in order to carry it. And here I would interpolate the statement that no Socialist can admit the right of the House of Lords to throw out the House of Commons budget, however bad it may be in principle, or in application. They had no right to interfere with it or to obstruct it in any way. But that is not the point. The question before genuine Socialists is: "Was there, could there be, anything in Mr. Lloyd George's budget which justified the Labor Party in bowing the knee before the more unscrupulous and designing of our two great capitalist factions?" Let us see.

The Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequor had to cover a net deficit of £13,000,000, after deducting £3,500,000 from the sinking fund. Now, out of this £13,000,000 he is raising at least £7,000,000 by extra taxation not of the luxuries of the rich but of the trivial luxuries still left to the poor. But the cost of the Old Age Pension of five shillings a week for every necessitous worker who arrives at the age of 70 is also about £7,000,000. So that Mr. Lloyd George, the intimate friend and guest of Lipton, the wholesale grocer, and Brunner, the great chemical manufacturer, makes the workers of Great Britain pay for their own Old Age Pensions out of their already miserable wages. Nobody disputes this. Everybody knows it perfectly well. Yet Keir Hardie, Ramsey Macdonald, Philip Snowden, etc., call this a "Socialistic" budget, a "Poor Man's Budget," take credit for having suggested its provisions to Mr. Lloyd George, and arrange with the Liberal government not to oppose them in their electoral contests on the strength of it.

"But that is not all. There must surely be something more in the budget than that." There is. But it is nothing new and nothing beneficial to the workers. The £6,000,000 of taxation, at the outside, imposed upon the rich as against the £7,000,000, at the very least, levied from the poor is mere burden-shifting. There is an increased income tax, a super-tax, an increased death duty and a small, very small, tax on unearned increment. George II has taken a diminutive leaf out of the book of George I. Henry George is reincarnated in Lloyd George with reductions in intellectual weight. This, however, according to our new light of Socialism, is "the thin end of the wedge" towards Land Nationalization. Noth-

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ing of the kind. As I argued out with Henry George himself in St. James' Hall and in *the nineteenth century* five and twenty years ago, the whole thing is mere burden-shifting and will not benefit the wage-slave class one atom. I don't suppose there is a single Socialist in the United States, or in any other country except England, who would contend that taxation of unearned increment, or confiscation of rent, is anything approaching to Socialism in any shape or way. It is strengthening the capitalist, who is the wide-awake slave-driver against the sleeping slave-driver, the landlord. Yet here we have our Independent Labor Party Socialists headed by Keir Hardie—whose language about myself is worthy of the atmosphere of religious rancor in which he was brought up—bowing the knee to the Liberal capitalists, applauding Viscount Asquith, Lloyd George, Churchill and the rest of them, and concluding open bargains for their seats, on the strength of a budget which I do not hesitate to declare is as outrageous a fraud upon the people of the United Kingdom as any swindle which even the Liberals have as yet perpetrated—and that is saying a very great deal.

Let me sincerely hope that this will be a warning to the workers of other countries. Not only in America, but on the continent of Europe, there has been far too much inclination to regard a seat in Parliament, no matter how got or how retained, as the great end and aim of working-class agitation. If you win a seat you are a great man. If you don't you are of no account. It was quite amusing to see the effect produced upon many of the Labor Party here, and not here alone, when they put M. P. after their names. They at once assumed they were authorities on all sorts of subjects they knew nothing whatever about. They imagined that their intellect had expanded when it was only their heads which had swelled. But they also got to believe they were "statesmen," who could ride the whirlwind and direct the storm of capitalist politics. And a pretty mess they have made of it all. They have discouraged the workers of this country to an extent which is not even yet fully appreciated and they have taken a most dangerous step towards re-absorption in the capitalist-Liberal faction.

I hope sincerely this will serve as an "object lesson" to our comrades in the United States who are inclined to venture on the same slippery path. It will throw back their movement many a long day if they do. We are working for the greatest cause the world has ever known. We ourselves are dignified by being privileged to take part in such a struggle. It is for us to take care that we hand on the torch of revolutionary Social-Democracy, kept alight for us by the sacrifices, sufferings, disasters and death of our noble predecessors, burning the brighter for our efforts, to those who shall in turn take up the splendid task from us.

Bromley, Lancashire, December 29, 1909.

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What's the Matter With Wisconsin?

By Henry L. Slobodin.

T'S the matter with Wisconsin? Is it not the place the grandest Socialist organization in America? Have t we, Socialists, made it the Mecca of our movement? it not where the "Wisconsin idea" was born? Is it t finally the abode of Comrade Berger? And yet——

We believed in Wisconsin. Wisconsin was to the American Socialist movement the pillar of fire in the night and the cloud of smoke in the daylight. Wisconsin comrades were the envy of other Socialists doomed to live outside of the blessed regions. Such was our belief in Wisconsin. We believed that while the Socialist movement of other States was still wandering in the desert of capitalism, the Wisconsin Socialist movement was storming at the very gates of the Socialist Commonwealth.

But what a rude awakening!

Comes the Department of Commerce and Labor and with impious hand works havoc amidst our cherished illusions. In the bulletin entitled "Labor Laws of the United States," 1908, it shows in characters bold and pitiless that Wisconsin labor laws are as bad and in many cases worse than those of States barren of the "Wisconsin idea" and foreign to the presence of Comrade Berger. Yes, it is a cruel, pitiless fact. And that is why we exclaim:

What is the matter with Wisconsin?

What answer can we give to the deriders of the "Wisconsin idea" when they point to Wisconsin's want of an employer's liability law? Such a law has become a necessary asset of every State where labor's voice is heard, never so weak. Oklahoma heads the list with its Article IX of the State Constitution that so far is the most radical enactment on the subject. Then comes old Massachusetts, with New York, Porto Rico and Ohio and other States which simply re-enacted the Massachusetts law. Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, all have employer's liability laws. But not Wisconsin. It has a railway liability law. But that is another thing. Every State in the union has one in addition to the employers' liability law.

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Again the "fellow-servant" doctrine was limited in its scope by legislative enactment in the following States: Minnesota, Arkansas, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas and Utah. Nothing was done in Wisconsin. There the crippled workingmen and the families of those killed at work are still the victims of that bloody, ancient doctrine holding full sway.

Nineteen States have ordained that no employee shall be coerced in trading either in company's stores or elsewhere. Only a victim of the trucking system can fully appreciate the importance of those measures. But this victim will find no protection in Wisconsin.

Twelve States, as well as the United States, have declared by law that contracts by which an employee waives his right to damages for personal injuries shall be void. This is a protection which every modern State extends to the workingmen. The State of Wisconsin leaves the workingmen helpless to the capitalist chicanery and coercion.

Many States, including our own corporation-ridden New York, passed laws limiting the hours of labor on public works. In Wisconsin the freedom of the workingmen to work as many hours as starvation dictates to him is unlimited.

A number of States have a prevailing rate of wages laws for public works. In Tammany-smitten New York the law was declared unconstitutional. The constitution was amended and the law was re-enacted. In darkest Wisconsin no one heard of such a law.

Wisconsin yields the honor to the Philippine Islands and to the Federal government of a workman's compensation act for government employees; to Nevada and Montana of a union label on public printing law; and to almost all the State in the provision of time for the workingmen to vote.

What honor may Wisconsin claim over other States? None whatsoever.

* * * * * * * * *

Workingmen exploited; workingmen whose rights are trampled under foot; workingmen crippled at work; families of workingmen murdered at work, may console themselves with the great "Wisconsin idea" and the glory that is Berger's in and out of Wisconsin.

This is the Wisconsin idea, that Socialism means politics; that politics means election of your candidates; that in Rome you must elect your men as the Romans do.

This is the idea of revolutionary Socialism, that Socialism means the revolt of the working class against capitalism and wage slavery; that affrighted capitalism will yield to the class-conscious working-class reforms, which it will not dream of yielding to mere politicians—Socialist

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or other; that the Socialist party is in politics with the object of arousing the class-consciousness of the working class primarily and electing aldermen as a means to an end.

We live in a practical age and we are all practical men. I am with Roosevelt on that. We all want practical results. Our ideas and our methods must be tested by the infallible criterion of results. Measured and tested before the forum of results, the Wisconsin ideas and methods are the most impractical, the most visionary, ever promulgated by a responsible Socialist organization. That Comrade Berger should seriously urge these ideas and methods for adoption by other States shows that there is nothing the matter with his nerves, thank you. Comrade Berger's success also shows that our comrades know a great deal that is not so. Of his success there can be no doubt. He has got the National Executive Committee, National Secretary, the entire national office mesmerized, hyptonized, magnetized to do his bidding. It is time that the revolutionary Socialists get together and show Comrade Berger and other opportunists that they, too, know a thing or two about practical politics.

On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer socialists. The strength and power of socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle; that the laboring class is exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class, and that within capitalist society effectual reforms, which will put an end to class government and class exploitation, are impossible.—Wilhelm Liebknecht, in No Compromise.

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Progress in China.

By Mary E. Marcy.

Progress is not marching but fairly running to-day and it is almost impossible for us to l informed of the far-reaching changes that her heels.

)w journalism is just now the sensation of the day and every Chinese newspaper is sold five times. In the morning it is read in the homes of the rich. In the afternoon it passes on to the dwellings of the less prosperous. In the evening it is sold to those still lower in the financial scale and within a day or two has passed down to the poorer families which are able to read.

The cartoon reprinted here is from a Chinese newspaper and serves to illustrate the change in the attitude of the people. Formerly, the newspapers declare, China looked upon the outside world through the wrong end of the glasses, but now she has learned properly to regard her sister nations.



We have heard so many accounts of the Celestial Empire from our point of view that it is rather interesting to know how the Chinese formerly regarded us.

One traveler reports that a prominent Chinese who visited America declared that our table manners would fill any "civilized being with disgust"; that we ate great hunks of raw beef and devoured our food by means of knives, resembling for all the world the "sword-swallowers."

"It is terrible," he said, "to see these barbarians in their moments of recreation. Often the men seize the women and drag them around great rooms for hours at a time to the tune of the most hellish music."

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They are disgusted, too, at the respect many Americans accord the army and the police. In China a soldier and a policemen are lowest in the social scale. And the hatred of the people for a policeman is really noteworthy. Evidently the constabulary in the Empire is much like the police forces in other places; only, in China, these men pay large sums of money to secure their jobs. They receive no salary, so that it is evident they get an income in other highly objectionable ways.

SILK WORMS.

Formerly all the work of reeling and spinning from the cocoons was performed by hand, but at present machinery is being used largely. After the China-Japanese War steam spinning mills were installed. The material for supplying all the new mills was inadequate, so many Chinese peasants set to rearing great quantities of worms. But the supply of mulberry leaves, on which the worms producing the high grade of silk subsist, ran short and many of the farmers had all their work in vain.

The worms fed upon oak leaves produce the raw silk from which ecru pongee silk is made.

Nearly all the Chinese farmers own their own land, which rarely passes out of a famliy. The sons who marry brings their wives home and the old folks and the young ones live together.

In Southern China the farmers often raise four crops a year upon their land. The land remains always rich and productive, for the people spend almost as much care in fertilizing as in sowing it.

Now that the Empire has awakened to a realization of her immense mineral resources many of those poor farmers whose land covers great beds of coal or rich copper or iron deposits, will find themselves very wealthy.

FOOT-BINDING.

In China, as elsewhere, the necessity to work has always been regarded as a disgrace among the leisure classes. The more useless a Chinese aristocrat proved himself and his household to be, the more honored became his name. The feet of the women were tightly bound in childhood and the finger nails of both sexes were permitted to grow several inches in length. This assured the world that they could not do any useful work even if they so desired.

But with the new methods of production and the subsequent changes in every other sphere, China has produced her "antis". There are anti-reformers, anti-educationalists, anti-progressionists, and now they have an Anti-Foot Binding Society. "Antis" to the old and "antis" to the new.

The Pekin Woman's Journal, a daily paper edited by a Chinese

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woman, is largely devoted to educational matters and is a strong supporter of the anti-foot binding movement.

A story is told of a missionary who was very loud in denouncing the Chinese foot binding. "But," said an astonished Celestial, "your own women bind up their WAISTS."

When the railways were first built in China, men and women who had carried commodities from place to place, to earn a living, found their old customers patronizing the railroads.

Then the plotting began. An ancient Chinese belief held that if a member of a family which had been wronged by an enemy, killed himself upon the enemy's grounds, failure would attend the undertakings of wrongdoer.

Coolies began to kill themselves upon the doorsteps of men known to be connected with the railroads. Some stabbed themselves and others were hired to drown themselves in the enemy's cistern. But the railroads were extended; new roads were laid out. The company prospered. Evidently the belief of their revered ancestors was in error. Thus one by one the old superstitions are passing away.

Very naturally, there exists to-day a strong opposition to the new regimé in China, and many are the predictions of a revolution in the Celestial Empire in the near future. We do not think these predictions will be verified.

The initial steps of the introduction of machine production are usually followed by an era of prosperity to the majority of the people. It is only when competition grows keen and trustification sets in that a really revolutionary army of the working class arises that will usher in the new day of economic freedom.

HAND OF CHINESE ARISTOCRAT.

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Our Imagination Against Past Experiences

By Odon Por.

expressed a very profound truth when he
should not limit ourselves to the experi-
ry. "What history confirms and what it
in an insignificant circle. The truth lies
ur reason, which is always turned toward
in our imagination, which sees farther
than the future."*

Indeed, historical considerations and comparisons and the measuring of the aspirations of the present generation against the experiences of previous epochs resolve themselves, as a rule, into a judgment condemning the living desires. Most of the arguments against socialism are based upon historical facts. All paralyzing doubts as to the practicability of socialism come from a too detailed investigation of past life. People who see clearly enough the truth in socialism will call it a hopeless Utopia, backing their argument with endless facts, that seemingly go to prove that socialism is irrealizable, and will not consider at all that these facts correspond to past social structures, past states of mind, past aspirations, past desires and past activities.

It is true that many institutions established in the past are still existing. But is it also true that they still hold their old spirit? Are the formative forces of the present bent upon maintaining the past? Certainly not.

A new social spirit is inspiring those who work on the erection of a new society. This new spirit calls for new institutions, the outlines of which are unmistakably laid down in the various forms of the organizations of the on-struggling masses. These have no interest whatever in maintaining the institutions of the past. Many among the struggling have even lost all understanding of these institutions, which, therefore, seem useless in their eyes.

New desires have sprung up that demand new forms of embodiment. The people, fraught with this new desire, have lost all connection with the past. They do not understand what the historian, the economist or the politician means when he says that the lower classes of the past were never capable to build a new order of society, that man's nature has manifested itself throughout known history as fundamentally competi-

* Maurice Maeterlink: "Notre Devoir Social," in the volume L'Intelligence des Fleurs. Paris, 1907.

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tive and that therefore a social harmony is unimaginable. They can not understand these arguments because they are conscious of a tremendous force within them that desires a social change on social lines. They are conscious of the collective potentiality of their class destined to uplift mankind. And then they simply do not want to compete. Why, then, should competition be a fundamental law of their nature?

Only those let themselves be advised by the past who do not feel the forces of the future. Can those who do not feel the forces of the future be helping in rebuilding the future? Never.

The people who do not feel the future do not desire it. They intellectually might see the institutional outlines of the future society, but they never can realize in themselves its spirit. And this, in the last analysis, means that they do not understand the cohesive forces that urge us on toward the future.

We, the revolutionary socialists, project our social will into the future. This will, thrown ahead by the powerful mental stress it holds, acts as a magnet and draws us toward itself. Nothing draws us back towards the past. So strongly we imagine the future life in all its details, as suggested by the life with our comrades, that we practically live in the future. There is a continuous flux and reflux of sensations and forces, created by our life for the ideal and by our action for socialism. Our personal experiences substantiate our ideals. Smaller experiences of solidarity make us see greater experiences on the same line and bring us nearer to the great ideal. The ideal gradually becomes easily attainable, practical and so to say living. And by living in the future we are realizing the material structure and the spiritual content of the future state of things in our actual life.

We have no interest whatsoever in the past and only those contemporaneous facts hold our imagination which contain in nucleus some facts or attitudes which suggest the future. Many facts of the past die off without any violence, for the spirit which has enlivened them is dead. Many past institutions, however, hang on obstinately to life. These have to be abolished by force and with decision. We must do away radically with the past that we in no way may fall back into some attitude that has flourished during the past.

The individual will not develop his character and faculties by continually going back and taking counsels from his past experiences. He will develop a strong personality only when he will perseveringly strive for a certain set scope that he sees fully enfolded in his imagination. A man will come to be the man of his ideal by energetically projecting the picture of his ideal-man into the future and by unceasingly endeavoring to realize it. A man without imagination will never grow out of his present-self. He will remain on some comfortable average level.

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The collective imagination of the socialist movement has made more socialists and created more socialist institutions and called forth more forms of organizations than any other factor that has produced the socialist movement. If the socialist were not projecting the sensations of collectivity received in the movement into the future, wherein he imagines these sensations fully developed and working at full speed, he never could bring to the movement that peculiar faith in the collective efficiency that helped, in its turn, to build out the movement. In other words, the socialist plunges himself into the future and comes back to present actual activities strengthened and hopeful. He brings back with him the forces of the future wherewith he shapes the present society. He rejects the forces of the past. He cannot find anything creative in them.

Where socialists have followed the worn ways of political and social activities, where they have yielded to the temptations of the old institutions, there socialism has made the least progress, and there the socialists are unable to cast off those forms of social attitudes which are the creation and depend on these institutions.

These unimaginative socialists try to work with the forces of the past. And at every step they make the past is towering before them obstructing their direct path, making them return or take the longer side-ways.

Many socialists have succumbed to the temptations of the parliaments. They thought that through transforming this dead institution of the past they might create a new means wherewith to shape the future. We, however, have come to realize that we cannot build an entirely new society of the old material.

What we have attained through parliamentary activity is but an insignificant economic and political improvement. Through legislating we have not laid down a single basic stone upon which to erect our future society. All existing institutions and attitudes suggesting the socialist society and the socialist spirit are the results of the direct collective, and, in most cases, economic activity of the working class.

The revolutionary union movement in the Latin countries has done, during the last year, more toward preparing the advent of socialism than the legislative activity of the different socialist parties within the last thirty years.

Revolutionary unionism has created and tried new forms of activities, like the general strike with a social aim in view; it has called out the anti-militaristic feeling in the working classes, not only in France and Italy, but all over the world. Through their revolutionary economic attitude the French workers have shown us how to reach socialism on the straightest route without compromise, without ever taking a side-

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way. Through the anti-militaristic propaganda and their active resistance they have practically demonstrated how to get at the root of the power of the ruling classes and how to cut it off.

These are all new arms, new methods of fighting for the future. They are created by the collective consciousness of the working class in its own power. These methods have been worked out in the daily practice of the struggle for socialism and have been suggested by the imagination of the active revolutionist who, projecting himself into the future, has realized that in the future society the voluntary discipline of the workers will be the motive power of progress, that the collective decision of the freely associated workers, conditioned by the inner tendencies of the economic activity, will govern the life of the collectivity.

The revolutionary union movement in France and Italy has indicated that the industrially organized workers are ready to take over all the industries without the intermediary and slow process of social legislation. It has abolished the last remnants of the fetish of the directing ability of the capitalist class by, first, demonstrating the inefficiency of the capitalists to run the industries for the benefit of the collectivity, by showing that capitalism, through forcing strike movements and lockouts, is endangering and demoralizing the industries and is disturbing the peaceful course of social life; and, second, by creating their own constructive industrial organizations which within a few years, especially in France, have attained almost a controlling power over capitalism and the state.

The parliamentarian socialist who believes that socialism, by increasing the socialist vote and elevating the number of socialist representatives in the national and municipal legislative bodies, will gain a corresponding influence over the affairs of the collectivity is too apt to hesitate and doubt.

His parliamentary activity in and outside of the parliaments calls forth in him a parliamentary nature. He cannot escape the state of mind of the parliamentarian. In other words, he will enter into compromise and consider the economic and political interests of the other classes with whose representatives he must co-operate in order to realize the slightest social reform. He loses the collective consciousness which the class struggle has created in him and consequently he loses his faith in those whom he represents. Therefore he becomes apt to believe that the present governing classes are after all more fit to run the affairs of the collectivity than the working class.

While the parliamentarian socialist will not confess to this, his actions will always betray him. Thus it happens that the consideration of the interests of the ruling classes is always in the foreground, and

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the interests of the workers and adapted to the interests of the capitalists.

The parliamentarians always want to compensate the capitalists for the losses they eventually have to suffer by some social legislation. So it happens that we really do not make any headway. We take on the one side and we give on the other. The parliamentarian never considers that present economic revolutions rob, day in and day out, great masses of workers of their means of subsistence and of their profession by introducing new methods of production and new labor-saving machinery.

Who compensates the workers? Has any legislative body granted a pension to the thousands of glass-blowers who recently found themselves without work and without a trade when the Owens glass-blowing machine was introduced? Would the representatives of the capitalists make, in such similar and very frequent cases, laws providing with ample pensions the workers who lost their trade? Certainly not.

Then why should the revolutionary workers take into consideration the acquired and vested rights of the ruling classes? Why should we pay any respect to the capitalist institutions? Why should we leave the old barriers and raise others, obstructing the passage to socialism, that, after all, will not leave the present parasitic classes without the means of subsistence but will assign to them work, according to their abilities and compensation according to their needs?

Why should we go ahead step by step when we are suddenly robbed of our means of subsistence? When we think on strictly economic lines, then the absurdity of this proposition becomes quite clear to us. The idea of compensating the capitalists and the delicate efforts to save them from a sudden economic change by a "wise" and slow social legislation originates in a political scheme of social evolution, which is in direct contradiction with the real economic tendencies and the actual mode of transformation that proceeds chiefly on industrial lines.

The idea of slow political evolution would never occur to the workers if they were left alone. They know very well that socialism will be born from the inevitable direct industrial conflict carried out between the capitalist class and the working class. The workers know the capitalist class through and through from their daily direct contact with it and realize that the capitalist class will aggressively defend its interests when the time comes for a decisive turn in social legislation, looking to the expropriation of the expropriators. The worker asks himself, why should he engage all his energies in the political organization and the political fight when ultimately his own personal resistance and aid will be called upon? It occurs to him that it were far more practical to train his industrial capacities and build up his collective consciousness

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and individual power of resistance which ultimately must swing the balance.

Take one characteristic feature out from the numberless facts that in my mind proves that the consideration of existing rights and the continuation of activities rooting in the institutions of the past will mislead even a socialist who at the bottom of his heart wants to be a revolutionist. Historical considerations will make the socialist swerve from the road of straight action. Letting himself be weighed down by the failure of the previous generations of social revolutionists, he will begin to hesitate and will try to strengthen his own class by an alliance with other classes or parties.

Whereas, letting himself be inspired by present vital activities and by the shapes of life that indicate the future, he will bring fresh and copious forces and constructive convictions to the movement, from which then a constructive revolutionary activity will inevitably ensue. He will not hesitate but go straight ahead. He will never think the working class inefficient to realize its ideal, for he will feel himself powerfully drawn into the work for the future. He will not seek compromises for he will be conscious of his superiority when combined in the struggle with his comrades. He will not sever revolutionary thought from socialist activity. He will not entrust another person with the upbuilding of the socialist society or he will not join hands with the representatives of other social classes in order to realize social progress, but he will engage himself in its actual construction. He will put the passion of creation in his socialist work and will foster the growth of this passion by continually deepening it through his direct activity. He will strive for the future with all his life and will have no moments of weakening hesitation that come from the workings of reason informed by the facts of the past.

The past investigated in the light of the future, however, may yield some useful information. It may show us, above all, why man has failed always when he strove for a social state of things. It may show us that the absence of collective consciousness is responsible for the failure of the social endeavors. And thus a right historical sense may reinforce our conviction that we must reject those institutions and activities of the past which have resulted from class fights for a class-rule and were not born from the efforts of a class struggle inspired by collective consciousness and directed towards the realization of a classless state of things. It may show us that our social consciousness, thrown into the future by our intensified social imagination, has to devise new means for the new social order as it has formed in us new sentiments and new desires. It is unimaginable that we may establish new social attitudes

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through the aid and upon the basis of old institutions corresponding to past state of minds.

"Let our reason," says Maeterlinck, "strive to soar above experience. Let us continue, in spite of all disenchantment, to act, to love and to hope as though we had to do with an ideal humanity. This ideal is only a vaster reality than that which we behold."

"Let us listen only to the experience that urges us on: it is always higher than that which throws or keeps us back. Let us reject all counsels of the past that do not turn us towards the future."

"It is, above all, important to destroy. In every social progress, the great and difficult work is the destruction of the past. We need not be anxious about what we shall place in the stead of the ruins. The force of things and of life will undertake the rebuilding. It is but too eager to reconstruct."

We should always act as though we were masters of our destinies. Indeed, is not the collective will now germinating in us the long sought free will? Is there any social or individual obstacle which a determined collective will could not lift? Can not the collectivity mould the shapes of nature and the nature of man at its will? Is not the collective social will, in last instance, the limitless intensified union of all the numberless individual wills and desires? Can anything obstruct the happiness of humankind if it actually wills its happiness?

Has not, according to Lowell, the solidarity of the Marsian population thrown into servitude impassive Nature when it has forced the melting snow and ice at the poles of its globe to follow the bed of the dug channels that run across the whole surface of Mars? Has this their solidarity not forced the melting ice to fertilize their country, making a garden of their desert? Is not solidarity, then, free from all bondage and all-powerful?

Let us cultivate a sense of mastery. Then we will also grow the organs of the sense of mastery. But when we hesitate and let other people do our work and our thinking, and let other people try to master our destinies then we shall never unfold those individual capacities which are indispensable components of an efficient collective will. Inactivity is not merely a stop but it is also a retrogression. In order to keep social desires and impulses fresh and formative we must engage them in action. When we desire to master our life and that of the collectivity then we must actually try to master the various shapes of life, without ever doubting our own efficiency. A consciously cultivated sense of mastery will make us find the ways to mastery and will make us ultimately the masters.

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A Strike in the "Model Village."

By M. E. M.



E live in Company houses,
And the Company runs the schools,
We are working for the Company,
'Cording to the Company's rules.

We all drink Company water,
We all burn Company light,
And the Company's preachers teach us
What the Company thinks is right.

This is one of the old complaints of the employes of the Ludlow Manufacturing Company, for be it known that Ludlow is a company-owned village. But, alas! "the Model Village," lauded in the press and on the platform, has now been the scene of a strike lasting over seventeen weeks.

The reformers have been telling us—as well as the company officials—that certain members of the Manufacturing Associates "felt some moral responsibility in making the living conditions of their employes such as would tend to develop GOOD citizens." And so, a few miles outside of Springfield, Mass., the company purchased a large tract of land and "built" some five hundred "model" dwellings. The entire village is practically owned by the Ludlow Company. The company also put up two churches and a common school where the children employed in the works could attend evening classes, or, as is the case in many instances, attend a half day school session and spend the other half working.

The company owns the water works, lighting plant, library and gymnasium. It also owns the savings bank which the employes are expected to patronize. "The company dominates local affairs, economic, social, intellectual, moral and political" (from the New York Survey).

"One of the three selectmen of the village, however, is independent enough to assert that his vest and trousers are his own; but he is typical of such a monumental minority as to be the lonesome though refreshing exception which proves the rule. Outspoken opponents of the company are eliminated as far as possible. The Associates freely acknowledge notifying a physician and Polish storekeeper to move out of their business block because of their resistance to the will of the company. The Ludlow plants are thought to represent only a very small part of the holdings of the Ludlow Manufacturing Company, which controls over ten large mills.

During the panic of 1907 the company at Ludlow cut the wages of the

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creel boys from $5.50 a week to $5.00. The cut was accepted temporarily as a "hard time necessity." On the same grounds the weavers in the bagging department received a reduction from 29 to 24 cents a roll of 100 yards.

After the enactment of the new tariff law the workers naturally expected a restoration of the old wage scale. This was not forthcoming. The refusal of the bosses to grant the old wage scale precipitated the strike which has lasted for several months.

The company has persistently prophesied that the men would resort to violence and by night a great search-light plays up and down the river and into every chink and cranny of the village. Pinkertons and other special guards numbering several hundred men do picket duty day and

EVICTION SCENE IN THE MODEL VILLAGE OF LUDLOW.

night. "The guard is unreasonably heavy, for the strikers have refrained notably from extreme measures." * * * A town official told a writer for the Survey that "there had been fewer arrests during the strike than in any similar period under ordinary conditions."

As usual the company has been importing scabs to work in the mills and has announced a further reduction in the wages paid the weavers, who formerly received 29 cents a roll. The new scale will give them only 20 cents, or less.

This strike and the conditions prevailing in Ludlow are the very best sort of an example of what the capitalist class means by "welfare work" for its employes.

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The only possible benefit to be gained by these company-owned "model villages" accrues to the employers. By owning the houses rented to its workers, the companies are able to evict the striking or discontented men upon the slightest pretext. Further, it becomes unnecessary for the company to pay its employes wages sufficient to enable them to pay high rents (including a profit to the landlords). In other words the "welfare work" of the Ludlow employers enabled them to retain all the surplus value created by the workers there. The company did not have to divide up with the landlord or the sellers of the other necessities of life.

A notice posted by the company to the effect that "the houses had been built for workers in the mills, those not resuming work must move out promptly to make room for others desiring work," did not have the effect desired—of forcing the men to return to their jobs. And for the past month Ludlow has been the scene of the most pitiful evictions. Servants of the "welfare workers" marched from house to house throwing the poor little furnishings of the men into the street. It is reported that neither illness nor confinement cases escaped the "benevolent" eye of the company, but one and all were set out-exposed to the severe weather.

The most inspiring aspect of the whole strike is the splendid courage displayed by the workers. Hemmed in on every side by rules and regulations and Pinkertons of the company, they steadfastly refused to submit to a further reduction in wages, which meant a still lower level of existence to them and their families.

As long as there is a class that preys, the class exploited and preyed upon will continue to struggle for emancipation. Man seeks pleasure and avoids pain and largely in this fact lies the hope of the human race.

THE RIGHT TO WORK.

Under the conditions that now seem permanent and well assured, the workman is fairly certain of two things in respect to this boasted right. He has the right to go from place to place and ask for work, and if he finds no one who will take his services at living rates, he has a right to go to the poorhouse for support.
—Clarence Darrow, in The Open Shop.

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Revolutionary Mining Machine.

IF the Sigafoos Tunnel Machine proves to be as practical as the manufacturers claim it is, it will be bound to create a revolution in the mining industry. Not only does the new machine eliminate the dangers ever attendant with drilling and powder and dangerous blasting, but the Sigafoos people claim also that it will tunnel through the hardest granite and the largest mountains with the greatest ease, at a much lower cost than by the old methods.

"Mr. Sigafoos built his bodel three years ago, and until the present day it is on exhibition in his offices.

Early in January of 1909, the first regular-sized machine was constructed in the East and shipped complete to Georgetown, Colo., where the first contract was let and its behavior eagerly watched. In every instance the rotary proved its value, and came up to the highest expectations. Mr. Sigafoos stands ready to take contracts with his machine in any and all rock and will guarantee to cut from one to two feet an hour, twenty-four hours a day.

The machine complete, ready for work, weighs 29 tons and its length is slightly in excess of 18 feet. This huge frame holds ten crushing heads, each carried on a four-inch horizontal shaft and working on the same principle as a stamp mill, with the exception that the blows are given with the aid of springs instead of force of gravity. The entire fore part of the machine revolves as it cuts, thus cutting a

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full, clean bore, all the muck being flushed from the tunnel by means of a 3-inch stream of water, carried directly through the machine under 40 pounds pressure, and fed through ten small nozzles, each of which sends a stream beside each crushing head. This constant revolution of the machine is its strong point, the body being run on a series of "foot" wheels, thirty-two in all. The axles of these wheels—they are set in pairs—are arranged so they may be set at will, preventing the wheels from tracking. A simple twist sets them at an angle, and thus the whole machine moves forward or backward not unlike a huge screw.

Of the monster crushing heads there are ten, eight on the outside of the revolving front and two in the center. The cam has a long, barrel-like hub, which permits the center shafts being brought back without interfering with the others. Diametrically opposite cutters strike at the same time. The springs which lend the force to the blows are 5 feet long, 6 inches in diameter, and composed of a specially chilled inch steel. These cutting or crushing heads as they should be called—for the machine works on the principle of pulverizing the rock instead of cutting it—are 2 feet in diameter, the face of each being composed of a series of blunt teeth. These heads revolve about the axis of the machine as they strike, thus producing a grinding motion to the surface of the breast.

With an 8-inch drop these heads strike a blow of 4,000 pounds one hundred times a minute. This means that a total of from two to four million pounds is expended against the breast of the tunnel every 60 seconds. It is estimated that if each head penetrated but the thickness of a sheet of common writing paper at a blow, it will cut in at the rate of an inch a minute. In fact, the harder and more stubborn the rock, the more easily the machine will do the work. . . . .

Scarcely any timbering will be needed as the machine cuts the walls as smoothly as dressed marble instead of shattering them as is done with powder. Powder and fuse will be done away with and the work will be done without the least danger. . . . .

If, as will often be the case in boring a long tunnel, a "pay streak" is encountered, the muck washed out by the water can be run onto a large concentrating table at the mouth of the bore, a separation made then and there, and all value saved.

The machine is not limited in its work to starting into a hillside on virgin ground; it can easily be taken to pieces, carried any distance, and lowered into a shaft, to be at once set up in a drift ready for work.

It may not be amiss to state that the famous Moffat road will probably use these large rotaries in cutting its great tunnel through

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the mountains. In places today where the road ascends and descends mountains, it is expected within a short time to eventually bore through them, cutting down the time from coast to coast fully twenty-four hours. The contractors, before learning of the new machine, allowed ten years for the completion of this gigantic undertaking; but today, with a sufficient number of tunnel rotaries at work, two years will not be an impractical limit.

The immediate uses to which this machine can be put to work are innumerable. Subways that formerly took five years to construct can now be run for half the expense in one-tenth the time. Water in unlimited quantities can be brought through the mountain walls, and the vast arid areas of the deserts will be made to blossom as a wonderful garden."—*Scientific American.*

Along with the tool, the skill of the workman in handling it passes over to the machine. The capabilities of the tool are emancipated from the restraints that are inseparable from human labor-power. Thereby the technical foundation on which is based the division of labor in manufacture, is swept away.—Capital, Vol. I, page 459.

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Barbarous Spokane

By Fred W. Heslewood.

Mexico, but Spokane—the battleground of the greatst fight for Free Speech, Free Press, and Public Assemblage in America.

Where over four hundred men and women of the anks of labor, using the weapons of Passive Resistance, re pitted against the law of brutality, tyranny, oppression and greed. Where the ancient methods of torture are being used to subdue the workers, who wish to safeguard the weapons of the dispropertied, disfranchised—yes, disinherited class. Where truth is crushed to earth, and where a lie is a wholesome morsel, and is relished by the arrogant and ignorant who do not want the truth. The truth hurts. It is a two-edged sword. It must be driven to the hilt. The people must be torn from their lethargy and made to realize that the boasted liberties of this country are fast being taken away. Yes, with such rapidity that it will not be surprising to many to awake some morning and find no papers but the subsidized press, representing the economic interests of the master class; the workers barred from every street, and every public hall. We will converse in whispers, and meet with a chosen few in some back room or in the cellar, to talk over our miseries, and the glorious days of old when we could go on the public street and expose the robbing methods of the agents of the master class (the employment sharks), tell the workers how they were being daily robbed; tell them also how to organize to overthrow the existing order of things: how labor creates all wealth, and has nothing; and those that do nothing have everything. Will such days

BEATEN UP BY THE POLICE.

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come in America? They are dream days now in Spokane, and Spokane is in America.

With our paper confiscated by the police, who, when asked, why such action, replied: "Well, we have them and that is answer enough." With our own hall, where the rent was well paid in advance, closed by the police, and every hall in the city locked against us; our money being no good; with every street where the workers congregate, closed against free speech; with the officers and editors wearing ball and chain; with the capitalist lying press, free to pour out its damnable lies against our members and our organization; to brand the helpless victims of the masters as criminals, vags., hoboes, etc.; where men meet in groups and bitter mumblings can be heard, while the fat, sleek and well fed profit monger revels in his "filchings from labor" on Canon hill, while those who made him rich are lying on the bare floor in a jail, slowly starving; their emaciated bodies which try to rise, after 30 days of torture, and which would soften the heart of a Nero to behold; stripped of everything but their revolutionary ideas (the one thing the masters want to take but have failed); such are conditions in Spokane.

You may say I draw on my imagination; that I exaggerate; that we want sympathy. That such conditions do not exist in Free America. I say in answer that the conditions cannot be exaggerated. The sufferings cannot be told. The human language cannot express it. This periodical would be suppressed for using obscene language if all was told. The truth is hell. There is no need to lie. Newspaper reporters have described conditions among the prisoners as frightful in the extreme. One young reporter for the Evening Chronicle (the twin sister of the Morning Liar), the Spokesman Review, stated over his own signature, "If men had murdered my own mother, I could not see them tortured as I saw the I. W. W. men tortured in the city jail." Yet their crime consists of speaking on the street. Some did not speak. Scarcely any got more than "Fellow Workers" out of their mouths. The judge asked one young fellow if he was speaking on the street, and he replied, "No." The judge then asked him if he intended to speak. He replied, "Yes." Thirty days and $100. Next"! replied the judge. One hundred and three got this dose the first day in a court of justice (?) and then the long fight to maintain life on less than two cents' worth of old, dry bread a day, with no bed, no blankets, alive with vermin (which infests the city jails), with brutal guards, with the steam cells where men stood in their own offal, and were crowded so tight that they could scarcely breath; yet so tight that the strength of several policemen was required to force the great, air-tight door shut against the human mass of thirty-six men. Where in three minutes of this torture, the men were wringing wet with perspira-

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tion, and in two hours they began fainting from the excessive heat, and falling on each other; where the pleadings of the men to the police were in vain; from this to ice-cold cells with windows left open. Would you weaken, Mr. Reader? Would you only say you would renounce the I. W. W. and get free from all this torture? These men did not. Their hatred for capitalism has only increased. If they did not fully realize the power of property rights over human rights, they do so now; but they

CHIEF OF POLICE SULLIVAN.

did know. They were all revolutionists against the system that makes paupers at one end and the "best people," the millionaires, at the other.

All this suffering and torture for wanting to tell the truth on the public street—to have the same privileges as the Salvation Army. Special laws were enacted for the Salvation Army; special laws for religious organizations, and special ones for the Industrial Workers of the World.

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The Salvation Army will never hurt capitalism, therefore they can tell of the love of Jesus to the slave; they can beg money and old clothes for the victims of the masters. They can tell of the downy wings and streets of gold that await those who are contented with suffering on earth. As long as the Salvation Army and the other Bible pounders don't bother the streets of gold on earth, the boss will never object. Talk about peace on earth, but don't shut the cruel valve on the four-inch steam pipe that is fast sapping all vitality from the men, until they fall a deadened mass.

The police are being eulogized by the big capitalist dailies, for the very humane way in which they handled the Free Speech prisoners. The Spokesman-Review especially lauds these human beasts, and says great honor is due to them, because not a blow was struck, a window broken, or a man killed. Then the editor of this capitalist spew forgets himself and in his anxiety to give the news, prints the report of Dr. O'Shea, who treated the prisoners. The following clipping is taken from the Spokesman-Review, of January 3rd:

I. W. W. SICK TREATED, 344.

Dr. John H. O'Shea, Emergency Surgeon, Renders Report.

The sick report of I. W. W. prisoners who were held in the city jail and attended by Emergency Physician John H. O'Shea has been completed and shows that there were 334 men on the hospital list and that Dr. O'Shea gave 1,600 treatments. None died.

Dr. O'Shea figures that if he had received the customary fee for the treatments and prescriptions he would be drawing a few thousand dollars at least from the I. W. W. The time extended over sixty days and the cases attended to were exclusive of the regular run of accidents and jail cases. As gratitude one of the "workers" sent a postal card a few days ago calling Dr. O'Shea "the horse doctor," and only a few hours later one called him by telephone to get an affidavit in aiding them in preparing a suit against the city.

The report speaks for itself. Does it show any brutality? Who are these 334 men? What do you suppose the treatments consisted of? Nearly every man had to be sent to this horse doctor, inside of thirty days. What made them sick? The majority were men who never knew a day's sickness in their lives; great, big, husky men from railroad camps, from tie-cutting camps, and from lumber woods; men who have always had to eat the coarsest food and take the hardest knocks in life. Many men came straight from the logging camps in Montana, Idaho, and Puget Sound. Some of the men from the coast, that the writer is acquainted with, threw down their tools, called for their time, and went to Spokane to fight for Freedom of Speech. They were skilled men, drawing the highest wages in the camp. They deposited over $1,400 with the union

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secretaries, before going on the street to speak, leaving instructions to use every cent of it if necessary. One man donated $50 to the defense fund and deposited $100 more, which was all he had, to be used if required. In thirty-four days he came from the horse doctor a living wreck, scarcely able to crawl, and said that Judge Mann had fined him $100; that he now wished the union to accept the money that he had left on deposit, to be used in giving hospital treatment to those who were in a worse condition than himself. He stayed around a day or so to regain some of his former strength, then off to the woods to hunt a master.

Some of the men only had four or five dollars. Some had $20. Some had $50, but all had money. They are hoboes, vags, and undesirable citizens; they should have taken their money to the jail and allowed themselves to be robbed by the thugs in blue, who formed the slugging committee in the dark corridors between the booking window and the cells. These men of honor that smash men's jaws, blind men, knock them down and kick their ribs in; these honorable brutes who squeeze men into an air-tight cell and then coolly open the steam valve. These human hyenas who gently tell you that they have orders to kill the first man that says a word back to them. These human beasts that are responsible for 1,600 treatments of green capsules to men with broken jaws, broken ribs, blinded eyes, etc. Green capsules to men who are starving, to increase the pain in the stomach. An emergency hospital. God save the word. A cell alive with vermin, where men are placed on a bare iron cot without even a blanket. With a doctor that should be carrying a policeman's club. None died. Wonderful! Had there been no labor or socialist press in America, they would all have died. The men were never carried to this capsule doctor until the police were getting afraid of having dead men on their hands. These treatments were to keep them from dying, at the same time increase the suffering. This horse doctor, as the boys call him, would have several thousand dollars coming if he got the customary fee. There is no doubt but what he would have got several hundred dollars, had the men turned their money over to the honorable gentlemen that compose the police force.

About one hundred prostitutes were arrested in one raid a few months ago in Spokane, in cheap hotels and lodging houses (the police said they were prostitutes, and they know). These women were taken to the jail and searched, and over $1,400 was taken from them. They were fined the next morning by the honorable judge the sum total that the honorable police found on them. They were then marched to the railroad depot and given a ticket to Pasco, Wash. There is no harm in being a prostitute in Pasco.

The Spokesman-Review stated next morning that the city treasury

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had been fattened to the tune of $1,400. The I. W. W. has reduced the fat about $50,000 worth. The police are now searching for more prostitutes.

The Review says that one of the "Workers" called up Dr. O'Shea on the telephone to try and get an affidavit to be used in preparing a damage suit against the city. That is true. We have a number of damage suits which, if justice can be had, will thin the treasury that the prostitutes are continually required to fatten.

The man that wanted the affidavit from the horse doctor did not get it. His jaw was smashed in three places by an honorable policeman's club, while passing from the booking window to the cell.

He was five days in the sweat box and ice cold cells alternately, before the men could induce the police to get a doctor to bandage it. Not a blow was struck. None died! The Spokesman-Review says so.

"By God, the men that done the deed,
Were better men than they."

—Kipling.

Better than a cruel editor who coolly sits down and writes falsehoods and vilifies to protect a band of law-and-order thugs.

These are the people that hate the red flag, "because it means anarchy." They love the stars and stripes because they stand for "Freedom?" They are the exponents of law and order, justice and equality. They believe in equal right to all and special privileges to none. They love God. Verily, patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels.

The law. The law must be upheld. Taft can speak on the street, and pack it for blocks—yes, so tight that workmen could not get home to their dinner. He was not put in the sweat box. He was not even arrested, although the ordinance was in effect at the time. William Jennings Bryan spoke on the street and blocked it. The Chamber of Commerce is the power behind the law. The Chamber of Commerce wrote the speech for Taft, when he spoke on the streets of Spokane. Taft held up a bundle of papers and said, "This was handed to me by the Chamber of Commerce, and you will have to stand for it." As it was impossible to move for two hours, we stood for it. The Spokesman-Review says the people don't want to have the revolutionary harangues of the I. W. W. speakers rammed down their throats. Hundreds of people did not want to have the harangue of the Chamber of Commerce rammed down their throats by Taft, but they had to stand for it. Here is the keynote of the whole thing. The "best people," those who fatten off the toil of slaves, do not want the workers to hear the truth. It is not the working class that is kicking. It is the profit monger. The fact that over 5,000 workingmen stood to have the I. W. W.

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teachings rammed down the throats in one year in Spokane shows where the knife was cutting. The color of the flag is only subterfuge. It is a handy thing to use when appealing to the prejudices of the people. One flag is as good as another for the workers if it increases the size of the pork chops. A dish cloth will do.

It is the lumber trust and the employment shark that wish to squelch the I. W. W. The Mayor believes that he can pacify the workers by revoking the licenses of several of the employment sharks, but the I. W. W. says that they must all go, and if we can win this fight for freedom of speech, they will all have to go, and they know it.

Over three thousand men were hired through employment sharks for one camp of the Somers Lumber Co. (Great Northern) last winter to maintain a force of fifty men. As soon as a man had worked long enough to pay the shark's fee, the hospital dollar, poll tax, and a few other grafts, he was discharged to make room for more slaves, so that the fleecing process could continue. These different fees are split, or cut up with the bosses. In most cases these fees consumed the time of several days' labor, when the men were then discharged and paid off with checks ranging from 5 cents and upwards. The victim of the shark in the most cases gets the check cashed at the first saloon, and takes a little stimulation. Why not? What is life to these men? What is there in life for them? The strong, barbed-wire whiskey makes things look bright for awhile. Then the weary tramp to town with his bed on his back. Back to Spokane, the slave market for the Inland Empire.

He hears the I. W. W. speakers on the street. The glad tidings of a great revolutionary union. An injury to one is an injury to all. Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose but your bed on your back. You have a world to gain. Labor produces all wealth, and those who produce it are tramps and hoboes. This gets to him. A new life for him. He will go through hell for such a union with such principles. He has gone through hell in Spokane, and has given his last cent. He is soon coming back, and then again and again if necessary, until the truth can be told on the streets.

Five thousand joined in one year in Spokane. They tied up the drives in 1907, in Montana, and let the logs go to blazes, until the bosses got on their knees and begged them to go to work. They did go to work. They saved what logs did not get past the saw mills. They forced $10 a month more wages from the Amealgamated Copper Co. They forced the hours of labor down to nine hours per day. They left fifteen million feet of logs high and dry in the Flathead valley in Montana last spring. The bosses would not come through with the money and the shorter hours of labor. The logs are there yet on the bank. The water is gone, but there

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will soon be more water in the spring time, and the question will again come up, of more money, less hours, or no logs.

The masters say they like unions if they are run right, but the bosses do not like the I. W. W. They like the unions they can handle and leaders they can buy. We have neither. There are lots of such unions in America, but the I. W. W. is not one of them.

People are sending in money from all over America to care for the sick and injured, and feed the families of those who are wearing ball and chain on the county rock pile. The following letter is characteristic of the methods used by the I. W. W.:

IONE, ORE., Jan. 7th, 1910.

Fellow Worker:

A demonstration meeting was just held in Sheep Camp No. 1, there being three present, a herder and two dogs. The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we send $10.00 for the free speech fight in Spokane.

Yours for liberty,

THOS. J. ANDERSON,

P. S.—Stay with it. I'm coming.—T. J. A.

The cash was enclosed.

With all the brutality of the Spokane police; the suffering of the prisoners; the screaming of law and order; the blatting of preachers; and the denunciations of labor fakirs, not a man has been arrested for breaking the ordinance prohibiting freedom of speech. One hundred and three men were arrested on November 2d, the opening day of the fight, and the police booked them for breaking the street-speaking ordinance. The judge ordered the police department to change the charge to disorderly conduct, and there has been no disorderly conduct unless he meant disorderly conduct on the part of the honorable police.

It was evident that they did not wish to prosecute under the ordinance. Officers who were drawing pay as secretaries of the unions were arrested for vagrancy. The same charge was made against members selling the "Industrial Worker" on the street. They all had money.

In the suppression of the paper, the closing of the hall, the slugging of members, etc., those who worship and love the law, proceeded under the law of brute force only. They throw their own laws out if they are not fast enough to obtain results.

On November 2d, 1909, Judge Mann delivered himself of the following:

"The right to speak on the street or any other place is inherent. It it a natural right. It is a gift from God that every man is supposed to have. Some who are so unfortunate as to be deaf and dumb are eliminated from possibilities. But every man under the laws of nature and the laws of the universe, is born of the ability to speak when and where he chooses,

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in so long as he does not interfere with the interests of others, and the rights of others.

"I have no question in my mind as to the validity of this ordinance. I think that under the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of our State, and our city charter, that this ordinance, not only with reference to the class legislative clause that has been argued at length, but in reference to other clauses by reason of its absolute prohibitive powers bordering, in my mind upon the monarchial form of law, I think the ordinance is unconstitutional and invalid."

After this the Chamber of Commerce met. The charge was altered from breaking an ordinance to disorderly conduct.

Three hundred and thirty-four men were treated in the emergency hospital. There were 1,600 treatments administered. None died! Spokane, the city beautiful!

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL.

By JACK PHELAN.

Behold!
She sits upon a pile of offal!
Polluting the fresh waters at her feet,
While, 'round her head the four winds that meet
Grow noisome from her putrid breath. Yea, awful.

Look!
Her marts are groaning with the golden grain
That flows to her from many fertile plain,
Yet, famine gnaws her vitals, night and day,
And lo! her fairest must take harlot's pay.

Listen!
The cry of children, swine and cattle,
Commingling in one vast rattle.
While hordes of men she calmly sweeps
In the composts of her value heaps.

Hark!
The din of shops, the whirr of wheels,
See sly death stalking each worker's heel
And the only choice for him who fails
Is work-house, poor-house, mad-house, jails.

Hurrah!
She well rewards her chosen few
Purple lady, and slum house shrew.
Fakir and statesman of ill report,
Judge and journalist, actor and sport.
And at the head of her favorite list,
The wanton, hideous capitalist.

Hush!
Not Sodom, Pryne nor Jezebel!
Will name her name,
So, call her Hell.

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Industrialism and the Trades Unions

By James Connolly.

IN the second part of my book, "Socialism Made Easy," I have endeavored to establish two principles in the minds of my readers as being vitally necessary to the upbuilding of a strong revolutionary Socialist movement. Those two principals are: First, that the working class as a class cannot become permeated with a belief in the unity of their class interests unless they have first been trained to a realization of the need of industrial unity; second, that the revolutionary act—the act of taking over the means of production and establishing a social order based upon the principles of the working class (labor) cannot be achieved by a disorganized, defeated and humiliated working class but must be the work of that class *after* it has attained to a commanding position on the field of economic struggle. It has been a pleasure to me to note the progress of Socialist thought towards acceptance of these principles, and to believe that the publication of that little work helped to a not inconsiderable degree in shaping that Socialist thought and in accelerating its progress. In the following article I wish to present one side of the discussion which inevitably arises in our Socialist party locals upon the mooting of this question. But as a preliminary to this presentation I would like to decry, and ask my comrades to decry and dissociate themselves from, the somewhat acrid and intolerant manner in which this discussion is often carried on. Believing that the Socialist party is part and parcel of the labor movement of the United States, and that in the growth of that movement to true revolutionary clearness and consciousness it, the Socialist party, is bound to attract to itself and become merger and teacher of elements most unclear and lacking in class consciousness, we should recognize that it is as much our duty to be patient and tolerant with the erring brother or sister within our ranks as with the rank heathen outside the fold. No good purpose can be served by mildly declaiming against "intellectuals," nor yet by intriguing against and misrepresenting "impossibilists. The comrades who think that the Socialist party is run by "compromisers," should not jump out of the organization and leave the revolutionists in a still more helpless

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minority, and the comrades who pride themselves upon being practical Socialist politicians should not too readily accuse those who differ with them of being potential disrupters. Viewing the situation from the standpoint of an industrialist I am convinced that both the industrialist and those estimable comrades who cater to the old style trade unions to such a marked degree as to leave themselves open to the suspicion of coquetting with the idea of a "labor" party, both, I say, have the one belief, both have arrived at the one conclusion, although they have approached that belief and conclusion from such different angles that they appear as opposing instead of aiding, auxiliary forces. That belief which both share in common is that the triumph of Socialism is impossible without the aid of labor organized upon the economic field. It is their common possession of this one great principle of action which impels me to say that there is a greater identity of purpose and faith between those two opposing (?) wings of the Socialist party than either can have with any of the intervening schools of thought. Both realize that the Socialist party must rest upon the economic struggle and the forces of labor engaged therein, and that the Socialism which is not an outgrowth and expression of that economic struggle is not worth a moment's serious consideration.

There, then, we have found something upon which we agree, a ground common to both, the first desideratum of any serious discussion. The point upon which we disagree is: *Can the present form of American trade unions provide the Socialist movement with the economic force upon which to rest?*. Or can the A. F. of L. develop towards industrialism sufficiently for our needs? It is the same problem stated in different ways. I propose to state here my reasons for taking the negative side in that discussion.

Let it be remembered that we are not, as some good comrades imagine, debating whether it is possible for a member of the A. F. of L. to become an industrialist, or for all its members, but we are to debate whether the organization of the A. F. of L. is such as to permit of a modification of its structural formation to keep pace with the progress of industrialist ideas amongst its members. Whether the conversion of the membership of the A. F. of L. to industrialism would mean the transformation of that body into an industrial organization or mean the disruption of the Federation and the throwing of it aside as the up-to-date capitalist throws aside a machine, be it ever so costly, when a more perfectly functioning machine has been devised.

At this point it is necessary for the complete understanding of our subject that we step aside for a moment to consider the genesis and organization of the A. F. of L. and the trade unions patterned

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after it, and this involves a glance at the history of the labor movement in America. Perhaps of all the subjects properly pertaining to Socialist activity this subject has been the most neglected, the least analyzed. And yet it is the most vital. Studies of Marx and popularizing (sic) of Marx, studies of science and popularizing of science, studies of religion and application of same with Sociolist interpretations, all these we have without limit, but of attempts to apply the methods of Marx and of science to an analysis of the laws of growth and incidents of development of the organizations of labor upon the economic field the literature of the movement is almost, if not quite, absolutely barren. Our Socialist writers seem in some strange and, to me, incomprehensible manner to have detached themselves from the everyday struggles of the toilers and to imagine they are doing their whole duty as interpreters of Socialist thought when they bless the economic organization with one corner of their mouth and insist upon the absolute hopelessness of it with the other. They imagine, of course, that this is the astutist diplomacy, but the net result of it has been that the organized working class has never looked upon the Socialist party as a part of the labor movement, and the enrolled Socialist party member has never found in American Socialist literature anything that helped him in strengthening his economic organization or leading it to victory.

Perhaps some day there will arise in America a Socialist writer who in his writing will live up to the spirit of the Communist Manifesto that the Socialists (Communists) are not apart from the labor movement, are not a sect, but are simply that part of the working class which pushes on all others, which most clearly understands the line of march. Awaiting the advent of that writer permit me to remind our readers that the Knights of Labor preceded the A. F. of L., that the structural formation of the Knights was that of a mass organization, that they aimed to organize all toilers into one union and made no distinction of craft, *nor of industry,* and that they cherished revolutionary aims. When the A. F. of L. was organized it was organized as a dual organization, and although at first it professed a desire to organize none but those then unorganized it soon developed opposition to the Knights and proceeded to organize wherever it could find members, and particularly to seek after the enrollment of those who were already in the K. of L. In this it was assisted by the good will of the master class, who naturally preferred its profession of conservatism and identity of interest between Capital and Labor to the revolutionary aims and methods of the Knights. But even this assistance on the part of the master class would not have assured its victory were it not for the fact that its method of organization, *into separate crafts,*

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recognized a certain need of the industrial development of the time which the K. of L. had failed up to that moment to appraise at its proper significance.

The K. of L., as I have pointed out, organized all workers into one union, an excellent idea for teaching the toliers their ultimate class interests, but with the defect that it made no provision for the treating of special immediate craft interests by men and women with the requisite technical knowledge. The scheme was the scheme of an idealist, too large-harted and noble-minded himself to apprecite the hold small interests can have upon men and women. It gave rise to all sorts of bickerings and jealousies. The printer grumbled at the jurisdiction of a body comprising tailors and shoemakers over his shop struggles, and the tailors and shoemakers fretted at the attempts of carpenters and bricklayers to understand the technicalities of their disputes with the bosses.

To save the K. of L., and to save the American working class a pilgrimage in the desert of reaction, it but required the advent of some practical student of industry to propose that, instead of massing all workers together irrespective of occupation, they should, keeping their organization intact and remaining bound in obedience to one supreme head, *for administrative purposes only,* to group all workers together according to their industries, and subdivide their industries again according to their crafts. That the allied crafts should select the ruling body for the industry to which they belonged, and that the allied industries again should elect the ruling body for the whole organization. This could have been done without the slightest jar to the framework of the organization; it would have recognized all technical differences and specialization of function in actual industry, it would have kept the organization of labor in line with the actual progress of industrial development, and would still have kept intact the idea of the unity of the working class by its common bond of brotherhood, a universal membership card, and universal obligation to recognize that an injury to one was an injury to all. Tentative steps in such a direction were already being taken when the A. F. of L. came upon the scene. The promotors of this organization seizing upon this one plan in the K. of L. organization, specialized its work along that line, and, instead of hastening to save the unity of the working class on the lines above indicated, they made the growing realization of the need of representation of craft differences the entering wedge for disrupting and destroying the earlier organization of that class.

Each craft was organized as a distinct body having no obligation to strike or fight beside any other craft, and making its own contracts with the bosses heedless of what was happening between these bosses

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and their fellow laborers of another craft in the same industry, building, shop or room. The craft was organized on a national basis, to be governed by the vote of its members throughout the nation, and with a membership card good only in that craft and of no use to a member who desired to leave one craft in order to follow another. The fiction of national unity was and is still paid homage to, as vice always pays homage to virtue, by annual congresses in which many resolutions are gravely debated, to be forgotten as soon as congress adjourns. But the unifying (?) qualities of this form of organization are best revealed by the fact that the main function of the congress seems to be to provide the cynical master class with the, to them, pleasing spectacle of allied organizations fiercely fighting over questions of jurisdiction.

This policy of the A. F. of L., coupled with the unfortunate bomb incident of Chicago, for which the K. of L. received much of the blame, completed the ruin of the latter organization and destroyed the growing unity of the working class for the time being. The industrial union, as typified today in the I. W. W., could have, as I have shown, developed out of the Knights of Labor as logically and perfectly as the adult develops from the child. No new organization would have been necessary, and hence we may conclude that the I. W. W. is the legitimate heir of the native American labor movement, the inheritor of its principles, and the ripened fruit of its experiences. On the other hand the A. F. of L. may truly be regarded as an usurper on the throne of labor, an usurper who occupies the throne by virtue of having strangled its predecessor, and now, like all usurpers, raises the cry of "treason" against the rightful heir when it seeks to win its own again. It is obvious that the sway of the A. F. of L. in the American labor movement is but a brief interregnum between the passing of the old revolutionary organization and the ascension into power of the new.

But, I fancy I hear some one say, granting that all that is true, may we not condemn the methods by which the A. F. of L. destroyed, or helped to destroy, the Knights of Labor, and still believe that out of the A. F. of L. we may now build up an industrial organization such as we need, such as the K. of L. might have become, and as the I. W. W. aims to be?

This we can only answer by clearly focussing in our mind the A. F. of L. system of organization in actual practice. A carpenter is at work in a city. He has a dispute with the bosses, or all his fellow carpenters have. They will hold meetings to discuss the question of a strike, and finding the problem too big for them they will pass it on to the headquarters, and the headquarters pass it on to the general membership. The general membership, from San Francisco to Rhode

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Island, and from Podunk to Kalamazoo will have a vote and say upon the question of the terms upon which the Chicago carpenters work, and if said carpenters are called out they will expect all these widely scattered carpenters to support them by financial and moral help. But while they are soliciting and receiving the support of their fellow carpenters from Dan to Beeshebee they are precluded from calling out in sympathy with them the painters who follow them in their work, the plumbers whose pipes they cover up, the steamfitters who work at their elbows, or the plasterer who precedes them. Yet the co-operation of these workers with them in their strikes is a thousandfold more important than the voting of strike funds which would keep them out on strike—until the building season is over and the winter sets in. In many cities to-day there is a Building Trades Council which is looked upon by many as a beginning of industrialism within the A. F. of L. It is not only the beginning but it is as far as industrialism can go within that body and its sole function is to secure united action in remedying petty grievances and enforcing the observance of contracts, but it does not take part in the really important work of determining hours or wages. It cannot for the simple reason that each of the thirty-three unions in the building industry are international organizations with international officers, and necessitating international referendums before any strike looking to the fixing of hours or wages are permissible. Hence, although all the building trades locals in a given district may be satisfied that the time is ripe for obtaining better conditions they cannot act before they obtain the consent of the membership throughout the entire country, and before that is obtained the moment for action is passed. The bond that is supposed to unite the carpenter in New York with the carpenter in Kokomo, Indiana, is converted into a wall of isolation which prevents him uniting, except in the most perfunctory fashion, with the men of other crafts who work beside him. The industrial union and the craft union are mutually exclusive terms. Suppose all the building trades locals of Chicago resolved to unite industrially, to form an industrial union. Every local which became an integral part of said union, pledged to obey its call to action, would by so doing forfeit their charter in the craft union and in the A. F. of L., and outside Chicago its members would be considered as scabs.

The Brewers' Union has been fighting for years to obtain the right to organize *all* brewery employes. It is hindered from doing so, not only by the rules of the A. F. of L. but by the form of organization of that body. Breweries, for instance, employ plumbers. Now if a plumber, so employed, would join the Brewers' Union and obey its call to strike, he would be expelled from his craft union, and if ever

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he lost his job in the brewery would be considered as a scab if he went to work where union plumbers were employed. A craft union cannot recognize the right of another association to call its members out on strike. A machinist works to-day in a machine shop; a few months from now he may be employed in a clothing factory attending to the repairs of sewing machines. If the clothing industry resolves itself into an industrial union and he joins them, as he needs must if he believes in industrialism, he loses his membership in the International Association of Machinists, and if ever he loses his factory job and seeks to return to the machine shop he must either do so as a non-union man or pay a heavy fine if he is permitted to re-enter the I. A. of M. A stationery engineer works to-day at the construction of a new building, three months from now he is in a ship yard, six months from now he is at the mouth of a coal mine. Three different industries, requiring three different industrial unions.

The craft card is good to-day in all of them, but if any of them chose to form industrial unions, and called upon him to join he could only do so on penalty of losing his craft card and his right to strike benefits from his old organization. And if he did join his card of membership in the one he joined would be of no value when he drifted to any of the others. How can the A. F. of L. avail this dilemma? Industrialism requires that all the workers in a given industry be subject to the call of the governing body, or of the vote of the workers in that industry. But if these workers are organized in the A. F. of L. they must be subject only to the call of their national or international craft body, and if at any time they obey the call of the industry in preference to the craft they are ordered peremptorily back to scab upon their brothers.

If in addition to this organic difficulty, and it is the most insuperable, we take into consideration the system of making contracts or trade agreements on a craft basis pursued by old style unions we will see that our unfortunate brothers in the A. F. of L. are tied hand and foot, handcuffed and hobbled, to prevent their advance into industrialism. During the recent shirt-waist makers strike in New York when the question was mooted of a similar strike in Philadelphia our comrade Rose Pastor Stokes, according to our Socialist press, was continually urging upon the shirt-waist makers of Philadelphia the wisdom of striking before Christmas, and during the busy season. No more sensible advice could have been given. It was of the very essence of industrialist philosophy. Industrialism is more than a method of organization—it is a science of fighting. It says to the worker: Fight only at the time you select, never fight when the boss wants a fight. Fight at the height of the busy season, and in the slack season when the workers are in thousands upon the sidewalk absolutely refuse to be drawn into

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battle. Even if the boss insults and vilifies your union and refuses to recognize it take it lying down in the slack season but mark it up in your little note-book, and when work is again rushing and Master Capitalist is pressed for orders squeeze him, and squeeze him till the most sensitive portion of his anatomy, his pocket book, yells with pain. That is the industrialist idea of the present phase of the class war as organized labor should conduct it. But, whatever may have been the case with the shirt-waist makers, that policy so ably enunciated by Comrade Rose Pastor Stokes is utterly opposed to the whole philosophy and practice of the A. F. of L. Contracts almost always expire when there is little demand for labor. For instance the United Mine Workers' contract with the bosses expires in the early summer when they have before them a long hot season with a minimum demand for coal. Hence the expiration of the contract generally finds the coal operators spoiling for a fight, and the union secretly dreading it. Most building trade contracts with the bosses expire in the winter. For example, the Brotherhood of Carpenters in New York, their contract expires in January. A nice time for a fight, in the middle of a northern winter, when all work in their vicinity is suspended owing to the rigors of the climate!

The foregoing will, I hope, give the reader some food for consideration upon the problem under review. That problem is intimately allied with the future of the Socialist party in America. Our party must become the political expression of the fight in the workshop, and draw its inspiration therefrom. Everything which tends to strengthen and discipline the hosts of labor tends irresistibly to swell the ranks of the revolutionary movement, and everything which tends to divide and disorganize the hosts of labor tends also to strengthen the forces of capitalism. *The most dispersive and isolating force at work in the labor movement to-day is craft unionism, the most cohesive and unifying force, industrial unionism.* In view of that fact all objections which my comrades make to industrial unionism on the ground of the supposedly, or truly anti-political, bias of many members of the I. W. W. is quite beside the mark. That question at the present stage of the game is purely doctrinaire. The use or non-use of political action will not be settled by the doctrinaire who may make it their hobby to-day, but will be settled by the workers who use the I. W. W. in their workshop struggles, and if at any time the conditions of a struggle in shop, factory, railroad or mine necessitate the employment of political action those workers so organized will use it, all theories and theorists to the contrary notwithstanding.

In their march to freedom the workers will use every weapon they find necessary.

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As the economic struggle is the preparatory school and training ground for Socialists it is our duty to help guide along right lines the effort of the workers to choose the correct kind of organization to fight their battles in that conflict. According as they choose aright or wrongly so will the development of class consicousness in their minds be hastened or retarded by their every day experience in sharp struggles.

Thousands who once belonged to unions have become, not only non-union men, but scabs and strike-breakers, and in their desperation have turned upon the union and become its most bitter enemies. If you will call the roll of the strike-breakers who gather here in Chicago and elsewhere when union workers are out on strike, you will find that nearly all of them are ex-union men; men who once wore the badge of union labor, believed in it and marched proudly beneath the union banner.

What do you think of a unionism that creates an army for its own overthrow? There is something fundamentally wrong with that kind of unionism.—Eugene V. Debs in Class Unionism.

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The Call of Revolt

by James Oneal

HAD just stepped from the train when I noticed the crowd in the public square. A great mass of people stood there hooting, laughing, and jeering, which attracted others to the scene. Brawny Texans, with the inevitable white sombreros, tilted back on their heads, were directing their attention to what was apparently a boy whose small form stood out prominently in the glare of the sun. His back was toward me and for the moment I feared I was going to witness a "nigger" lynching. But there was no evidence of physical violence, the crowd contenting itself with a vocal demonstration. My curiosity drew me to the edge of the crowd and the boy proved to be an old man of some sixty years. It was a pathetic figure, this frail little man, evidently half starved, ill-clad, and his features glowing with the indignation that raged in his heart. It was Benny Dean, I afterwards learned, a familiar figure in this little Texas town, who had won for himself the epithets of "pest" and "crank." He was a modern rebel and had a disagreeable habit of occupying the public square on Saturdays, discussing the wrongs of the farmers and laborers. His small stature, wheezing voice, ragged appearance, bronzed face with freckles as large as snowflakes, and shaggy, uneven beard, were all against him. He was not a "prominent man." He had not that outward veneering which serves as a passport to the "best society," and that enables the respectable adventurer to secure the confidence of his victims. Benny had neglected the real things which enable us to recognize the "best citizens."

I gathered this much from bystanders. Notwithstanding his almost feminine voice his choice of words and method of delivery were excellent, and his speech flowed in a constant ripple that sparkled with wit and satire. He told of the miserable lot of the doomed farmers, the mass of whom lived in log huts and pine shanties and whose daily fare consisted of biscuits, pork grease and cheap coffee, and whose children, boys and girls of tender age, were drawn within the cotton fields to assist in gathering the crops. What with the "bo' weevil," "bo' "

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worms, lizards, cotton gamblers, bankers and other parasites, these farmers lived in depths of poverty almost indescribable. And Benny was disturbing the peace and quiet of this town by launching tirades against these conditions.

He stood in the end of a farm wagon looking defiantly into the up-

turned faces of the mob. His speech had been interrupted by the angry cries and jeers of his auditors. A sharp stone had struck him in the face and blood trickled down his forehead, down the shaggy beard and then onto the ragged coat. His frail form shook with rage and his hands trembled with passion as he glared at his tormentors. In the crowd he saw the town banker who charged forty per cent. interest for his loans and demanded a mortgage on the cotton crop for security. There were merchants there who had foreclosed on starving farmers, taken their teams in settlement for debts and forced the

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victims, now reduced to beggary, to walk miles across the prairie to their cheerless huts. There was also the country preacher whose religious concepts belonged to the fourteenth century and whose knowledge in general did not exceed much the level of an ox. It was his mission to preach contentment to the poor; to thank God that Southern children helped their parents in the fields, and prove from "Scripture" that washing a brother's feet was necessary to save us from hell. He was God's policeman for the poor. There was also the unthinking multitude, deprived of education, living from hand to mouth, and under the sway of the fleecer's views of life. Benny faced the learning, power and prejudice of the village, a trinity that is shocked when a new truth strays into their midst. A cyclone might sweep away the village and death enter every household, but this was the will of God. Hail storms might destroy their crops and leave them paupers but God knew that it was for the best. Their standard of living might sink to the level of their beasts while bankers and merchant fleecers waxed rich, but it was impious to protest and a defiance of Divine providence. All "right thinking" people knew this and "Scriptur'" settled the doubts of the remainder—except Benny. He had the curious hallucination that the resources of Texas were sufficient to supply the wants of all and that the hell of poverty could be abolished. It was apparent that he had earned the wrath of this God-fearing community.

For a moment the bony, gnarled fingers clenched as the little rebel stood erect. One brawny hand of one of these big Texans could have swept him into the gutter. Then raising his hand and pointing his finger at the crowd he proceeded with difficulty to speak:

"I am a friendless man yet known to you all. I have tried to to get your attention and appeal to you for a hearing. I have tried to make an honest living in your midst and to show you a better world than the one that exists. For a time you patronized me by buying my baskets until I began to speak to you of the problems of to-day. But in response to the cry of those who rob you and who have transformed the South into a penal colony for their own enrichment, you no longer buy my baskets and you stone me in the public square. I am now a beggar without the means to get a meal, and I am going to walk out of this town tonight never to return again. I go friendless and alone, with the knowledge that your streets will in time be filled with men of my belief and that you will do them honor. You would put a gag on my lips but the remorseless hell in which you live will speak louder to you than this feeble voice of mine. It will reveal to you the horror of the regime that places your babies in the cotton fields so that to-day there is not a healthy farmer girl in the South.

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"Good bye, friends. I bear you no malice, though I have suffered crucifixion today. Unfortunately you will suffer. Your masters will see to that. I shall go to other fields where strangers will be more kind than friends, where no one will deprive me of bread and give me a stone because I want food guaranteed to all."

He paused and raised his hand as though to give emphasis to his parting words. But his eyes wandered, the words seemed to get no farther than his thin, red throat. His head drooped and picking up the crude stick that served him as a cane, he descended from the wagon, walked rather unsteadily down the street and disappeared. The crowd stood for a moment in silence then broke up in confusion. They left the scene victorious and yet some felt a sense of shame and humiliation that was foreign to those who experience the joy of triumph.

* * * * * * *

We were gathered around a country school house fifteen miles distant. Darkness had settled down for the night and the only sound that broke the stillness was the rustle of farm wagons across the prairie as they approached the "meetin'" house. We were discussing how to seat the large crowd which was being added to by new arrivals, when a figure emerged from the mesquite bushes to our right. It approached with painful strides and not until the light streaming from the school house fell upon him did I recognize Benny Dean. He was covered with dust and the warm hat careened on the back of his head to get the full flow of air that never fails in Texas. Feeling his way with the stick he dropped the battered suitcase he carried and sat down with a sigh of relief.

"I walked fifteen miles to attend the meeting," he began in reply to our enquiries. "I wanted to be here and see the crowd and hear the speech. I'm an old man now and don't expect to see the movement victorious, but I want to help in the propaganda. Back in Lawnoak, I could not get a hearing and they stoned and starved me out. I suppose they'd mobbed me if I had not left. Never go there again. Tough town. Besides, that rock cut deeper than the skin. A stab in the heart wouldn't have been so bad. Seemed to me that my own child struck me. Hell, it was awful, comrades. No more Lawnoak for me. I left while I could and I'm going from place to place and do what I can. All I want is grub and a place to sleep. The rest belongs to the cause. Say, the house is full. Can't you place me next to the speaker's stand?"

Benny occupied the seat he wanted that night. At the conclusion of the meeting he bid us good-bye and slowly disappeared in the shadows from which he came. I had almost forgotten the frail little

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man when two weeks later, glancing carelessly over a journal devoted to the cause, I happened across the following item:

"Comrade Benny Dean writes us from Lawnoak that he is without employment and unable to buy literature. There will be a carnival in Lawnoak the first week in June, and Comrade Dean requests all those who can spare booklets and papers to send them to him as it is a good opportunity for educational work."

I have renewed my faith in the great movement for human emancipation, and wish there was one member of the American Congress with the nobility, big heart, and Spartan courage of that illfed, little Texan, Benny Dean.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, makes the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes.—Communist Manifesto.

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The Steam Engine

By William E. Dixon.



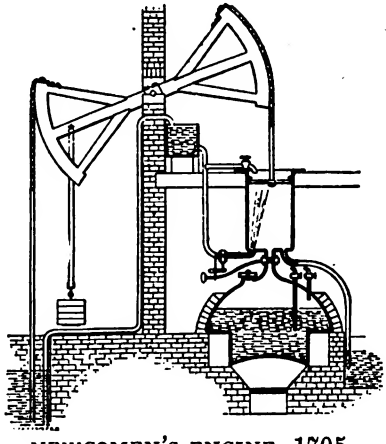
THE revolution that brought the manufacturing era to a close and gave us the modern factory system was made possible by the steam engine. For this reason and because, also, the steam engine has been an important factor in the development of modern industry and in the creation of conditions which already are bringing another revolution, the history of the steam engine is of absorbing interest.

But if we examine the processes which resulted in the invention of the engine we find there, also, a valuable lesson. One of the chief tenets of socialism is the materialistic conception of history—that man is made what he is, and the progress of the race governed, by environment; that under new conditions men change and the institutions of society change. Among opponents of socialism other theories of history obtain. Some hold to the religious basis; some to the theory that great ideas move the world; others, great men. The great man of "the great man theory" of history was Carlyle. He said: "All things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result * * * * of thought that dwelt in the great men sent into the world." That is, progress comes only as the work of great men. Which theory fits the facts? Do men make conditions, or do circumstances make men? This is an important problem; and probably no incident in history furnishes better material for its consideration than the invention of the steam engine. No better example of their theory could be asked for by the disciples of Carlyle. Watt is looked to as *the* inventor of that wonderful heat motor which has built up modern civilization. As *The Engineer* for January, 1908, said: "In the popular mind, until recently, the steam engine was supposed to have sprung full-fledged from the brain of James Watt as he sat watching his mother's teakettle." But that idea has been revised. We know this is not true. The same story is told of both Savery and Worcester who preceded Watt by a century. Let us, then, see what Watt's work was.

Watt was an instrument maker at the University of Glasgow, and in 1763 there was brought to him, for repairs, a model of the Newcomen engine. This engine had been patented by Newcomen and Scally in 1705. The boy Potter had added an automatic valve gear, which had been further improved by Brighton in 1718. Smeaton had done much

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to improve the mechanical design and had considerably increased the efficiency. In the Newcomen engine the down stroke was accomplished by introducing a spray of cold water, condensing the steam and forming a vacuum. Atmospheric pressure on top of the piston did the rest. But on the up stroke a great deal of steam was condensed in reheating the cylinder walls cooled by the spray. That meant a waste of fuel. Watt saw this and conceived the idea of exhausting the steam into a separate vessel and condensing it there. At the outside, we are confronted with the fact that Watt did not invent the steam engine, but improved it by inventing the separate condenser.



NEWCOMEN'S ENGINE, 1705.

It will not do to pass over the Newcomen engine as "an impractical toy pump." To be sure, it was wasteful; but mechanically it was a success, and where fuel was cheap it served good purpose. Even Watt's improved engine failed to drive it entirely out of favor; for as Prof. Thurston tells us "Newcomen engines continued to be built for years after Watt went to Soho, and by many builders." One Newcomen engine of Watt's day was in use until 1830; another until 1866. Prof Sweet relates that in the winter of 1864 he saw a Newcomen engine seven miles from Soho still working. It was "built so long before we went to see it that all its history, even by tradition, was lost." *The Engineering Magazine* for March, 1904, shows a Newcomen engine built in 1810 and still running.

It is often asserted that Watt was the first to adapt the engine to the driving of machinery; but this is not clear. Watt claimed to have invented the connecting rod and crank; but Washborough secured a patent on this device, and until it expired Watt was forced to use the "sun and planet motion."

On the other hand there are many devices and discoveries which are generally accredited to Watt. The separate condenser led directly to the double-acting engine. To this he applied the governor, thus putting the engine in front rank as a prime mover of machinery whose speed must be constant. He invented the crosshead and guides. He invented the indicator, that veritable X-ray machine, enabling the engineer to see just what occurs within the cylinder. He put the design of the engine upon a scientific basis, and pointed out refinements that were impossible in his day, but which have since been accomplished. So, although

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he was not the inventor of the engine, yet it is claimed—and the claim seems well founded—that Watt's inventions represent greater progress in its development than those of any other one man.

But to accomplish this Watt needed something more than mere "native ingenuity" or "genius." Ingenuity might suggest the governor, or the crosshead, or even the indicator; but a knowledge of thermodynamics is necessary to explain the indicator card, and acquaintance with the laws of mechanics is necessary before one can design a governor

NEWCOMEN PUMPING ENGINE, BARDSLEY, NEAR ASHTON—UNDER-LYNE. OUT OF USE 1830.

From Mr. Henry Davey's paper before the Institution of Mechanical Engineers.

to maintain an engine at a certain speed. Invention is not the simple matter many people imagine. For instance, if one should enter the airship field today he would find that success is not merely a matter of throwing together a "likely looking machine," but that its demands reach much deeper. He must know the sustaining power of air upon a moving plane. He must have accurate knowledge of the strength of materials; for the machine must not be weak, and yet every useless pound of metal is a drag. The bracing of the various parts, the action of propellers, the power required, these are but a few of the many things he must know. Guesses won't do. So he must delve into science. He will find that the work of such "failures" as Langley and Lilenthal may be studied with benefit. The light, strong tubing he must use was developed in the bicycle, the gasoline motor in the automobile. And by no small amount

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does his success depend upon his ability to secure skilled mechanics to build the machine. The inventor, then, must avail himself of technical science, technical skill and former inventions. Other factors may, and often do, enter as requirements, but this is the minimum. If he lack but one of these, he is doomed to failure. The writer has in mind a man who, for four years, carried around with him the drawings of an invention. Time after time machinists told him it was impractical. Others tried to make it and failed. Then one day he found a man whose skill was equal to the task. To this inventor, skilled labor made all the difference between failure and success.

Let us see how Watt fared in these matters. At Glasgow he was brought into intimate contact with Dr. Black, who had just discovered "latent heat," knowledge of which is absolutely essential to any scientific treatment of steam engine problems. And not only did Dr. Black give freely of his scientific knowledge, but both he and Dr. Roebuck assisted Watt financially. That Sir Humphrey Davy was an intimate friend of Watt, speaks for itself. Savery, Worcester, Papin and many others had experimented with steam. Their failure, their achievements and their discoveries were contained in the works of Desaguliers, Switzer and others—all accessible to Watt at Glasgow, and of which he availed himself. Our own versatile Franklin, in company with Dr. Darwin and Matthew Boulton, was also studying steam. In 1766 an engine constructed in Boulton's shop was exhibited in London by Franklin, who appears to be the inventor, also, of the modern down draft furnace. Their discoveries, whatever they were, became available to Watt in 1768 when the firm of Boulton and Watt was formed.

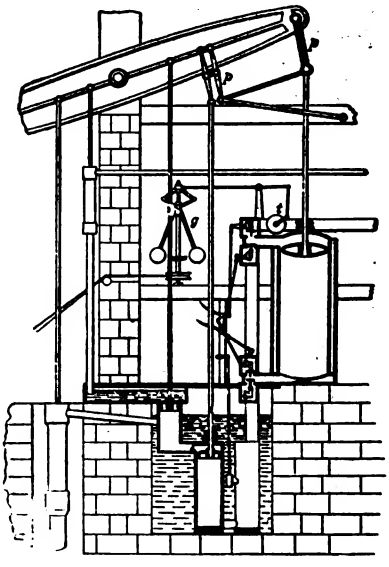
The process of smelting iron with coal had recently been discovered, and iron was to be needed in the new machines, engines and boilers. The flywheel and the boring-bar were recent inventions; and a little later Maudsley gave us the slide rest, converting the old simple speed lathe into a wonderful machine, making easy of attainment a precision undreamed of.

Compared with the mechanics of today the workmen of that time were blunderers. If Watt could have secured the skilled labor to be found in the average twentieth century machine shop his achievements might have been far greater. He once boasted that one of his cylinders was only three-eighths of an inch out of round. Today a variation of over one-hundredth of an inch would not be allowed. And yet, poor as it was, the quality of labor was far superior to that of a century before. Thurston says: "Even had the engine been designed earlier, it is quite unlikely that the world would ever have seen the steam engine a success until this time, when mechanics were just acquiring the skill requisite for its construction. But, on the other hand, it is not im-

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probable that, had the mechanics of an earlier period been as skillful and as well educated in the manual niceties of their business, the steam engine might have been much earlier brought into use."

Thurston was an eminent engineer and as far as the mechanical element of the question is concerned he is probably correct; but there is another element the sociologist must examine. A few days ago New York was celebrating the centenary of the invention of the steamboat. Now it is well known that Fulton was only one of many inventors of the steamboat and not the first by any means. Seventeen years before the Clermont made its historic trip up the Hudson, one of Fitch's boats was making regular trips on the Delaware. Why, then, do we give the crown to Fulton? Simply because the Clermont was the first *commercial success.* Years before, George Washington had pointed out that one of the most important routes to the west lay up the Hudson and Mohawk rivers and across to the lakes. The Erie Canal was already projected. A tide of immigration was setting into the Northwest Territory. The Clermont shortened the trip to Albany from a week to thirty-six hours. That trip was part of a great commercial route, as the Clermont "made money." The Delaware river was not a commercial highway and the earlier boat was a financial failure.



WATT'S ENGINE, 1774.

That is what circumstances meant to Fulton. Let us see if Watt was favored in a like manner. Was there a demand for an improved steam engine? There is no question about it. Cotton machinery was just being invented. Arkwright took out his first patent on spinning machinery in 1769, and Cartwright brought out his power loom in 1784. It was not possible to spin and weave at unheard of speed, but it was difficult to get the raw material. Eli Whitney solved that riddle with the cotton-gin in 1793; and the cycle of cotton machinery was complete. But the machinery must be driven. The Newcomen engine was not suitable for this work; but Watt's was; and as soon as this was proved Boulton and Watt were overrun with orders. Thus the inventions of Cartwright and Arkwright laid the basis of the commercial success of Watt's inventions.

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We are prone to attach some one man's name to an invention or discovery, and then we proceed to forget the part others have taken. Suggest wireless telegraphy and the mind connects it with Marconi, yet many others have given us wireless systems. No sooner had Wright flown than the air was full of biplanes and monoplanes. Stephenson had several able competitors. The same conditions held in steam engine development. Thurston says "a host of inventors still worked on the most attractive of all mechanical combinations. * * *Some inventions were made by contemporaries of Watt * * * but these were nearly all too far in advance of the time." Hornblower secured a patent on the compound engine, but Watt held a patent on the condenser and without that the compound was worthless. Murdock, foreman in the shops of Boulton and Watt, was a man of no slight ability. He invented the oscillating engine, and introduced the use of compressed air in shop work. He received the Rumford gold medal from the Royal Society in 1808 for suggesting illumination with coal gas. Of him Thurston says: "For many years he was the assistant, friend and coadjutor of Watt; and it is to his ingenuity that we are to give credit for not only many independent inventions, but also for suggestions and improvements which were often indispensable to the formation and perfection of some of Watt's own inventions." Richard Trevithick and William Bull were competitors of Boulton and Watt. The "Bull Cornish engine" impresses one as a simpler and better mechanism than Watt's. But Watt held patents which interfered with its development. Cartwright produced an engine which was likewise hampered.

Now let us revert to the original question: did circumstances make Watt, and make the development of the steam engine inevitable in the closing years of the eighteenth century, or did that development depend upon the advent of James Watt? Is it not evident that had Watt been born in 1536 instead of 1736 we never should have heard of him in this connection? And had he never lived? There were other engines, good ones, and a host of inventors. Is it likely the spindles and looms would have had to wait long?

Survey the whole world of that time. Where except on that little island of England and Scotland do you find a steam engine to improve, or cotton machinery to drive, or coal and iron as accessible? Then search that island over for information on latent heat, and you will search in vain until you come to the University of Glasgow. There you will find James Watt the instrument maker—and to him was brought the Newcomen model. Does it not seem that the "force of circumstances" was behind his work. And after all, may we not be too generous in ascribing so much to him? Did he not serve somewhat as a lens through which the light of many minds was focused?

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Hawaii, the Beautiful

By Jack Morton.

HEN you see photographs of Beautiful Hawaii with the sugar cane in blossom and a snug little cottage nestling among the palm trees, do not be deceived. For the golden days have passed away and Civilization and the Capitalist class have set their feet upon the island where the coffee and tobacco are in bloom. Thence come the rich pine-apples and here the sugar-cane ripens all the year round.

JAPANESE WAGE SLAVES IN THE SUGAR CANE FIELDS.

But with capitalism and the modern machine has come a new system of production and the inevitable proletariat. So do not allow the prospectuses to cause you to fancy that this wealth blooms for you.

Not long ago the Review printed a brief article upon the strike of several thousand Japanese workers in Hawaii. From all reports the

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CUTTING SUGAR CANE.

persistent efforts of the Higher Wage Association has been a strong factor in forcing the plantation owners to treat their employes more like human beings.

PICKING PINEAPPLES.

This, in the face of the strenuous efforts of the plantation owners

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whose employment agents have scoured Portugal and Russia for laborers. Naturally these men sang the old song, of the land flowing with milk and honey. Naturally, too, they refrained from explaining that the working class in Hawaii was not allowed to share them.

Soon great ships were bringing loads of immigrants whose hopes beat high in the expectation of unlimited opportunities for the thrifty and industrious. But in many places the plantation owners have accomplished their purpose, for the immigrants found themselves in a serious condition. And generally a man has only to be hungry enough to work for anything. From all reports it has only been through the united efforts of the Higher Wage Association that wages have not been forced down everywhere to the barest subsistence point.

The United States government is supporting the colonization schemes of the plantation owners in many ways. Comrade Jacob Kotinsky, a Socialist, who has been assistant entomologist in the Federal service at Honolulu, has been discharged recently for explaining to the Russian and Portuguese workmen the strike situation and the economic conditions.

PICKING COFFEE.

Contrary to the general ideas among us, the plantations in Hawaii are run almost entirely in the most modern methods. Great steam plows are used universally, and one sugar-cane plantation alone contains over sixty-five miles of flume, through which the cane is floated to the very doors of the company's mills. A stupendous system of irri-

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FLUMING SUGAR CANE INTO HONUAPO MILL, KAU, DISTRICT OF HAWAII.

gation has been introduced throughout Hawaii so that the dryest places now blossom as the rose.

In spite of the army of unemployed, many of whom are planning for means to return to their homes and friends, the plantation owners are finding that steady, permanent workers produce bigger crops and more profits than desultory and underfed laborers. For this reason the Planters' Association is inaugurating a new bonus system by which men and women working a certain number of days a year receive a cash bonus of twenty or twenty-four dollars at the end of that time.

By this it will be seen that the planters are beginning to emulate the most highly developed industries. In many places small cottages and an acre of land are given to the laborers who will faithfully work to the satisfaction of the employers, for a period of three years.

This is the same old trick that is being worked by the Steel Trust. Often employers of labor discover that a bonus offered at a future time as the reward of "good behavior" on the part of the workmen, tends to render the men and women more obedient slaves, more docile and energetic servants. But the men and women who have gone to Hawaii are made of sturdy stuff. The pioneers of the world have ever been rebels. They do not tamely submit to the annihilation of their hopes of economic independence. The struggle between capitalist and laborer in Hawaii has not been settled. Nowhere has the fight between exploiter and exploited been settled. It will never be settled till class rule has passed away and all men have gained economic independence!

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The Mono-Rail.



LTHOUGH it has not yet by any means reached the stage of practicability, Mr. Louis Brennen has now demonstrated in a fashion quite conclusive to the scientific press of Europe that all the claims made for the Mono-Rail have been realized.

"Intense interest has, therefore, been awakened in the prospect of soon propelling railroad cars on a single line of rail laid on the ground. They will be maintained upright by means of gyroscopic control, and in the light of the demonstration just made they will turn sharp curves and ascend steep gradients. Apart from this gyroscopic control the railroad cars would capsize.

Mr. Brennen imparts stability to his vehicles through the same principle which we see on its grandest scale, when nature steadies the movements of the heavenly bodies in their orbits. . . .

Aided by grants from the British Government, Mr. Brennen has developed this idea and we have now on record, as *London Nature* announces, the result of public trials of a full sized vehicle. In view of the value and novelty of the system and its future applications, a brief description of the car or truck and of its performances, as written by an engineer on the spot, is reproduced here:

"The railway truck was of considerable size and weight, being 40 feet long and 10 feet wide, weighing when empty 22 tons. It ran

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upon 4 wheels 3 feet in diameter, placed below the center line of the truck, each pair of wheels being attached to a 'bogy carriage,' similar to those fitted under the long vehicles now commonly used on ordinary railroads. In ordinary practice, of course, four wheels instead of two are attached to each 'bogy,' and the arrangement is adopted chiefly in order to permit long vehicles to pass readily and safely around the curves of the railway line. The centres of the 'bogies' in the Brennen vehicle were 20 feet apart and curves only 35 feet in radius were traversed in the course of the trial. The wheels are double-flanged so as to fit over the upper part of the rail, and the experimental track was laid with 70-pound Vignole section rails, carried by transverse sleepers 3 feet 6 inches long. The carriage was self-propelled, and was electrically driven by two motors 40 to 50 H. P., a speed of about 7 miles an hour being maintained when running on a circular track of 105 feet radius.

From the track the carriage ran on a straight piece of line and was subsequently driven over sharp reverse curves, keeping practically upright throughout. When some 40 people stood on one side of the car, it remained almost level. This stability, as was explained previously, was due to gyroscopic control. There are two gyroscopic wheels, each 3 feet 6 inches in diameter and weighing three-fourths of a ton, which are driven by an electric motor at a speed of 3,000 revolutions per minute, within an air-tight case in which a high vacuum is maintained. Mr. Brennan would have preferred a still higher rate of revolution, and it may be obtained hereafter, in which case smaller and lighter wheels would give equal stability.

It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Brennen has succeeded in reproducing on full scale in this large carriage, which can carry a load of from 10 to 15 tons, results corresponding to that obtained in his model truck of 1907, which was only 6 feet in length."

Certain features of the new carriage received special notice from the expert whose account we have copied. It has been seen that this new carriage is self-propelled, the electric energy required for that purpose for driving the gyroscopic wheels, actuating the Westinghouse brake and other purposes, being generated by two dynamos driven by petrol engines. There are 2 generating sets, one of 80 H. P. and one of 20 H. P.; and their weight is included in the 22 tons. Steam power could, if preferred, be used for propulsion, but electricity is greatly superior for driving the gyroscopic wheels.

If electric energy could be obtained from a central station and conveyed by an overhead wire to the motors driving the carriage wheels and the gyroscopes, the weight of the car or truck would, of

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course, if desired, be correspondingly reduced and its load increased.

The speed attained on the trial was low, but advocates of the Mono-Rail maintain that it is better adapted than the ordinary system for extraordinarily high speed. Very steep gradients are ascended and descended. The sensations experienced by passengers are pronounced quite exhilarating. The ordinary jolts of the train, run on two rails, are never felt on the Mono-Rail even when a sharp curve is rounded at high speed and in an open baggage car."—Current Literature.

The Survival of the Fittest

By George E. Winkler.

When the Neolithic man
From an angry cave-bear ran,
  And climbed in haste a prehistoric tree,
Loud he voiced the fear he felt,
Till his tribesmen took the pelt,
  Of that cave-bear and they bore it home in glee.

It was thus he learned to see,
What has oft occurred to me,
  (Though to fight a monster all alone is brave)
'Tis as that there ought to be,
Somewhere handy two or three
  Of your tribesmen when your case is growing grave.

So, although the fit survive,
In a world where all must strive,
  Is it true the fit would win out all alone?
Will the fit not ever be,
Those who call in two or three,
  Or a million more until the fight is won?

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The Situation in British Columbia

By Dan Sproul.

E have just had an election in British Columbia; not an extraordinary thing of itself, but the result was a trifle unusual.

The previous house consisted of 42 members, 13 of whom were Liberals, 3 Socialists and the remainder Conservatives.

The newly-elected house consists of 42 members, also, 2 of whom are liberals, 2 Socialists and the remainder Conservatives.

Quite a different face has been put upon matters, and the result looks somewhat like a Liberal defeat, and somewhat like a Socialist defeat, likewise.

In fact, the Liberal defeat was not a defeat, it was a landslide (Irish, but true), and the Socialist defeat only a footslip, the cause of which will become apparent later on.

The Conservatives, under the direction of the "Right Honorable" Richard McBride (possibly to distinguish him from the **wrong** honorables); further under the direction of Mackenzie and Mann, manipulators of the Canadian Northern Railway Company, and still further under the direction of the devil-knows-what bunch of capitalists of no particular nationality, were enabled to dig their arms down to the shoulders, in the treasury chest, by means of an "alleged" railway policy which they flaunted in the faces of the "intelligent" electors, and along with brass bands, booze and much "filthy lucre," again worked the old, old confidence trick.

Despite the efforts of these bell-mouthed experts, with their constipation of ideas, and diarrhœa of words, we made a splendid showing, and came within an ace of capturing several seats.

In Nanaimo, Jim Hawthornthwaite, our leader in the house, was returned by an increased majority, being 320 ahead of the Conservative candidate in a straight fight, Socialism versus Capitalism.

In Newcastle, Parker Williams was also returned by an increased majority, being 38 votes ahead of the combined Liberal and Conservative votes.

These seats are in mining districts, are good class-conscious votes, no reform and no revision about them, and may certainly be reckoned as "ours till the revolution."

In Grand Forks—the seat which we lost—John McInnis put up a strong fight, being defeated by 150 votes, and the combined efforts

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of "dollars," and an indiscriminate use of the "black list." The "reds" were systematically weeded out by the concerted action of the capitalists and their tools, in an effort to recapture this seat: which they did, but we are still alive and fighting, and mean to "get" there again next time.

In Fernie, also, an exceedingly bitter fight was waged, the extent of which may be gauged from the fact that the total vote cast jumped from 700 in 1907 to about 2,260 in 1909. The capitalists were assuredly busy, we also; but despite our efforts they managed to get votes faster on the list than we could convert them into revolutionists, by about 150 only. It would be exceedingly interesting to know what this contest cost them. Of course, they can now "recuperate"; still it would be interesting. Our vote jumped from 285 in 1907 to 813. Quite a respectable showing. Ours next time.

Comox, also, was strongly contested by Jim Cartwright, who only lost by a score of votes, despite the fact that this was the first time the seat was contested, and also that we were rather late in the field, some comrades in out-of-the-way places even complaining that they did not know of his candidature until the day of the election.

Other seats, also, made excellent showings, and our total votes cast increased from 5,500 odd in 1907 to close on 12,000, more than double, which certainly don't look much like defeat.

We have every cause to congratulate ourselves over the results which our clear-cut, uncompromising, revolutionary program is producing. Reformists are few and far between, and are principally to be found outside the party, a position which they occupy either from choice or discretion, mostly discretion, as we have less "use" for them than for capitalism. Which is saying much, and that strongly.

Our policy is revolution, pure and simple, without troubling in the least whether we are robbed as consumers or not, which may appear "vulgar" to many, but certainly produces results; and feels to us—to borrow a compound complexion "ad"—"clear, and bright, and wholesome, as a crystal winter's day."

Of course, a "reformer" now and then gets up on his hind legs and howls; but he is so quickly "sat on" that he promptly "transforms" himself to the tall timbers, and "bays the moon" in solitude.

A cancer requires the knife, not a poultice. It would be about as sensible to try and reform the devil (if such an old barbarian did exist) and then leave him at large, with all kinds of tempting morsels in view, and expect him to act like a simpering seraphim. No:

> When the devil is ill, the devil a saint would be.
> When the devil is well, the devil a saint is he.

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Revolution makes the capitalists ill. They fatten on reform. Capitalism, with all its tin-trumpet brigade, and pot-bellied manipulators, must go, before the proletariats' chains can be burst.

There is only one fault to find with the platform here, and that is, it is entirely political. There is an utter lack of appreciation and understanding of the new movement taking place upon the industrial field towards revolutionary industrial unionism. They are regarded, in conjunction with the old and decaying craft unions, as mere "buyers and sellers of labor powers," and not as the basis upon which the Co-operative Commonwealth can, and will be, founded. Political action aims solely at capturing the state, which, when accomplished, must inevitably commit suicide; since the state, being a capitalistic concern, useful only as a coercive class weapon, must fall with capitalism. The new commonwealth of social ownership must be built from the bottom upwards, not from the top downwards. Territorial administration is entirely unsuited to the requirements of modern industry, which knows no boundaries except the earth; and, therefore, the new social administration, to have a sure and firm foundation, must be organized from the shop, from the mines, mills, factories, and farms, and not from the parlor. As Stirton, formerly of the "Wage Slave," says, "Only the industrial field offers a theoretical plan of social administration."

Our Canadian socialists are rather pleased—not without reason—of the progress which their clear-cut platform is making among the workers; but I'm thoroughly convinced they err in ascribing this to their pursuance of political action alone. It is their revolutionary principles which find such ready aceptance, and obtain such a firm hold upon the thinking section of the workers. When they observe how firmly, in season and out of season (if the class-struggle could possibly be out of season), at all times and in all places, we stick unflinchingly to the same old principles, and take no heed of the various nostrums and "live issues" of the day—the yellow perils, local options and railway policies—it cannot fail to strike them that there must be something solid behind it all. Humanity in the aggregate has a strong leaning towards progress. They know and feel there is something radically wrong somewhere; but where it is, their lack of knowledge of their real economic condition prevents them from grasping; and they are thus being continually led up some cul-de-sac on a wild-goose chase, only to find themselves worse off than before—if that were possible. Napoleon said, "Time and I against any two." We say "Time and the revolution against them all."

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However, the situation here is really interesting. We have been laughed at time and again for maintaining the "identity of interest" between Liberalism and Conservatism. Here we have our assertion verified, and by capitalism itself. In British Columbia the Conservatives are in power, while in Alberta,—the adjoining eastern province—the Liberals are in control; and both political machines are dominated by the same three corporations, the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern Railways. Q. E. D.

The field is now clear of obstacles, and a straight fight is offered us, Socialism against Capitalism. Can we seize the opportunity, and from now till the revolution be the opposition in fact, as well as in name? I think we can; and so do all of us. Independent Labor Parties (so-called) have been born, glimmered faintly for a while, and gone by the board. There are few, if any, fossilized encumbrances hanging on to our coat-tails. The movement is young, and strong, and healthy, and the material of the best. Miners, from the very nature of their occupation, are of a reckless, dare-devil disposition, and have little patience with fossilized institutions of any description whether physical or metaphysical, social or religious.

They have been forced out here from the "older" countries of the world, Britain, Germany, Sweden, Italy, to escape from the cramping, degrading effects of their highly-developed "civilizations." The shoe is beginning to pinch here, likewise; and this is the "Last Great West." Watch us.

The Workingmen have no country. We cannot take away from them what they have not got. * * * By freedom is meant * * * free buying and selling—Communist Manifesto.

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The Common Enemy. Last month circumstances obliged us to depart from our usual practice and give considerable space to the discussion of questions on which socialists are divided. The ballots for a new National Executive Committee are now being counted and the result will be known about the middle of February. We believe that the comrades chosen will be able to suggest an aggressive plan of campaign against capitalism that will unite the energetic efforts of all socialists. It is easy to become excited over our varying opinions as to tactics, and to overrate their importance. When all is said, our agreements are of vastly more importance than our differences. We believe that the opportunists within the party are working on a mistaken theory and are to some extent misdirecting their strength, but we have not the least desire to wage war on them. Our enemy is capitalism. It is becoming more arrogant and more aggressive from day to day. The reports we print this month of events in Philadelphia and Spokane, in Massachusetts, China and Hawaii all tell the same story. The workers are beginning to fight because they must fight or lose what small measure of freedom and comfort is still left to them. Sometimes they win, sometimes they lose in the daily skirmishes with the forces of capitalism, but lose or win, they are learning day by day the great lesson of **the need of ORGANIZATION,** and they will not forget it. The task of the Socialist Party is to respond to this need. It is no longer hard to make a wage-worker see that the class struggle is a fact; the struggle is being forced on him and he cannot escape it. What we must do is to bring the isolated workers together. Both economic and political organizations are absolutely essential to the needs of the hour. Either one alone would be crippled in the face of a powerful enemy. Our party will live and grow in direct proportion to the energy it expends, not in disputes over tactics, but in aggressive propaganda for working-class politics and revolutionary unionism.

The Review and the Publishing House. The annual meeting of the stockholders of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held on January

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15. Out of the 3,129 shares of stock issued up to the end of 1909, 2,179 were represented at the meeting either in person or by proxy, and the seven directors were re-elected without a single dissenting vote. The receipts of the Review during the year 1907, just before the present editors took charge, were $2,533.26. For the year 1909 its receipts were $10,913.54, an increase in two years of over four hundred per cent. And this increase comes from an immense number of subscribers and purchasers scattered over the United States and the whole English-speaking world. The Social Democratic Herald insinuates that the Review is financed by William English Walling, and that he dictates its editorial policy. As a matter of fact, Comrade Walling holds just 21 shares of stock out of 3,129, and most of these were paid for in 1900. His contributions of money to the publishing house from the beginning, including what he paid for his stock, will not exceed $400, and we have it on good authority that he has contributed ten times that sum to one of our Socialist dailies. We believe Comrade Walling has no ambition to dictate the policy of any socialist periodical; certainly he has shown no such disposition in the case of the Review. Whatever success we have won is due to our realizing what the revolutionary wage-workers want, and finding writers capable of putting this into words. The proletariat needs no saviors, no leaders; it is pushed onward by irresistable forces. Our writers and speakers if they see clearly may save it from a stumbling-block now and then, but if they try to lead it away from the straight path they will be left behind. This publishing house is owned and controlled by wage-workers; they have been its support in the hard struggle of the last ten years, and its future will be what they make it.

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AUSTRALIA. The Government and the Working-Class. Again Australia is torn by a great industrial struggle. The strike of coal miners at Newcastle (New South Wales) is, at least in one respect, among the most important of recent years. It has driven the capitalist class to the use of its final legal weapons, and so displayed the function of the political state in startlingly open fashion.

A strike occurred in the Newcastle mines in 1907. It was unsatisfactorily settled by arbitration, and trouble has been brewing ever since. On September 22, 1909, the men presented a statement of grievances to the mine-owners. The grievances covered a wide variety of details in relation to the management of the mines and the computation of wages, but the chief complaints were in regard to blacklisting and other forms of discrimination against union men. The owners paid no attention to the representations of the men. On November 5 the Miners' Board of Delegates voted to strike; the various unions supported the move and within a few days the strike was on.

The strikers received the enthusiastic support of the Broken Hill miners and of the Waterside workers of New South Wales. Both these groups offered to go out in sympathy. The Broken Hill unions, which have but recently concluded their own great struggle, sent over an immediate donation of $5,000 and their executive board recommended that the unions assess each member half a crown a week for the strike fund as long as this was needed. The Queensland miners gave substantial aid by refusing to fill orders for Newcastle.

The effect of the strike on business was immediate, for the miners had timed their strike to a market where the coal supply was low. Three hundred boats were forced to lie idle. Factories were shut down. The city of Sydney was threatened with a gas famine. Only the return to work of some of the western miners prevented more dire results.

But at this point the government took a hand. Readers of the Review remember the passage of the famous Industrial Disputes Act. This measure provided for compulsory arbitration and made striking

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a crime. In the present case the strikers were eager to enter into a discussion of their grievances, but the owners "had nothing to arbitrate." Nevertheless Premier Wade kept reminding the men that they were criminals. He hoped, so he said, that they would return to work and so not compel him to enforce the law against them. He supported the claim of the owners that there could be no conference until work had been resumed. The men had been deceived before and refused to return.

On Dec. 17 the federal parliament re-enacted the penal section of the Industrial Disputes Act. This renders any person who foments labor disputes ending in a strike or lock-out liable to a year's imprisonment or a fine of $5,000. And on December 30 fourteen members of the Board of Deelgates of the Miners' Federation were sentenced to fines of $500 each or two months' imprisonment.

Just what the outcome will be cannot, of course, be foretold now. Before the delegates were sentenced the strikers in one of the three divisions (the southern) had returned to work. But this high-handed sentence may renew the battle instead of ending it. At any rate, it can be set down that the Australian government, for all the influence of the Labor Party, has taken a step in advance of all others in defense of capitalist interests. Here we have wealthy mining corporations, many of them with their stock selling at a premium of from 200 to 1,200 per cent, refusing the very modest request of the workers. And the government declares by statute that a peaceful strike is a crime. What our government does by injunction, the Australian government does by statute. By statute it is deliberately, openly, attempting to bind the working-class hand and foot.

ITALY. The Case of Ferri. In one congress after another the opposing wings of the Italian movement have attempted to achieve unity by compromise. But the forces that made for division were deep, organic, and the compromises were merely verbal. The result has been constant struggle and misunderstanding. In the first place the opposing factions bore the familiar names of Reformers and Revolutionists. The Reformers were led by Turati, the Revolutionists by Ferri. In the convention of 1906 the first compromise was effected. The combination of Reformers and Revolutionists took the name Integralists. But it soon appeared that the Reformers had the upper hand in the new group. In the meantime the Revolutionists had grown clearer in theory and tactics. So we soon had again the familiar grouping with new names: Integralists were opposed to Syndicalists.

In one respect the leading Integralists have divided themselves

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more sharply from the bourgeois parties than their predecessors, the Reformers. They have, at least most of them, seen through the farce of bourgeois reform. Formerly socialist parliamentary groups supported the programs of reform ministries. The congress of 1906 declared: "The parliamentary group of the party cannot approve a government program; however, when an exceptional case comes up, it must consult the executive committee of the party." In the congress of 1908 the principle underlying this declaration was re-stated: "The congress is of the opinion that political action not designed especially to play a part in actual government should always be clearly marked off from that of the bourgeois reformers. "And for the past few years that has been the principle adhered to by the socialist group in the Italian parliament.

While, however, the socialist parliamentarians have acted, in the main ,in opposition to the capitalist class, there has been growing up a set of bourgeois interests within the socialist party. I have just been reading in an Italian journal a long interview with Antonio Labriola. He closes with the statement: "In upper Italy, especially in Emilia and Lombardy, reformism has radically corrupted the proletarian consciousness; it has wiped out completely the difference between good and bad, and transformed the socialist party into a great organization of private interests." He attributes this sad state of affairs, in part, to the growth of co-operative societies. Shareholders in the co-operative societies have, he maintains, bourgeois interests. They have even asked concessions of the government and promised support in return for them.

But whatever its cause, the bourgeois tendency of the party in certain districts of northern Italy is indubitable. And during the past month this tendency has borne fruit that has startled the world. Early in December, it will be remembered, Giolitti was replaced as Prime Minister by Sonnino. The new Premier is not in any sense a reformer. In fact, his elevation seems to have been a mere makeshift to tide the king over a crisis. He has submitted no definite program. Nevertheless, about the middle of the month the startling anouncement came that Enrico Ferri, whom we knew less than ten years ago as the inspired leader of the revolutionary forces, had broken away from his parliamentary group and declared his willingness to support the government. He was criticized by his former comrades in public meetings and in the press. Bissolati, editor of L'Avanti, denounced him in a leading editorial. His answer was that he was responsible to his constituents alone. Now Ferri represents the district of Gonzaga, one of those districts in the north where, according to

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Labriola, the socialist party is an organization of bourgeois private interests. The scanty reports which have reached this country seem to show that his constituency is perfectly content with the action of its representative.

By the socialist party, however, Ferri has been disowned. His former comrades in parliament have formally recognized the fact that he has cut himself off from the party. And the executive committee of the party has sent out the following declaration: "In view of the statement of some socialist deputies regarding the coming parliamentary struggle, and with the reservation of an agreement with the parliamentary fraction, the party executive declares that under the present conditions of public life in Italy it is a dangerous and misleading illusion to expect any fruitful activity from the entrance of representatives of the socialist party into the government."

To be sure, we are far from the events I have briefly sketched; the reports that have come to us are but fragmentary. Any conclusion that is reached now is liable to prove false. But at this moment it seems that the name of Enrico Ferri must be added to those of Clemenceau, Millerand, Briand and the host of others who have deserted the cause for the sake of "something new"—and that something for themselves.

BELGIUM. A New King but the Old Capitalism. When Albert I. was proclaimed king of Belgium, the executive committee of the socialist party sent out an extremely interesting manifesto. After explaining that thirty or forty years ago monarchs were merely symbols, the manifesto goes on: "With Leopold II. he has become the great organizer of the political struggle of capitalism against the proletariat."

Formerly the king cost the nation only the three million three hundred francs demanded by the civil list; to-day he costs us the two hundred millions which have been paid to him for the annexation of the Congo and the fabulous sums consumed by our militarism, and to-morrow, perhaps—for his policies will survive him—all the expenses involved in the creation of a great navy.

"For all these reasons the party of the working-class fights always for a republic and against the monarchy."

This manifesto was made necessary by the fact that the ruling class of Belgium is playing a very old game. Whenever and wherever there is a change in the personnel of government, the cry goes up that the new monarch, the new president or the new minister is a democrat, a reformer, a friend of the people. Without this trick the

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farce of capitalist government would long ago have come to an end. And so, naturally, one of the functions of a socialist political party is to show that it is a trick, to point out that with all the changes of persons there is no esential change in principle or policy. That is precisely what our Belgium comrades have done. They call on the working-class of Belgium to fight the new monarch as they fought the old one.

GERMANY. Prussian Social Congress. The third biennial congress of the Prussian Social Democracy met in Berlin January 3-5. Part of the session was given up to the adoption of a uniform program for socialist participation in municipal activities. But the subject which attracted chief attention and roused the delegates to greatest enthusiasm was the campaign for electoral reform. The brazenly reactionary character of the Prussian electoral system has just been officially revealed. The government has published statistics of the last election to the Landtag. They prove all that the socialists claimed, and more. The Social Democrats, with 600,000 votes, elected 7 representatives; the Centrists, with 502,000, elected 104; the Conservatives, with 350,000, elected 152; the Free Conservatives, with 63,000, elected 60. Taking all parties into consideration, the Social Democrats cast more than 27 per cent of the vote, and elected less than 2 per cent of the representatives.

And now the Prussian government has promised to introduce a new electoral law before the month is out. It will probably offer few advantages over the old one, but, at least, it will afford opportunity for a fight. It was this fight that the party congress prepared for. With the utmost enthusiasm a resolution was adopted pledging the party to use any means, even the political strike, to force the government to grant the "universal, secret and equal ballot."

JAPAN. The Growth of Capitalism and the Suppression of Socialism. It is seldom that the outside world hears news of Japanese socialism; and the scant items that reach us are at best but suggestive of the teeming capitalist life of the newest capitalist nation. A recently devised press law empowers the government to seize manuscripts and dismantle printing establishments. Comrade S. J. Katayama, who represented Japan at the Stuttgart Congress, fights heroically to bring out editions of Socialist News. Occasionally, a copy reaches this country with a few notes in English, and it is thus that we learn of the movement in Japan.

The August and September numbers tell a story very familiar

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to American ears—a story of increasing taxation, unemployment and strikes. There are, also, statistics to show the growth of capitalism. For example, the number of very wealthy persons is increasing by leaps and bounds, very much as it did in this country fifty years ago. Capitalism, growing self-conscious, is attempting to stamp out socialism at the very start. The persecution of the Socialist News is, unfortunately, not an isolated case. Sekai-Fujin, a socialist woman's paper, has been absolutely suppressed. Nimpoa, the organ of the Chinese socialists of Tokio, has suffered a like fate. This last piece of barbarity was committed at the request of the Chinese government, and it is understood that Japanese capitalists were given valuable concessions in return for it.

ENGLAND. The Election. As the Review goes to press this month election returns are beginning to come from England. Indications are that the Liberals will return to the government, but with a reduced majority. The Social-Democrats are making a heroic independent fight in a few constituencies. The Laborites appear, for the most part, to have lost their identity in the public mind. In the campaign they have exerted all their force for a Liberal measure and so had no right to expect anything else.

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WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

Whenever some newspaper reporter is "shy" of copy and is at his wits' end what to turn in at the city editor's desk he becomes imbued, apparently, with the notion that a labor party is forming somewhere that threatens to sweep the country, from one end to the other. Thus we learn from Washington that a labor party is about to be precipitated upon an unsuspecting public, which is to stand independent of all other parties in the field. Via Boston we hear that everything has been cut and dried between Sam Gompers and prominent Socialists to turn the S. P. over to the former gentleman to be used in punishing and rewarding politicians in the old parties. From Chicago comes the news that the miners are about to launch a new labor party that has nothing else to do but march to victory. Far away in San Francisco a plan is being hatched to expand McCarthy's Union Labor party to encompass the state and the nation. In many other less important localities the labor party issue is duly noted and amplified.

But the trouble is that while there may be considerable talk—or hot air—behind these announcements, there is actually little or nothing doing. And it is also curious to note that quite a number of ordinarily well-balanced members of the Socialist party have placed stock in these rumors and immediately raised a hubbub. Some of those Reds who are members of trades unions and were in the Socialist movement before the S. P. was born have been regarded with more or less suspicion as being in some sort of a conspiracy, along with certain pestiferous "intellectuals," to scuttle the S. P. ship and go down the gang-plank, bag and baggage, to this so-called labor party, which doesn't exist except in the fancy of newspaper dopesters.

Where is this apparition, and, more important, what does it stand for if it does exist? At the Toronto A. F. of L. convention "Charley" Dold, of the piano and organ workers, introduced a resolution, along the lines of the request of the Women's Trade Union League, proposing that a start be made to form a labor party. The resolution was reported unfavorably by the committee that had it in charge, and not a word was spoken on the subject, not even by the author.

The fact is, as I have tried to point out before in this department, that the industrial leaders have their hands full of work and worry without engaging in the herculean undertaking of promoting a labor party. Is anybody possessed of the hallucination that the only thing necessary to do to form a political party that will inspire confidence and bring recruits is to call a convention, pass a few resolutions, clap your hands together and ride into power? Forget it! The history of the S. P. proves that it is a hard, uphill fight, day and night, year in and out, to arouse the working class, to cut loose the party slaves from the G. O. P. and the D. O. P., and to make even a fairly respectable showing at the ballot-box. Sam Gompers and all his friends know this, and they are not hustling overtime to find more work to do.

Aside from the daily duties that the heads of the international unions are compelled to perform, that keep their noses at the grindstone almost constantly, how many men are there in the trades organizations, actually, who could go out into the field, take the platform and deliver addresses upon economic and political problems, and stand a fair chance of securing hearers and winning recruits? You can count them upon the fingers of your two hands. The reason is plain. The average worker is more interested in who is going to win this year's pennant or the next prize fight than who will be in control at Washington or in the State legislature.

The thing for the Socialist party members to do is to stick to their knitting and cease worrying about ghosts. The S. P. has got the inside track—it is THE labor party. Its organization is stronger than it ever has been, the sentiments for its principles are more widespread than they ever were, and the in-

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telligence, enthusiasm, ambition and solidarity is better than it ever was. Go ahead and distribute literature, hold meetings and keep pounding for the great cause. The world hates a quitter!

There will be no relaxation in the struggle between the seamen of the Great Lakes and the United States Steel Corporation and its puppet, the Lake Carriers' Association, during the coming season. The unionists are bending every effort at present to strengthen their organization, while the trust managers are not idle in the matter of attempting to entice marine workers into their "welfare plan" and making a big splurge when the navigation season opens.

It must be admitted that the trust was fairly successful last year in doing business on the open shop basis, although it was done at the expense of the greatest cost of life and property in the history of marine transportation on the inland seas. But the insurance companies paid the freight so far as property was concerned, and as for the loss of life—well, human life is as cheap as water to these modern pirates. If a lot of strike-breakers were sent into Davy Jones' locker another bunch stood ready to fill their places.

Some literary genius like Jack London could add to his laurels mightily if he would take the time and trouble to contrast the modern buccaneers of the high seas with those of old and exposed the degeneracy of present-day piracy. Captain Kidd, Morgan, Drake and the other old-time robbers of whom we used to read in yellow-backs as kids were at least possessed of some virtues. They risked their own lives and divided goodly portions of their loot with their followers under the black flag. But your modern pirate takes no chances of endangering his own precious carcass. He resides in a mansion, surrounded by every luxury that he may desire, and issues orders from an elegant office in a skyscraper to the pleasant music of a typewriter and ticker, and lo! and behold, an army of galley-slaves bring him myrrh, gold and diamonds and are content to subsist upon soup and live in a crummy bed-house.

Perhaps some day the workers of the sea, who risk their lives to go out and gather treasure for trust magnates, will think a little more of themselves and their rights and interests and a little less of their capitalistic exploiters. The seaman (and other workers, for that matter) are much like the hungry pelicans that the Chinese use to obtain food for them. The Chinks slip a ring over the neck of the bird and it dives for fish which it cannot swallow after they are caught, but is rewarded with the bones after its prey has satisfied the hunger of its master.

Be a good pelican, or a good ox or horse or wage-slave, and your loyalty will be duly recognized in some sort of a "Hell-fare" plan prepared by the modern robber class.

The struggle against the steel trust, which has taken the leadership of the open shop forces, is on in earnest. In accordance with the action taken at the recent Pittsburg conference of labor officials, a call for funds has been issued by the A. F. of L. and a corps of organizers has been thrown into the iron and steel manufacturing centers.

While the annual statement issued by the steel trust was claimed to be satisfactory to the magnates, and while the combine has had fairly good success in operating its struck tinplate plants during the past few months, it is nevertheless true that a favorable sentiment toward organization is growing among the mill workers and that the steel barons are quite nervous at the outlook. They had hoped that the unionists would abandon the fight after a few months of struggle, but the stubborn attitude of the workers is an annoying revelation to them, and they feel quite insecure as they contemplate the future.

The Amalgamated Association officials have become convinced that the industrial form of organization is necessary if any headway is to be made against the octopus, and they are desirous of bringing every worker, from the most skilled mechanic to the day laborer, within the union fold. The strong battle put up in the Wheeling district, at New Castle, Anderson and several other places has not only inspired the unionists, but the non-union workers in mills elsewhere.

There is one thing that the officers and organizers cannot do and hope for success, and that is to go about with a brass band or announce their plans from the housetops. They must proceed quietly and secretly for the time being—in a word, adopt the tactics of the enemy. Individual workmen should be visited and taken into the union with-

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out the knowledge of any other workmen, and then when all, or nearly all, have become members it is time enough to show their hands.

In conversation with a man who knows the inside of the steel trust better than many of the magnates themselves, a few days ago, he informed me that the spies of the combine have been instructed to redouble their efforts to discover any and every sign of "disloyalty," and no mercy will be shown to those workers who display sympathy for the union cause. If either a public gathering or a meeting behind barred and bolted doors is held spies will be in it and men who attend will be marked, called upon the carpet, discharged and blacklisted. As many different nationalities as possible are also being herded in the mills in order to keep them fighting among themselves. In one plant alone, my informant says, there are fully thirty different nationalities employed and all are incited to become suspicious of each other.

It's an uphill task to establish a homogeneous organization with such timber, but it must be done and the union officials have decided to do it. They deserve the unqualified support of every honest man and woman and disputes regarding industrial policies or political views should not be injected into this movement.

The strike of the Western Federation of Miners at the Homestake mine bids fair to become another one of those long, hard contests which have made that body famous throughout the world. As in other strikes, the mine operators are really the aggressors. The miners simply demand the right to organize, which right is supposed to be enjoyed by the workers as well as corporationists. But the latter are possessed with the monarchial belief that labor is a natural-born slave, with the freedom, however, of running from boss to boss to look for a job or starve.

Undoubtedly the miners will fight to a finish rather than surrender their organization. They are in a much better condition today, numerically and financially, than they were eight years ago. Their union is more widely known and enjoys a greater amount of sympathy and support than when the Colorado war began. Besides, the alliance that is being perfected with the coal miners will serve to add strength to the Western men as well as to the former, and there is general good feeling toward the W. F. of M. among the other organized trades. All that helps.

The United Hatters' latest financial showing indicates that that organization is rapidly recovering its old-time strength despite the enormous expense it has been put to in the Lowe boycott case and the lockout forced upon them by the Hat Manaufacturers' Association. Secretary Lawlor says that all indebtedness has been canceled, all benefits paid and comfortable balances remain in the treasury from month to month. There are about a dozen concerns still standing out for the open shop, but the number of persons on strike continue to dwindle until only about a thousand are left.

A curious strike took place at Norwalk, Conn., where an open shop was being operated in a way by strike-breakers. The latter gradually had their wages reduced 25 per cent and became rebellous. The "agitators" were singled out and discharged, and one morning the strike-breakers nearly mobbed the foreman and walked out. Then new strike-breakers were brought in to break the strike of the old strike-breakers. The latter gained little sympathy from anybody, and least of all from the open shop bosses whose dirty work they had been doing. But the idea of scabs scabbing on scabs is quite novel, and not only shows to what moral depths some human beings have been driven, but also exposes the hypocracy of the open shoppers, who have been pretending that they are the great friends and champions of non-union labor.

One of the most labor-crushing concerns in the country has met a deserved fate. The Werner Co., of Akron, O., the largest publishing house in the country, has been driven into bankruptcy after four years of battle with the printers' unions. The Werners pulled down a bank at Cleveland with them and if the depositors receive 50 cents on the dollar they will be lucky. The Werner loss is over $1,000,000 and the plant will undoubtedly be swept out of their hands. Fighting labor is an expensive business when labor returns the fire.

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HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES, by Gustavus Myers, Vol. I. Chas. H. Kerr & Company, 118 Kinzie street, Chicago. Cloth, $1.50. A pleasant fiction to a large extent still possesses official economic science today. If the bourgeois economist is forced to admit that capitalist society is a wretched botch, he will at least comfort himself with the reflection that bad as things are the old regimes of open plunder and force do not and have not tainted capitalism in America. In other words, that the first forms of capital ("primitime accumulation," as Marx calls it) had their origin in the hard work of far-sighted men who accumulated or saved sufficient "capital" to enable them to establish some business, and by a rigid observance of "thrift," "industry" and other virtues, they acquired fortunes, developed industries and thus brought about the capitalist system of production. This is pleasant fiction, but bad history. When Marx said that capital came into the world "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt," the statement applied to this country as well as England and the Continent.

Gustavus Myers' history (Vol. 1) throws some light on primitive accumulation in this country. Marx has already called attention to the fact that forcible expropriation of the workers from the soil is essential to the rise of capital, and Myers has shown how this expropriation took place in America. Immense tracts of land were given to chartered companies of adventurers and court favorites by British kings, these grants also conferring feudal powers on the receivers, making them masters over extensive domains. Grant after grant of virgin soil was taken from under the feet of the workers, while in the home country the bloody legislation of parliament was crowding British shores with helpless, jobless, pauperized laborers who constituted an excellent supply of white bond and slave labor for the landed patrons in the colonies. Royal governors in the colonies continued the process of seizing the land and passing it over to favorites for bribes. Kidnaping children in European ports, transforming their parents into vagrants and criminals, and then transporting these to the colonies as indentured or bond slaves, fixing wages of the "free" laborers by law and imprisoning them for debt when occasion required, while the good Puritan man of God transformed Africa into a bloody shambles to supply the big landed proprietors of the South with black slave labor.

Having thus expropriated the workers by force and secured the enforced labor of whites and blacks, the remaining steps in the process of "original accumulations" was easy. Property qualifications for voting and holding office placed the governing powers securely in the hands of the great landed interests, who later shared their power with a commercial and money aristocracy. Political sovereignty naturally accompanied economic conquest. Lo, the poor Indian, was introduced to rum by his Christian neighbors, who were generally agents of the land proprietors, and when he recovered from his stupor he found that he had been cheated or traded out of his furs or land. Lo sometimes went on the warpath and tomahawked some of the swindlers and their kin, but the Indian gradually gave way to the advance of "civilization." Myers thinks that these practices of fraud, theft and the use of force were pointed to by many pirates in justification of their piracy. He quotes the speech of a pirate captain who, in addressing the captain of a captured sloop, said: "Damn ye altogether * * * for a pack of crafty rascals. * * * They villify us, the scoundrels do, when there is only this difference; they rob the poor under the cover of law, forsooth, and we plunder the rich under cover of our own courage."

With the resources of production and

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the laboring population fairly under control is it surprising that whole states passed into the hands of a few men or that rebellions should arise among the enslaved workers. The facts cited by Myers are convincing, while it is evident that his work has been patient and thorough. In tracing the rise of the Astor fortune his analysis is exhaustive. It is a record of bribery, force, fraud and swindle, the victims being the Indians, the government, employees and rivals of the founder, John Jacob Astor, whose descendants continued the process of "accumulation" in a more or less refined way with the development of society. This first volume gives promise that those that are to follow will be as illuminating and instructive. The entire work should prove an armory of facts for workingmen, historic facts that may be presented to those apologists of today who teach us reverence for "law and order." J. O.

The Mills of Mammon, by James H. Brower, illustrated, in cloth, $1.50 postpaid, published by J. H. Murry & Co., Joliet, Ill. When we received a copy of The Mills of Mammon for review, every person employed in the office of this company wanted to be the first to read this book. It looked vitally interesting and when one of us started on the first page that person had to be pried away from the book, if he or she failed to finish it at one sitting. One and all we were carried away by the story of the splendid, living men and women Comrade Brower portrayed and yielded ourselves to the fascination of that book.

We did not have to urge our friends to read The Mills of Mammon. They fairly fell over each other in their eagerness to borrow the book. If a clerk took the book home one evening, she returned next day with a plea that she be permitted to allow her brother to read it and it would not be long till she would present requests from her friends and neighbors to borrow it.

We all have to yield the palm to Comrade Brower. He has produced the book that the movement has long been waiting for, the book that grips Socialists and non-Socialists alike and causes them to lay down the book with a wish that it were longer and an earnest hope that he will continue to contribute to the living proletarian literature of our time.

The portion of the story dealing with the white slave traffic is by far the best contribution we have seen in that line. Read this book; buy an extra copy and lend it to your friends. It will do more to open their eyes to the evils of capitalism than a hundred lectures can ever do.

The Conquest of the Isthmus, by Hugh C. Weir, beautifully illustrated, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, N. Y. "The public has been deluged with the commercial and mechanical details of the Panama Canal, and these have tended to swamp its human interest. But the real story of the stirring features of the romantic battle with the Panama jungle that is being waged by Uncle Sam's khaki army on the border line of civilization has never been presented. It is with the human interest of this canal story that this volume is chiefly concerned—with the men who have rubbed elbows with death from almost every angle and in almost every guise in order that the American nation might win the greatest industrial victory in the history of the world."

Mr. Wier says: "The Panama Canal never will be dug by machinery alone. Beyond the steam shovels and the dirt trains, beyond the air-drillers and the dredges, the union of the Atlantic and the Pacific depends upon the men who are giving health, wealth and life in the battle with the tropical jungle. It is of these men, the khaki heroes of the wilderness, of whom I would tell."

Every reader of the Review who is watching with interest the splendid feats of modern engineering will find a wealth of information in this new book by Mr. Weir. In a later number we may be able to give our readers a few interesting facts upon the Panama Canal and the stupendous task this small army of working men has set itself to perform. Mr. Weir's book is the most comprehensive and satisfying we have seen upon the Conquest of the Isthmus.

THE AWAKENING OF SPRING, a tragedy of Childhood, by Frank Wedekind, published by Brown Bros., Philadelphia, Pa. Frank Wedekind's name is just beginning to be heard in America. In Germany he has been recognized for some time as one of the leaders in the new art of the theatre. Naturally enough, his plays are too outspoken in their realism to appeal to all his fellow countrymen. Wedekind has a habit of using the news of the day as material for plays, just as the old English dramatists did when they wrote "domestic tragedies."

That it is a fatal error to bring up

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children, whether boys or girls, in ignorance of their sexual nature is the thesis of Frank Wedekind's drama, The Awakening of Spring. From its title one might suppose it a peaceful little idyl of the youth of the year. No idea could be more mistaken. It is a tragedy of frightful import, and its action is concerned with the development of natural instincts in the adolescent of both sexes.

Mr. Wedekind has attacked his theme with European frankness; but of plot, in the usual acceptance of the term, there is little. Instead of the coherent drama of conventional type, Wedekind has given us a series of loosely connected scenes illuminative of character—scenes which surely have profound significance for all occupied in the training of the young. He sets before us a group of school children, lads and lassies just past the age of puberty, and shows logically that death and degradation may be their lot as the outcome of parental reticence. They are not vicious children, but little ones such as we meet every day, imaginative being living in a world of youthful ideals and speculating about the mysteries which surround them.

Wendla, sent to her grave by the abortive administered with the connivance of her affectionate but mistaken mother, is a most lovable creature, while Melchoir, the father of her unborn child, is a high type of boy whose downfall is due to a philosophic temperament, which leads him to inquire into the nature of life and to impart his knowledge to others; a temperament which, under proper guidance, would make him a useful, intelligent man. It is Melchoir's very excellence of character which proves his undoing. That he should be imprisoned as a moral degenerate only serves to illustrate the stupidity of his parents and teachers. As for the suicide of Moritz, the imaginative youth who kills himself because he has failed in his examinations, that is another crime for which the dramatist makes false educational methods responsible.

The publication of this volume by Brown Bros., is one of the dramatic events of several seasons. Those of us who prefer realism to the cheap and tawdry sentimentalism will feel a debt of gratitude to the publishers as well as to Francis J. Ziegler, who has translated the work so artistically. The play is a mental treat to every intelligent man and woman.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY. Many comrades will be grateful to learn that Paul Lafargue's "The Evolution of Property, from Savagery to Civilization," has been made available in a cheap edition published by Chas. H. Kerr and Company. This work originally appeared as a series of articles in a French review nearly twenty years ago. The merit of the work has been attested by its translation into German, Italian, Polish, and English, there having been at least three editions of the latter by a London publisher which sold in this country for one dollar a copy. The Kerr edition sells for just half that price, which places it within easy reach of workingmen. The work will prove welcome to workingmen interested in the histrical conditions that have clustered around the institution of property and the economic status of the workers in history.

The author traces the evolution of property from its first beginnings in primative communism, through family comunism and feudalism, to modern capitalism. To those political economists who speak of capital as eternal, and whose zeal to defend it has led them to search for it outside the human species, he says: "It is a pity that they should not have gone a step farther and affirmed that, if the ant lays up stores, she does so with a view to sell the same and realize a profit by the circulation of her capital." But the author does not rely on sarcasm alone. He draws on history to show the sophistry and perversion of facts employed by official economists in defense of modern capital. His portrayal of the solidarity, mutual aid, and fellowship that developed with common property in lands, flocks, and the fruits of the chase, form a bright contrast with the sordid and contemptible property-ethics of today.

The different forms of feudal property, the obligations of its owners to the serfs and the latter to their masters, the breakup of feudalism, the development of capital and the transformation of the serf into a wage laborer, are admirably treated considering the wide range of history covered and the limit of discussion imposed by 160 pages. To the workingman with little leisure and a desire to know the processes by which the present system of property came to be, no better work can be recommended than this book of Lafargue's. J. O.

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NEWS & VIEWS

SPLENDID REPORTS are coming in of the good work being done by Comrade James Oneal, at Terre Haute, Ind., in his lectures on American History. We have not yet heard, however, that the school board is considering using his method in the public schools. The class consciousness of the servants of capitalism is really remarkable.

COMRADE WALLING. William English Walling is now a member of the Socialist Party, by unanimous vote of the local at Stamford, Conn., his home. The fact is of importance merely because a Wisconsin paper has been attacking him on the ground that he is an outsider. He authorizes us to deny for him the statement of that paper that he described himself as "half Socialist, half Anarchist," and to say that he believes it to be a conscious perversion of the truth.

THE OAKLAND WORLD. Every time we see a number of the Oakland World we feel like sending a message of congratulation to the comrades upon the Coast. Straight from the shoulder it teaches class conscious revolutionary Socialism. We have never yet found the Oakland World compromising in any way. If you do not take it, send for a sample copy—The Oakland World, Oakland, Calif.

BANQUET AT MUNCIE, IND. The W. G. Co. gave a glorious entertainment to its 700 employes last month. Nearly all the men participated. They were served with refreshments and cigars and then the "dividends were distributed" among those who had worked faithfully for a year. The longer and harder they had worked, the more they received. Men got all the way from $9.00 to $66.00. The foremen and straw bosses made short speeches. One said, "We are the men who do the work, but we need the company to back us with their money. We must work hand in hand with the company." Another said "Let us all put the shoulder to the wheel." With one exception, all tried to impress upon us that the interests of Capital and Labor are identical. The man who went out of his way to speak for us said in part: "The only way the workers can get anything is by standing together." The Superintendent promised to give a "blow out" like that every "now and then." And he said furthermore, while he bowed to the array of hungry looking proletarians: I am glad I can look a bunch of men in the face who can produce so vast a number of commodities at so low a cost to the company. He said that was why he could compete with his competitors successfully. I wonder if the workers will ever wake up to a realization of the fact that superintendents as well as stockholders are living in luxury upon the wealth produced by the workers! E. S. NELSON.

FROM A MINER. The class struggle for the proletarian is intertwined and co-existent with his struggle for existence, of which, indeed, it forms a part in the necessary struggle for more bread and meat.—R. M. HUMPHREY.

GONE TO SPOKANE: Word reaches us that Mrs. Beulah B. Hyde and Eleanor M. Herman, of Buckley, Wash., have gone to Spokane to help their comrades in the fight for free speech.

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LETTER FROM UNTERMANN. In reply to your letter of November 30th, I take pleasure in stating that I should vote and work for a stronger and more effective Socialist Party, if I were elected to the N. E. C. But feeling that the majority of the membership of the Socialist Party will follow the lead of the New York Call, the Chicago Daily Socialist, the Socialdemocratic Herald, and that I should either not be elected to the N. E. C. or, if elected, be in a hopeless minority in that committee, I did not accept the nomination. If the majority of the present membership of the Socialist Party vote to merge this party in a Union Labor Party, then I have come to the parting of the way. The party would then no longer represent the principles for which I stand. Under such circumstances a reorganization would become inevitable. I should then join with other comrades of the same conviction in building up a new Socialist Party.

A National Union Labor Party will no doubt be launched sooner or later. In this party, the Socialists will be the minority. Consequently the policy of this party will necessarily be a confused reformism, which will offer fine grafting opportunities to capitalist politicians, but which will probably choke the sincere Socialists to death. On the other hand, if the propaganda of Socialism should be free in this Labor Party, then the Socialists would be limited to the policy of "boring from within," a policy which they have pursued for a generation in the A. F. of L. If these comrades now feel that they made a mistake in organizing a Socialist Party, and that they should rather have "bored" for a Labor Union Party, I can sympathize with them, but I shall not go with them.

If the A. F. of L. were the only bona fide labor organization in this country, and if it were not dominated by labor leaders hostile to Socialism, then a political co-operation between the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party would be possible, or even inevitable. But even then I should insist on the independent and unhampered organization of the Socialist Party as a consciously revolutionary body. I shall do so all the more now, because there are other bona fide labor organizations in this country, and because these organizations are not dominated by confused reactionaries, like the A. F. of L., but by conscious revolutionists. If a Union Labor Party signified the political co-operation of the Socialist Party, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers, the I. W. W., then I might feel safe in taking such a step. But it does not signify a political co-operation of class-conscious labor bodies. It rather signifies the surrender of class-conscious Socialists to the reactionary majority of the A. F. of L. I shall not join in this surrender.

The most significant, and to me decisive, point is that this sentiment for a National Union Labor Party originates, not with the old-style labor leaders, but with some Socialists in the A. F. of L. and some editors and writers of the Socialist Party, who are in touch with a few advanced sections of the A. F. of L. I can readily see that the Socialist leaders of the United Mine Workers, of the brewers, of the metal workers, and of a few advanced locals of the printers and cigar makers, could be elected by a Labor Party and gain some influence in a few state legislatures and in congress. But what is true of a few states and cities, is not true for the whole country. On the contrary. In most states and cities, a Union Labor Party would elect capitalist politicians, as it has done in recent years on the Pacific Coast. A consistent and uninterrupted co-operation between socialist and reactionary politicians is impossible. Socialists elected on a Labor Party ticket would often find it necessary to dissent from their purely reformist colleagues, or to compromise on points of principle. If they dissent and act independently, they will be unable to get any support for their bills. They might as well have staid in the Socialist Party, laid the principal emphasis upon the agitation of socialist principles, and waited until the Socialist Party was strong enough to elect them with a backing of class-conscious workers.

No doubt the comrades advocating a labor party at the expense of the Socialist Party are actuated by the theory that every reform carried through by even a purely reformist labor movement will hasten the speed of the social revolution and will tend to transform the reform movement into a revolutionary one. This may be generally true. But I would rather be elected by the class-conscious workers of the Socialist Party, free to co-operate with the representatives of the Labor Party whenever co-operation is possible, free to decline the responsibility for doubtful measures, free to refuse any compromise of principle, than

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to be elected on a labor ticket subject to a majority of voters controlled by reactionaries, or controlled by minds unconscious of their historical mission as a class.

Comrades elected on a Union Labor ticket in Wisconsin would be backed by a socialist membership in the state, but comrades elected on such a ticket in California would be the victims of old party grafters. And comrades elected to Congress on such a ticket would be in the same uncomfortable position.

I can readily understand that the Socialists favoring a Union Labor Party hope to get a backing for national elections which they cannot obtain on a straight Socialist ticket. But even this strikes me as a poor excuse for taking a step backward towards a Labor Party, and doing it uninvited and voluntarily, even before the less advanced labor bodies have been driven to this point of development.

The election of a few members of state legislatures and of Congress does not seem worth such a willing surrender. And the election of a man like the labor mayor of San Francisco to the position of President of the United States, by the help of Socialist votes, would be a pitiful and abject self emasculation. A Socialist in the cabinet of such a President would be a humbug.

So far as the Socialist consciousness does not control the labor movement of the United States, a Union Labor Party will no doubt be the next step in the development of the political ideas of the American working class. But why should Socialists voluntarily abdicate before such a party? The Socialist Party has so far performed mainly the functions of a propaganda organization. It can continue its educational function just as effectively even after the less advanced laborers have been driven to the organization of a Labor Party. The desertion of comrades favoring a Labor Party may weaken the Socialist Party momentarily, especially if the deserters carry with them the national party machinery and the papers which we have helped to build up. But this desertion will be amply compensated by new forces that will join us, and many will withdraw their support from the press of the deserters and assist in the building up of a bona fide Socialist press. And in a few years the Socialist Party will be so much better for the desertion of those who incline more toward the work of practical reform politics than towards the propaganda of revolutionary principles. It will be merely a question of a division of labor between different sections of the working class, which will co-operate in proportion as the social development shall compel them to do so.

The Socialist Party and the Labor Party can march separately. They can fight the common enemy unitedly whenever a common battle field is reached. And we shall all meet for good at the gate of the Co-Operative Commonwealth.
—ERNEST UNTERMANN.

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THE LAND AMENDMENT. I do not understand why certain comrades will insist upon misrepresenting the land amendment. Some have constantly tried to get people to believe that it stands for the private ownership of land. All you have to do to find out that such statements are false is to read the amendment. It directly asserts the public's superior title to all land. It also demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent is necessary to stop exploitation and speculation. And it only permits private occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation.

What more could any Socialist want? Collective management is not the object of Socialism. The object of Socialism is to abolish exploitation. Collective management is merely the means to that end. Therefore, we only need collective management to whatever extent is necessary to abolish exploitation. A person who does not assent to the foregoing propositions is not a scientific Socialist. He may be a communist, or a utopian Socialist, or an anarchist, but he is not a scientific Socialist. The land amendment is in the most complete accord with scientific Socialism. It is in accord with the best scientific Socialist thought of the age. It agrees exactly with the views of Kautsky and Vandervelde, for example.—JOHN M. WORK.

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ENDORSE FREE SPEECH FIGHT. Local Longmont, of the S. P., sends us an enthusiastic report of their meeting in which the Local comrades sent resolutions of sympathy and encouragement to the comrades engaged in the free speech fight in Spokane. The great spirit of solidarity that causes comrades in one locality to hold indignation meetings, to raise funds and send men and women to aid in a working class battle of any kind is spreading round the world. Gradually we are beginning to feel, with the comrades in Longmont, that an injury to one is an injury to all.

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What We Did Last Month

December was the greatest month in the whole history of the Review. Its cash receipts of $1,487.60 were considerably more than half of our receipts for the year 1907. In less than two years our circulation has jumped from 4,000 monthly to 22,000. We have made a few enemies and a host of friends.

Our increase in book sales has been less spectacular but it has been steady. We have been adding to our list a number of new books and new editions of Socialist classics that are simply indispensable to any one who wants a working Socialist library, and now that we have entered on a campaign year, a big increase in book sales is certain. Here are the December figures:

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Cash balance, December 1	$ 309.84	Manufacture of books	$ 769.94
Book sales	1,975.73	Books purchased	15.87
Review subscriptions and sales	1,341.63	Printing December Review	553.57
Review advertising	145.97	Review articles, drawings, etc.	55.00
Sales of stock	175.50	Wages of office clerks	464.25
Loans from stockholders	100.00	M. E. Marcy, on salary	80.00
O. E. Samuelson, for Swedish strikers	1.00	Charles H. Kerr, on salary	100.00
Donations: H. R. Kearns	1.00	Postage and expressage	527.15
		Interest	12.00
		Rent	70.00
		Miscellaneous expenses	67.20
		Advertising	688.17
		Copyrights	37.70
		Loans repaid	424.23
		Swedish strikers	1.00
		Cash balance, December 31	184.59
	$4,050.67		$4,050.67

Our book sales for the year 1909 were $20,992.05, the Review's receipts for the year $10,913.54, donations $1,003.15, and sales of stock $2,300.00.

On January 1, 1910, the total capital stock of the publishing house was $31,290.00, and the total borrowed capital $11,779.08. At the annual meeting, January 15, 1910, the directors unanimously accepted

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a proposition from Charles H. Kerr by which he personally assumes all liability for a loan of $3,400 made some years ago by Alexander Kerr to the publishing house, and accepts stock in return for it. This increases the capital stock to $34,690.00 and reduces the borrowed capital to $8,379.08.

Over a hundred comrades have subscribed for shares of stock on which they are paying installments, and when these have received their certificates the total number of shares issued will be about 3,600, out of a total number authorized by our charter of 5,000. Only 1,400 more shares, therefore, are for sale.

For a little longer these will be sold for cash at the former price of $10.00 a share, but to any one paying in monthly installments of $1.00 each, the price will be $11.00. We reserve the right to advance these figures again in the near future.

The stock draws no dividends, but each share carries with it the valuable privilege of buying books issued by this publishing house at forty per cent. discount, sent prepaid to any address. Thus any one buying books to the amount of $2.00 a month would save the price of a share in about a year, anyone buying a full set of our books will save the price of a share several times over.

Our correspondence indicates that there are several hundred comrades who fully intend to become stockholders but have been putting it off. The sale of the shares now in the treasury will pay off every dollar of debt and provide enough working capital to double our business in 1910. There is and will be ample value back of every share; we passed the stage of experiment long ago. We want your help, not to save us from failure, but to ensure a bigger success.

NEW BOOKS NOW READY.

The Poverty of Philosophy, by Karl Marx, is the most important of his works which has up to now been out of the reach of American readers. We have just published it in the handsome form of the International Library of Social Science, at $1.00.

The Evolution of Property, by Paul Lafargue, has for years had a steady sale in the imported edition at a dollar a copy. We now have it in neat cloth binding at 50 cents.

Social and Philosophical Studies, also by Paul Lafargue, is now in its fourth edition. The third edition was closed out by a phenomenal sale of 250 copies to the audience of Arthur M. Lewis at the Garrick theatre, Chicago, and the lecturer starts us on the fourth edition with an order for 250 more. Cloth, 50 cents.

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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Do You Believe In Industrial Unionism?

Do You Want to See the Wage System Abolished?

IF YOU DO—ORGANIZE IN THE

Industrial Workers of the World

Twenty wage-workers who indorse the Preamble and agree to abide by the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World can secure a charter as an Industrial Union for that locality, if they are all employed in the same industry. If they are employed in two or more industries they can be chartered as a mixed industrial union until such time as they have the required number employed in the one industry.

Charter fee is ten dollars and covers the cost of all books and supplies needed to fully equip a local of twenty-five members.

Per Capita Tax paid to the General Organization is 15 cents per member per month.

The amount of dues and the initiation fee charged by the local union is fixed by the local, provided the dues do not exceed $1.00 per month, and the initiation fee does not exceed $5.00.

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THE INTERNATIONAL

Vol X. MARCH, 1910 No. 9

The Cause of Rising Prices.

By MARY E. MARCY.

"A general rise in the prices of commodities can result only, either from a rise in their values—the value of money remaining constant—or from a fall in the value of money, the values of commodities remaining constant."—Karl Marx in Das Kapital, Vol. 1, page 111.

ANY are the people to-day who claim that monopolies are the cause of the present high prices of commodities. They insist that the legal—or "illegal"—combinations of capital are solely responsible for the continually rising prices of the necessities of life.

As a matter of fact, we are compelled to grant that commodities produced in certain monopolized fields of industry are doubtless selling above their values and that these monopolies have contributed in some measure to the increased cost of living. But, very often, monopoly-produced commodities sell at a lower money price than these products brought before the trustification of that particular field of industry. With the elimination of waste and the introduction of more modern machinery, the trusts can market their products at lower prices than prevailed under competitive methods and still make enormous profits.

Just now the popular indignation against increasing prices is being directed against the beef trust. But the beef trust, in turn, points to the farmers and cattle raisers to whom it has actually paid much higher prices than in the years preceding 1909 and 1910.

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The following table from Bradstreet's, January 29, 1910, shows the increase in prices paid to the farmers and stock raisers—1910 over 1909.

Price per Head on the Farm.	Jan. 1, 1910.	Jan. 1, 1909.	Increase—%.
Beef-cattle	$19.41	$17.49	11.0
Hogs	9.14	6.55	40.0
Sheep	4.08	3.43	19.0
Live Animals Brought in Chicago.	**Jan. 1, 1910.**	**Jan. 1, 1909.**	**Increase—%.**
Beeves, per 100 lbs.	$ 8.00	$ 7.50	6.6
Sheep, per 100 lbs.	6.00	5.40	11.1
Hogs, per 100 lbs.	8.60	6.25	37.6

Certainly nobody accuses the farmers of organizing a trust for the purpose of raising the prices of farm products. The isolated farmers have found themselves able to dispose of their products for the past few years at continually rising prices through no efforts of their own whatsoever.

Small producers in England, Germany, France, Japan and even in India are being borne upward in this wave of rising prices which they can neither understand nor explain. The past few years have been a period of growing prosperity to the isolated producers and the coming decade promises to be a time of unprecedented prosperity to the American farmer. Year by year he has received higher prices for his products and, we believe, that for the next few years, at least, he will continue to do so.

Already farmers are paying off their mortgages with astounding rapidity, building new homes, or moving into the cities. And the sound of the farmer's automobile is these days heard the length and breadth of the land upon the country roads.

The farmers are receiving higher prices; the wholesaler is getting higher prices; the retailer is compelled to ask higher prices; the trusts are getting still higher prices. The market prices on nearly all commodities are from 25 per cent. to 100 per cent. higher than they were ten years ago.

In a very recent article, Dr. Irving Fisher, of the Department of political economy of Yale University says:

"From no point of view can the conclusion be justified that the main cause of the present rise in cost of living is due to labor unions. This rise in cost is world-wide * * *. Moreover, so far as American statistics show, such as those of Bradstreet and the Department of Commerce and Labor, wages have risen only about half as fast as the cost of living."

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THE CAUSE.

The student of economics will take out his copy of Volume I of Das Kapital and renew his enthusiasm for the work of Karl Marx. Gradually, in the light of passing events, the world's great financiers are beginning to realize the laws of value. Gradually, in the light of Marxian economics, the university professors are beginning to "grow warm" in their search for a scientific explanation of the present phenomenon of world-wide rising prices.

A little volume—the Increasing Gold Supply—compiled by Thomas Gibson from his Special Market Letters—1908—sheds a flood of light on this subject. From it we learn that the world's great financiers come very near to a thorough understanding of the cause of high prices. Gradually the Marxian theory of value is being borne out and illustrated by passing events. And in the light of recent financial developments, it behooves the capitalists themselves to turn their attention toward that great work, Das Kapital, by which alone they will be able to explain the present high price phenomenon of the industrial and financial world.

Eminent economists and world-famed financiers have reached the almost unanimous conclusion that the increasing high prices are due to the increasing gold supply.

Mr. Byron W. Holt, in a specially prepared article for Thomas Gibson's Market Letter Service, comes very close to a solution of the problem: He asks:

"Assuming that gold will continue to depreciate in value (that is, that prices will rise) what will be the effect upon interest rates, bond value, earnings, stock prices, etc., etc?"

Although he fails to understand the Marxian theory of value, assuming that the increase in the supply (quantity) of gold has caused its depreciation, he adds on page 9:

> "We believe, however, that the best thought of the best economists is reaching the conclusion that the cost of producing gold determines, or tends to determine, the exchange value of gold with other commodities, just as the cost of producing other commodities determines their exchange value with each. This being true, it naturally follows that when the cost of producing gold, measured by other commodities, is low, both the production of gold and the supply of gold will increase. As the quantity increases the quantities of other products for which it exchanges will gradually decrease. That is, the prices of commodities will rise."

"Since 1896 the world's visible supply of gold has increased from $4,359,600,000 to about $7,250,000,000 in 1908, or 66 per cent. From

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country, and 40 per cent. in England."

Mr. Holt assumes that monopolies are largely responsible for the greater advance in prices in this country over the advance in England. He continues:

> "It is probable that, during the next two years, prices will advance much faster than the gold supply will increase. Possibly, and even probably, the rise in prices, during the next five years, will fully keep pace with the rise in the quantity of gold. If then, as now seems probable, the world's visible supply of gold incrceases 25 per cent. by 1913, it is more than likely that the price level will then be fully 25 per cent. higher than it now is. **By 1918 we may confidently expect to see prices 50 per cent. higher than they now are.**"

CAUSE OF DEPRECIATION IN THE VALUE OF GOLD.

Many of us have been accustomed to regard gold as a commodity of fixed value. But its value rises or falls in proportion to the human labor-power necessary to produce it.

Improved machinery reduces the value of commodities produced by the modern methods. The labor-power embodied in these commodities grows less and less. Toward the beginning of the introduction of machinery, five men, perhaps, do the work of ten men. By and by, with the introduction of still better machinery, one man may replace the five.

Modern methods of production are being continually improved and the value of commodities produced under the newest and most improved methods have fallen in value, just as, since the production of gold has become increasingly improved and cheapened, gold, as a commodity, has decreased in value.

The following is a quotation from one of the Thomas Gibson Market letters, by Mr. Selwyn-Brown, a gold mining expert:

> "As the rich surface deposits are being worked out, improvements in mining and metallurgical processes are enabling poorer and poorer deposits to be worked, that is, improvements in 'stamp mills,' cyanide mills, dredging machines and other gold-extracting apparatus and processes are being made so rapidly that it is, every year, becoming profitable to work lower and lower grades of ore, sand and earth.
>
> As the grade declines the quantity in sight increases rapidly. In fact there are almost literally mountains of low grade gold ore that may even now be worked profitably. Some of the largest, most productive and most profitable mines of to-day contain ore averaging **less than $3.00** and, in some instances, only **$2.00 of gold per ton.**
>
> The supply of such ore being inexhaustible the output de-

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extract the gold. It is reasonably certain that, for years to come, the improvements in methods and processes of mining will more than keep pace with both the decline in the quality of the ore and the increase in the cost of mining due to raising prices and wages, occasioned by the depreciation of gold.

In view of all the facts, Mr. Selwyn-Brown's conclusion that 'a progressive increase each year may confidently be expected' is conservative. This conclusion is almost a certainty. The uncertainty lies in the possibility, if not probability, either of discovering many important new mines in the practically unexplored parts of every continent, or of making improvements that will radically reduce the cost of extracting gold. In either case the increase in the out-put of gold might not be simply arithmetically but geometrically progressive.

The Thomas Gibson Market Letters, from which we have quoted at length, are especially prepared for the financial kings of Wall street. Prominent economists, gold mining experts and wizards of finance have contributed each his portion to the solution of the problems attendant upon "the increasing gold supply." If they had read Das Kapital they would have discussed "Results of the Depreciation in Gold."

But so far as they have seen, the contributors have let their lights shine freely and frankly for the benefits of the capitalist class. Although they fail to satisfactorily explain the high-price phenomenon, the following quotation from the last page of "The Increasing Gold Supply" will convince almost anyone that the Big Investors are sufficiently informed upon the subject to make use of the decreasing value of gold "in a way to add to their property holdings."

" * * * a prolonged period of rapidly rising prices is reasonably certain to become a period of unrest, discontent, agitation, strikes, riots, rebellions and **wars.**

A rapidly depreciating standard of value then, if long continued, not only produces most important results in the financial, industrial and commercial world, but is likely to result in changes of great consequence in the political, social and religious world.

In view of all the facts, results and possible consequences connected with the increasing output and supply of gold, the Wall Street Journal was right when, on December 4, 1906, it said that 'no other economic force is at present in operation in the world of more stupendous power than that of gold production.' "

WHAT THE WAGE WORKERS MUST DO.

In all the Wall street journals and periodicals of high finance we find a wholesale recognition by the capitalist class of the fact that the decrease in the value of gold (and consequent high prices) means that

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years ago. Wage workers who earned $20.00 a week ten years ago find that $20.00 buys only about two-thirds the commodities to-day that it bought then. The money in which we are paid has dropped in value. It buys only two-thirds as much to-day as it bought ten years ago.

The world-wide agitation for co-operatives is a result of the situation. But co-operatives will not be able to meet the requirements. As gold continues to decrease in value prices will continue to rise. The co-operatives will have to pay these ever-increasing prices for commodities. At best they can only help a very few of us for a very short time.

We are not receiving the value of our labor-power. We need higher wages to-day and we shall need another increase every year so long as the value of gold (or wages) is decreasing, and the capitalist system of society endures.

We can only enforce our demand for higher wages when we have the backing of a strong economic organization. We must have that organization.

We shall not boycott the meat trust. We shall demand higher wages to meet the increasing prices. We shall demand the value of our labor-power. There is strength in union. We must organize. We must show these Wall street manipulators that we understand economics as well—or better—than they do. **We must have higher wages.**

We must strengthen the Socialist party and join an industrial union wherever it is possible. We must aid, with all the strength we possess, every organization of workingmen and women who strike for higher wages.

The situation will grow more acute every month. We will not follow the advice of the capitalist papers and live on a diet of beans and rice. We will not lower our standard of living.

If we are not to be ground down to the point of bare subsistence our "immediate demand" must be **higher wages.**

> "The value of commodities remaining constant, their prices vary with the value of gold (the material of money), rising in proportion as it falls, and falling in proportion as it rises."—Karl Marx, Vol. I of Capital, page 132.

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Ben Hanford and Fred Long.

By Joseph E. Cohen.

HERE is no page in the history of the human family more ennobling than that which tells of the companionships that men and women of congenial temperaments and common ideals have formed and by virtue of which they realized the best that was in them. We think of the names of Beaumont and Fletcher, who contributed their fair share to the Elizabethan drama; we are reminded of the literary kinships of Byron, Shelley and Keats, of Emerson and Thoreau, among many others; we are pleased to contemplate the experiments of the Curies with radium and the contribution of the Wrights to the science of aerial navigation. Nor has the Socialist movement been wanting in these most intimate of friendships. The names of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are inseparably linked together.

In the same strain, nor yet in a minor key, need we record the story of those twin spirits of American Socialism, splendid types of the intellectual workingman, Fred Long and Ben Hanford.

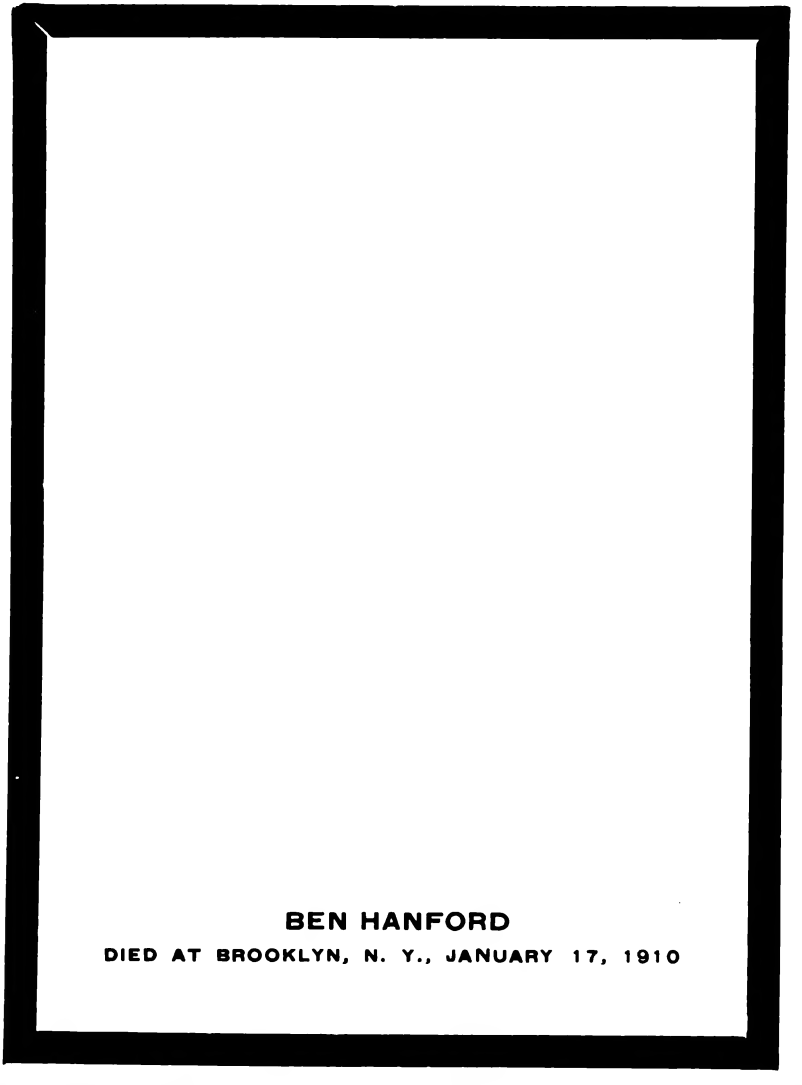
Printers both, self-taught and self-made, Fred the senior by a year —Ben turned the half century mark before he died—they first met in the days of tramp printing, in the '80's, in Chicago, and were thereafter the firmest of friends. Not only were their ideas mutual; even their mannerisms were alike, and nature must have beamed the day each marked the other for his own.

Fred played a conspicuous part in the labor movement in Chicago, as one of the leaders in the eight-hour movement of the Knights of Labor. In the late '80's he came to Philadelphia, where he has ever since resided. He no sooner arrived than he took the ferry to Camden and exchanged greetings with Walt Whitman. There is mention of the meeting of the "good gray poet" and the blue-eyed young revolutionist in Traubel's book "With Walt Whitman in Camden." When, some time later, Fred and his wife adopted a roistering youngster, full of the joy of living, Fred renamed him Walt Whitman Long. By and by Ben set eyes upon the youngster and, after a cursory inspection, Ben surnamed Walt "the committee on cinnamon buns."

Ben came up from Washington to Philadelphia in the first half of the '90's. Ben was then a single taxer. He told Fred about it. Fred

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was a confirmed Socialist. Nevertheless he expressed his willingness to have Ben proselyte him. They took long walks together, for hours at a time, into the wee hours of the morning, to debate the question. In these walks were first manifested the symptoms of locomotor ataxia



BEN HANFORD

DIED AT BROOKLYN, N. Y., JANUARY 17, 1910

which finally struck Ben down. However much they walked Fred grew no nearer to single tax. Instead, Ben became a Socialist.

Ben's conversion to Socialism, by the way, is a theme of some little dispute. Seven cities claimed to have been the birthplace of the blind wanderer, Homer. And seven Socialists—and many more—are

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convinced that they alone won Ben to the cause. There is some ground for the belief that Ben was greatly influenced by Ernest Kreft, also a printer, who died from overwork while leading the union's eight-hour strike in Phildelphia. Kreft was one of the most gifted organizers of working people the East has produced. He had fought his way to success in the international organization against strong odds, and will be recalled as the Socialist candidate against Gompers a few years ago for the presidency of the American Federation of Labor. But while Kreft was well worthy of having been Ben's foster father, Ben gave all the credit to Fred Long.

At two other critical periods in his career Ben Hanford accepted the guiding hand of Fred Long. When the split came within the old Socialist Labor party, Fred was among those who promptly abandoned the DeLeon faction. In fact he rendered yeoman service in the struggle, and was chairman of a session of the Rochester convention. Ben was undecided where to take his stand. Fred made it very plain to him that their being in two different camps would in no wise impair their friendship. It did not. Within the year Ben left DeLeon.

Again, in the campaign of 1908, Ben consulted Fred in a matter that perplexed him. Ben was south, writing to Fred that he had completely recovered his health and looking forward to again being of service in the cause to which both had dedicated their lives. The national convention was approaching. "Who do you think ought to be our standard bearers?" asked Ben. "Give us back our old commanders," quoted Fred, "make it Debs and Hanford." The support of his old teacher had much to do with turning Ben to accept the nomination.

The last time the two met was shortly before Ben went south in 1907. Fred had gone through one experience in a hospital—all told he has been through three—and was receiving private treatment at home. Ben came over from New York. He, too, had had his first experience in a hospital; his stomach was in a very bad way. He spent a few hours with Fred—it was old times again, of which Ben used to say that an evening with Fred was the inspiration of half a dozen good speeches for him. When Ben left, he remarked to the comrade who acompanied him: "Good God, what has Fred ever done to be punished like that?" A week later Ben was in a Pittsburg hospital.

Like Ben, Fred has suffered torments of pain that pitched and tossed the atom of vitality in him until death itself would have been welcomed as a ministering angel—suffered for five long years with scarcely a respite, bearing up under it by superhuman will, by his

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serenity, by his rare wit which never failed him, and, above all, by that which he spoke of as having kept ablaze the soul in Ben's racked body, "the bread that others know not of,"—the precious faith in his fellow men.

Fred still remains with us. He is broken in body, his magnificent, powerful voice may no longer resound through our council chambers. Those who would commune with him must gather at his bed side, as the youth of ancient days gathered about the feet of Socrates and Jesus. The warrior in him has been tempered by the philosopher. No one can read Bobby Burns and Mr. Dooley with such relish as he can. He is keenly sensitive to all that is going on in contemporary thought. He understands the labor and Socialist movements in their many ramifications. His unusually well-stored mind is fertile with suggestions for cartoons, editorials and tactical measures. He has the same glowing optimism he had when as a stripling, thirty-four years ago, he joined the labor movement. He has struck many a spark from the anvil of truth and carried on high the torch of knowledge, of solidarity, of revolution. He has translated the language of Socialist theory into the American vernacular; he has fashioned the profoundest of Socialist principles into terms of American usage, in spirit with the psychology of the American people. His years have been well spent. He smiles upon death.

Ben Hanford and Fred Long! The labor movement is richer, the working class will be happier, for their having lived. The memory of them will be blessed wherever men and women are regaled by the wine of liberty.

How well for them both could have been written the words that Robert Louis Stevenson wrote for his own epitaph—Robert Louis Stevenson who, too, knew what it is to suffer and die in the morning of life:

"Under the wide and starry sky
Dig the grave and let me lie.
Glad did I live and gladly die,
And I laid me down with a will.

This be the verse you grave for me:
Here he lies where he longed to be;
Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
And the hunter home from the hill."

Philadelphia, Pa.

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Mining Graphite in India.

By W. O. WING.

THE Socialists and the big capitalists have one enthusiasm in common. They both delight in beholding the progress of modern industry in the Far East, the capitalist because he believes this means added profits and the Socialist because he knows modern industry will produce more proletarians, with the desires and aims and needs of other wage-workers all over the world.

Just now India is engaged in a vast undertaking. Encouraged by the successful completion of a railroad connecting Key West with Florida, she plans to span the eighty miles of ocean separating Southern India from the Island of Ceylon by concrete viaducts and a steel bridge. Across this bridge a railroad will run and another step will have been added to the conquest of the East. A hundred and fifty or sixty years ago, when England first hoisted the British flag over India, India was known all over the world for her wonderful manufactured products. Seventeenth, and the early part of eighteenth, century literature abounds in stories of the wealth of India, and through the early pages of our United States histories we find ships laden with the wealth of old India sailing from harbor to harbor in search of trade with the young nation. In those days India was indeed a power.

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But for the past century England has been able to turn back the tide of economic progress in India. She has literally forced India, by a system of prohibitive taxation, to abandon her manufactories and to return to the fields for a living.

Above all else the factories of England needed cheap raw products and England saw to it that India produced them. It looks now as though England might find it cheaper to establish factories in India instead of shipping the raw products back home. Gradually one industry after another is planning overflow plants in India.

Over 30,000 men on the little island of Ceylon are already engaged in graphite mining. The photographs reproduced here (from the Scientific American) show the prevailing method of mining there to-day. Thus far graphite, or plumbago, from which lead pencils and crucibles are made, has been the only mineral found there in sufficient quantities to make mining profitable. Within the past decade this trade has undergone considerable expansion, with the result that mining is being extensively developed.

Thus far, however, the mining has remained almost exclusively in the hands of the natives, and primitive methods are still the rule.

In the richer districts more methodical working is introduced, but even here the mining equipment is quaintly antique. The pits resemble deep slits or gashes in the rock. At the top a platform is erected, and ladders, fashioned crudely of length of bamboo secured together with native jungle rope, are flung down the deep shafts for the use of the mine-workers.

The transverse sections, forming the rungs of the ladder, are also made from pieces of bamboo, similarly connected.

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and fastened at the sides. The innumerable barefoot journeys made over the rods have coated them with a fine polish of graphite. They are as slippery as glass. Only a native could cross and recross the deep mining shafts on these slippery rungs and retain his balance. Instead of being hoisted to the platform by rope, the graphite is loaded into long baskets, made by the natives, and is borne on their shoulders up the long ladders to the pit mouth. Always there is a swarm of shining, graphite-besmeared bodies, climbing laboriously upward with their loads. Always there is a steady stream of workers descending.

When the mines are flooded, holes are bored to lower levels, and the water is baled out by the natives.

At Pelawatta, where the most profitable veins have been found, steam pumps and a power hoisting machine have been installed.

* * * * * * * * *

A new hope is rising in the hearts of the people of India, a hope born of the young industries and the new factories. In their dreams they see India restored to her old prestige and glory, her proud, wealth-laden ships again on every sea.

We believe there is a greater and better future before her, a day of brotherhood of which she has had no vision; a day when modern industry shall have stamped out caste, when a great exploited people shall become united at last in a mighty effort to wipe out the master class.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of absolute feudalism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. — Communist Manifesto.

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The Story of the Homestake Lockout

By W. C. Benfer.

O much that is not true has been written concerning the cause of the idleness of more than two thousand former employes of the great Homestake Mining Company, operating mines and mills at Lead, South Dakota, that a true story of the trouble, written by one who is on the battlefield, may be of interest and benefit to the working class.

The motive for the lockout is variously interpreted, but the most plausible theory is a desire on the part of the management to cut wages or increase hours of labor. Since January 1, 1907, the Homestake Mining Company and the Hearst Mercantile Company (controlled by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst) have been run on an eight-hour day. This concession was granted after the Lead and Central City unions of the Western Federation of Miners decided that the miners of the Black Hills were entitled to the same short workday as prevailed in practically all the metalliferous mining camps of the west and northwest. Previous to this time the miners and other laborers in the company's employ had worked ten to twelve hours seven days per week, at from $2.50 for common labor, to $3.50 per day for skilled miners.

When the eight-hour day was broached to Superintendent Grier he declared it was impossible for the company to operate on that basis, as the ore was of so low a grade as to preclude the making of a profit on an eight-hour workday. On December 11, 1906, a committee served on the management a notice saying, in effect, that unless the shorter workday was granted the members of the unions would go on strike. The superintendent capitulated, saying he wanted no trouble with the employes. At this time not more than 60 per cent. of the employes were in the unions.

Last September the Lead and Central City Miners' unions asked the Western Federation to send an organizer into the district to recruit among Homestake employes. William E. Tracy, who had done some work in Michigan for the Federation, was assigned to the task. His efforts met with success from the start and foremen in the mines, mills and other plants took great pains to let it be known to the men that Mr. Grier, the superintendent, had no objection to the employes

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COMPRESSED AIR MOTOR CAR HAULING 28 STEEL BOTTOM-DUMPING CARS, CONTAINING 4 TONS OF ORE EACH FROM ELLISON HOIST TO MILLS OF HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY, OVER STEEL BRIDGE, 100 FEET HIGH.

joining the Federation. After this the men poured into the unions in a way to startle the officials and the organizer. Some of the members went so far as to state that the company was packing the unions to control them, and subsequent developments lend color to the suspicion.

On October 24, 1909, it was ascertained that about 98 per cent. of the eligible Homestake employes had joined the unions and the members of the organizations passed a resolution to the effect that after November 25 they would not work with non-union men eligible to belong to the union. The superintendent was asked for a list of employes. This he refused to give, but said he had no objection to the employes organizing; they had the same rights to organize as capital; he would not hinder or assist the unions, but was willing that they should "go ahead with the good work." With this understanding, the resolution against non-union men was published in the local press, more as a means of completing the organization than as a threat against the company. Speakers at the mass meeting passing the resolution had stated that all the good men were in the union, with probably a dozen exceptions, and if these could be brought in by the resolution the work was done.

Eight days before the limit for men to join the unions had expired the superintendent experienced a change of heart, for he caused to be posted about the company property the following notice:

NOTICE.

Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Com-

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pany will employ only non-union men after January 1st, 1910. The present scale of wages and the eight (8) hour shift will be maintained. All employes who desire to remain in the company's service must register in the general office of the company on or before December 15th, 1909.

T. J. GRIER, Superintendent.

November 17th, 1909.

This gave those who thought more of the company than of themselves and their organization one week to get out of the unions and sign the company's application for non-union employment. So small a percentage responded that on November 24th the following notice was posted about the works and published in the daily press:

LEAD, S. D., November 24th, 1909.

Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Company will cease operating its properties this evening.

T. J. GRIER, Superintendent.

The threat was carried out, and on Thanksgiving Day, 1909, 2,500 men found themselves out of employment and 10,000 men, women and children faced a hard winter with no wages coming in.

The Western Federation at once took up the matter of issuing relief to its members and has been paying out $6,000.00 per week since the first week in December. This is a heavy drain on the Federation, but it is taking care of its members so that none have suffered.

The two unions most involved—the federation locals—started in with almost 2,400 members and so far but 150 have deserted and signed up the company's pledge, which is as follows:

HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY:

Lead, S. D.,.....19...

I am not a member of any labor union and in considera-

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tion of my being employed by the Homestake Mining Company agree that I will not become such while in its service.

.....

Department.....
Occupation.....

On December 9 the executive committee elected by the locked-out union men called out all union men still in the company's employ as watchmen or in any other capacity. The majority of these men came out and their places were filled by Pinkerton, Thiele and Boyd detectives, who had been drifting into the district before the lockout became effective. Among these alleged "detectives" were several gun-men who had done bloody service for the mine-owners of Colorado, Idaho and Montana. During the early part of the lockout the company, through its sister—the Hearst Mercantile Company—shipped in several cases of carbines and sawed-off Winchester repeating shot-guns. These were given to the imported guards and gun-men.

On Sunday evening, December 19, these gun-men pulled off their first riot. While a few Russian ex-employes were having a dancing party at the home of one of their number, a party of detectives and company guards broke into the house and began beating the inmates with their revolvers. Four of the men were dragged off to the city jail, hatless and without coats. One man was badly cut on the head. Next day all but one man were released, but this one, Clem Lunas, was arraigned on a charge of having fired a gun in a public place. There was no evidence that he had fired a gun, but he was bound over to the Circuit Court. He has since signed up with the company and his friends expect the case against him to be dropped. Imported men are mingling with citizens, with guns sticking out of their pockets,

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but citizens have been fined $50 and given thirty days in jail for engaging in fist-fights with non-union men.

On January 6th, forty-nine men, expelled by the Lead Miners' union for working after being called out, met and organized what they term a "Loyal Legion," the chief requirement for membership being that they sympathize with the Homestake Company and fight the unions. Two days later, after the Legion had recruited among business men, schoolboys and bums, it held a meeting, asking that the company resume operations with the Legioners as the men behind the drills, shovels and other tools. Mr. Grier promised to take the matter under advisement, and on January 10th the announcement was made that the mines and mills would resume as soon as the machinery could be put in shape. Here the higher-paid alleged union men began to show themselves by trotting to the company office for jobs. This embraced machinists, engineers, blacksmiths and other mechanics. While the desertions in these A. F. of L. craft unions of mechanics did not amount to much, they had a discouraging effect on the members of those unions who favored fighting to the last ditch for the right to organize. The machinists have given up their charter, some of the members having sought work elsewhere and some of them having joined the Loyal Legion. The painters' organization has also been put out of business, mainly because of the lockout. The teamsters, affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, suffered some desertions and to save themselves and to strengthen the Miners' organizations have given up their charter and joined the Western Federation locals in this district. The local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is standing firm with the miners and has suffered comparatively few desertions.

When the reports of a resumption of work came out, some of the machinists went to the Superintendent and asked if their organization (affiliated with the A. F. of L.) would not be exempted from the ban against unionism. To the delight of those union men having the fight in hand the skilled mechanics were told that there would be no discrimination—that all would have to travel the same route. This action started the exodus of machinists from Lead.

The Superintendent of the company on January 10th denied any intention to import men to take the places of the old employes, but it appears that the plans had been laid for the importation of men at that time, for five days later the first installment of strike-breakers arrived. Since then scarcely a day has passed when from four to twenty men were not shipped in, with carfare paid. Misrepresentation is being used to induce these men to come to the Hills. On January

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24th Carl Kraus, who had been induced to come to Lead from Victor, Colorado, with the understanding that the trouble had been settled with the unions, refused to go to work when he arrived and was arrested and thrown into jail for having obtained transportation and then declining a job. James Kirwan, a Black Hills member of the W. F. of M. executive board, who now has charge of the situation for his organization, got in communication with a lawyer, with a view of beginning suit against the company on a peonage charge. The man (Kraus) was released and told he could go. To date, the company has imported probably 150 strike-breakers, of whom less than fifty are miners. Some of the importations have deserted their guards after reaching Lead and wandered to the Lead Union headquarters, where they have been set right and, in some instances, helped out of the country.

The company is now making a bluff at running two mills. People who have been inside during the past week report that practically nothing is being accomplished in the way of milling ore.

The efforts to break into the rank and file of the Wsetern Federation, outside the engineers and mechanics, have been a rank failure, as less than 200 have so far deserted that organization. Some 500 or 600 have left for other camps, but that merely relieves the Federation of their support and deprives the company of that many of its former employes. There are not less than 1,600 loyal union men —mostly miners and shovelers—standing out for the right to organize, and these are the men the company needs to make dividends. These men worked hard for low wages and they consider that they have nothing much to lose if they never get back. They will do more in winning recognition of the union than an equal number of mechanics or "aristocrats of labor."

Out of probably 700 union Slavonians, there has not been a single desertion from the union, and the Italians, Finns and Scandinavians are also standing firm, although these latter have suffered a few desertions.

Yanto Terzich, from far-off Fairbanks, Alaska, a member of the Western Federation Executive Board, is on the ground and is doing yeoman's service in talking to his Slavonian brothers in their native tongue. They need little persuading, but he is keeping them poste on the situation. It must be admitted that the back-bone of the lock out men is the bull-dog determination of the Slavonians and o foreigners, the American-speaking people forming the majority o deserters. They believe, evidently, that they will all get bosse

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Much has been said and written concerning the benevolence of the Homestake Company, and that "benevolence" has been one of its best-paying assets. With it the company has lulled to sleep the employes until many of their most important rights have been wheedled and stolen from them. Men in the company employ were allowed to build homes on company ground and that has caused some otherwise good men to sign the scab list—the fear of losing several hundred dollars invested in a little home. If they fail to remain loyal to the company they must move their homes off company ground. A number of the business houses are in the same unhappy condition and this accounts, in part, for the stand some of the business men are taking.

By playing the part of Little Father (or Mother) to its employes, the company has always been in a position to get the votes of its serfs without much trouble. This has enabled it to control practically all the city officials and many of the county and state officials and some congressmen and judges.

Mrs. Hearst, mother of William Randolph Hearst, of newspaper fame), "kindly" maintains a free library and free kindergarten in Lead. She also contributes $200 annually to each of its churches, which may account for the fact that many of the preachers are to-day preaching Homestakeism instead of Christianity. The people of the Black Hills had learned to pray to Homestake stockholders and thank them for blessings received and expected.

MR. HEARST'S CONNECTION.

Much has been said and written against William Randolph Hearst, the "great" newspaper publisher, because he has not used his mighty influence to bring about peace in Lead and justice to the Homestake employes. Mr. Hearst has denied that he owns a single share of stock in the Homestake company. Possibly this is true,

CHRIST CHURCH WITH HEARST FREE KINDERGARTEN.

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but the writer can relate an instance to prove that Mr. Hearst has had much influence with the management at one time, and it is possible that he has not lost the key to the lock that has been turned and bolted against the men who earned the money that started him in the publishing and brain-buy-business. During the campaign of 1906, when Mr. Hearst was a candidate for Governor of New York, the enterprising New York World sent a bright chap named Fay to write up the "benevolence" of the Homestake Company. Mr. Fay secured a lot of information, and the World was making pretty good use of its stories about Lead and the Homestake Company, when "Willie" bethought him of the mighty influence he had, through the Homestake Company, in the little town of Lead, South Dakota. Straightway he set the ticker in motion, with the result that the President and Secretary of the Lead Miners' union were summoned to the office of the Homestake Company. What transpired there we know not, but we do know that a special meeting of the Lead union was held late one evening and all the writings of Mr. Fay were characterized as fabrications. Mr. Hearst had a great deal of influence with the Homestake Company then and it is to be regretted that, after the union men of the Black Hills have had unionism preached into them by the Hearst papers for all these years Mr. Hearst should suddenly have lost the power to speak a word to get them out of the fix his teachings have gotten them into. The average Black Hills miner had begun to believe that it was a part of his duty to his employer to believe what he read in the Hearst papers concerning the rights of man. He had begun to think that all the talk in the Hearst papers about "pluck-me" company stores meant what was said, but the Hearst store continued to make big profits off his patronage and, by threats of what it would do to the merchants who started cutting prices, kept their own stores in line for big profits. The Hearst-Homestake defenders tell you that the Homestake Company did not compel its employes to trade at the

ELLISON HOISTING ENGINE.

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company store. True, but it practically fixed the prices charged by other stores. And those prices are very high, compared to the wages paid here.

A "PLUCK-ME" HOSPITAL.

Another of the benevolent institutions of the Homestake Company is a hospital where the maimed employes are treated—at their own expense. Every month $1.10 is held out of the men's wages for this hospital, regardless of how many days the employe works. Men who have quit in one department during the month and again accepted employment in another department during the same month have been confronted with two or more charges of $1.10 for hospital fees. It matters not that some of the employes are so prejudiced against the company's doctors (some of whom have just come from college), that they do not use them, the $1.10 per month must be paid just the same. It is held out of their wages. Have you seen any endorsement of such institutions in any of the Hearst papers?

Will the Homestake Company win its fight? The writer doesn't know. He does know, however, that the men cannot lose, for, as Karl Marx has so truly said, they "have nothing to lose but their chains." In the meantime, it is the duty of every lover of fair play and justice to do what lies in his power to keep workingmen from coming to Lead to help the company or become burdens on the Western Federation.

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The United Mine Workers' Convention.

By J. L. ENGDAHL.



NCOURAGEMENT is a thing born of progress and success. When the working-class, struggling in its shackles and its chains, succeeds in slightly loosening or partially ridding itself of some of them, there is cause for a little rejoicing. But to sacrifice over $150,000 of its financial resources and gain but little in the way of appreciable results would seem a disheartening proceeding for any labor organization.

Yet that is all that was done by the recent twenty-first annual convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis, Ind. Judge for yourself by the following:

Every effort to give a true working-class expression of alienation from the National Civic Federation was strangled by hypocrisy and maudlin sentimentality.

Almost no attention was given to the repeated mine slaughters in various parts of the country, several of which occurred while the convention was in session.

An attempt to gain the co-operation of the United Mine Workers in carrying on the toiling class struggle for the right of free speech, a free press and the right of free assemblage in Spokane, Wash., was stifled before it had hardly received an opportunity for expression.

In order to give the Western Federation of Miners time to tame itself down to the docility required of a labor body qualified to belong to the American Federation of Labor, the proposed amalgamation of the two miners' organizations was postponed for another year or two.

To complete this panorama of incidents looking backward, the convention remained in session until 3 o'clock on the morning of February 3d, in an effort to complete its business in a hurry, and then scampered pell mell for special trains, traveling part of a night and half a day, to arrive in Toledo, O., weary in mind and body, but on time to obey the beck and call of some few domineering, plutocratic coal operators.

It was with a curiosity born of a desire to know what the other man would think, that led me to ask an official high in the councils

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of the United Mine Workers the question: "Why did John Mitchell become an officer of the National Civic Federation?"

"It was soon after Mitchell had ceased to be president of the United Mine Workers that he was offered the position of chairman of the trade agreement department of the Civic Federation. "Being out of a job he accepted," was the somewhat startling reply.

Immediately I recalled what had appeared to me a tragic scene in the murky court room of the Harrison street police station. A neatly dressed young girl, fair to look upon, was ushered up to the bar of justice by a rough-looking police officer. She hardly dared face the questioning judge.

"But why did you do it?" was the abrupt, brutal interrogation, that brought the flood of words and tears in explanation.

"It was the only way, sobbed the victim. "We were married happily and my husband was working regularly in the steel mills of South Chicago. One day a scrap of steel filing got into his eye and they had to take him to the hospital. First one eye was blinded, and then the other, and then—"

"Go on, go on," urged the big policeman. "Go on, and look at the judge while you are talking."

"Soon all our money was gone," continued the prisoner, as the words struggled on. "I tried to get work. I sought for it everywhere. But the most I could get anywhere was $8 a week. That wasn't enough to support us both and pay the hospital and doctor's bills."

The girl did not deny that she had been trying to sell herself on the streets for the money that was to aid her in caring for her husband. She had permitted the officer to tell all that without protest. She admitted having found the woman's last resort in the struggle for existence.

The institution that broke her down was the United States Steel Corporation, that crushes, maims and kills its employes and cares not for those dependent upon them.

Andrew Carnegie, "capitalist," New York, piles his millions on his millions through the manufacture of steel. Henry Phipps, of New York City, is a director of the United States Steel corporation. As young girls are beaten into the gutters of degradation the dividends of these men rise.

On the books of the National Civic Federation it is written this way: Executive committee, "on the part of the public," Andrew Carnegie; "on the part of the employers," Henry Phipps, and "on the part of the wage earners," John Mitchell, former president of the United Mine Workers of America.

Even the capitalist police court judge had pity for the weeping girl confessing her shame. John Mitchell did not tell the story of this

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girl nor of any other girl, but instead he boasted of the kindness and fair dealing of the pirate crew of capitalists in the Civic Federation before the annual convention of the United Mine Workers. There were those among the delegates who cheered. Blinded by the halo that shone out of the past, they seemed to forget that in the present John Mitchell was prostituting his ability more than the girl had ever prostituted her charms. Yet the one was applauded; the other disgraced.

At the present time the president of the United Mine Workers receives an annual salary of $3,000, and "all legitimate expenses." John Mitchell was president of the United Mine workers for ten years. Probably the best wages a miner can earn are $3 a day. Nearly always the miner is working only about half of the time. Granting that he works every day in the year, however, excepting Sundays, he earns only a little more than $900. Yet John Mitchell could take the hard-earned money of the miners that went to make up his salary for ten long years, then desert them and go over to the Civic Federation, there to receive, it is reported, $6,000 per year.

In the issue of the National Civic Federation Review for November 15, 1909, is produced a photograph showing John Mitchell sitting next to Mrs. J. Borden Harriman on the lawn of the latter's country home at "Uplands," Mount Kisco, N. Y., a privilege accruing to "good" representatives of labor in the Civic Federation.

There were those in the United Miners Convention who denounced the Civic Federation. It might be said, however, that they had various motives. President Thomas L. Lewis denounced the Civic Federation because he hates Mitchell and wants to gain the so-called radical vote. Others condemned it with more sincerity. In resolutions presented William Comack, Local 1565, Prairie Creek, Ark., wanted the miners to "ignore the existence of the Civic Federation"; Frank Gatz, Local Union 2583, believed the Civic Federation was organized "for the purpose of hypnotizing the working people"; while James E. Taylor, Robert Williamson, John Whactor, Frank Hefferly and W. J. Warwick said that "the Civic Federation is a bitter enemy to organized labor."

When it came to acting in the matter, President Lewis in his slippery way smoothed the troubled waters, supported the Civic Federation, and the denunciation, as well as the resolutions, were thrown out the back door in order to give Capitalism a hearty welcome at the front entrance. Charles P. Gildea, one of the prominent Socialists in the convention, supported the resolutions, but in vain. Somewhere there was stagnation and the wave of protest failed to rise.

It was with this company of labor men that the Western Federa-

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tion of Miners was asked to join. Not immediately, as the decision put it, but as soon as the western miners can cultivate their minds sufficiently with the theories of reaction to travel unprotestingly in the company of the American Federation of Labor. It is not so much a matter of the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners, as it is the reactionary East against the militant West.

"There is nothing to stop us from joining with the Western Federation of Miners," said W. B. Powell, president of District 18, made up of the United Mine Workers of British Columbia, one of the spots on the continent where the class struggle is a working factor to such an extent that two representatives of the working class are now members of the Provincial Parliament, "We have been ready to unite with the Western Federation of Miners for several years," he continued.

President Charles H. Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners, admitted that he had been opposed to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, but confessed he had become opportunistic enough to be ready to join, the more so as he claimed he could detect a change for the better within Gompers' organization.

It will be a fearful struggle of principle that the little handful of Western Federation of Miners, numbering less than one-half the membership of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, will be compelled to carry on if their organization is to merge completely with the United Mine Workers of America that met at Indianapolis, Ind., in 1910, considering that body as representative. If they survive, the credit will be theirs; if they are overcome by numbers and reactionary leadership the fault can hardly be placed to them.

"The biggest surprise to me of the entire convention was the manner in which the Cherry, Ill., disaster was dismissed," said President Powell, of British Columbia, who had come across the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi Valley to attend the convention and to see big things accomplished, in order that he might have something of value to report to the miners back home.

Duncan McDonald, president of the Illinois district, took up five minutes at the close of the morning session, one day during the convention, to mention the Cherry horror in the mine of the St. Paul Coal Company, preparatory to distributing a report on that holocaust. That was all; it was never heard of again. The matter was mentioned incidentally in several resolutions, but these were lost in the committees.

One morning I ran into the representative of the United Press, who seemed very much excited. I finally learned that he expected a tumult and decisive action in the convention because of the murderous slaughter of men in the mines at Primero, Colo. Having carefully studied the convention, I did not think there would be any stirring pro-

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Socialist, was sought out, and asked to write resolutions to be presented to the convention. This was done. The resolutions passed, carrying with them an appropriation of $1,000. But it took little longer than it does to write these few words about it and the matter seemed then to have been entirely forgotten.

It wouldn't be out of the way to say just a word right here concerning some of the newspaper men who reported the convention. As I have already mentioned, the representative of the United Press was a Socialist, eager to get anything into his daily report that would savor of a united working class struggling for its rights. The Associated Press representative was also a Socialist. Recognizing, he thought, the news value of the big convention, he wrote 600 words for his afternoon report one day and put it on the wires. In a very short time word came back from Chicago to "cut the report to 100 words." That was usually what happened daily; no matter how short the report was, the Chicago office wanted it shorter. Still another Socialist was discovered in the representative of the Hearst News Service. Here the telegraph wires had to burn when Delegate P. J. Gorman, of Ohio, called President Lewis a "liar!"; but hummed not at all when questions of importance came up for discussion.

The lack of attention given the Cherry disaster and the manner in which the Primero, Colo., horror was passed over, was repeated when the reports came of the mine explosion at Drakesboro, Ky. I spoke to George Baker, international executive board member from Kentucky, regarding the matter. He had lost four relatives in the explosion. He had visited and knew the dangerous character of the mine. Yet he faltered in placing the blame, although he admitted that it was the result of open lights coming in contact with dangerous gases. He did not deny that this condition was permitted by the mine owners, who did not take the trouble to have the mine workers instructed in the matter, but allowed them to go to their death without warning.

Thus with the murder of their own fellow workers hardly receiving any attention, it was perhaps unjust to expect that the living should be given more notice, even if they were going to jail in an effort to retain the cherished rights of their class. The United Mine Workers could have redeemed many of their actions by entering heartily into the fight of the Industrial Workers of the World at Spokane, Wash. They discussed the question half-heartedly for a time, after which the entire matter was cleverly engineered into a pigeonhole of the international executive board, synonymous with a motion to indefinite postponement.

In order to give the reader an opportunity to judge for himself of

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the dilly-dally methods of the United Mine Workers, the official minutes on this subject are given. They speak for themselves and are as follows:

> "Resolution No. 37. The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.
>
> "Delegate Magdalene, District 5, moved the adoption of the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded).
>
> "The question was discussed by Delegate Russell, District 10, and Delegate Stubbs.
>
> "Delegate O'Donnell, District 12, moved, as an amendment, that the resolution be referred back to the committee to specify who was to be responsible for the expenses of the volunteers asked for in the resolution. (Seconded.)
>
> "Delegate Mooney, District 25, moved as a substitute that the matter be referred to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.
>
> "A motion was made and seconded that the substitute be laid upon the table. (Lost.)
>
> "Delegate King, District 12, moved that the entire matter be laid upon the table. (Seconded but not carried.)
>
> "Delegate Feehan, District 5, moved as a substitute for the whole that the subject matter be referred to the International Executive Board. (Seconded.)
>
> "The question was discussed by Delegate Daniel, District 10, and Delegate Dougherty, District 9.
>
> "On motion of Delegate Fishwick, District 12, debate was closed.
>
> "The motion to refer to the international executive board was carried."

To use a slang term, the United Mine Workers of America "laid down" when they were asked to do something substantial. The balking point was the following:

> "Resolved, That we call for four volunteers from among our ranks to go to Spokane and fight along with those already engaged, and that this organization defend these volunteers to the highest court in the land."

Almost as a sequel to the above I witnessed the sorry sight of over half a thousand delegates come straggling through the rain, in the deep darkness of early morning, to the Indianapolis Union Station. They packed into two "special" trains made up of disreputable coaches and smokers pressed into service for the occasion.

I was waiting for a train to take me back to Chicago. It came through from Cincinnati, and I nearly missed it watching the interesting and pregnant procedure of a Workers' Special Train in the process of being filled.

The coal operators had notified President Lewis that they were getting impatient at Toledo, O. Lewis had passed it on to the con-

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In this manner the toilers' delegates went to meet the bosses. But the employers did not like the manner of their coming. They had brought the Illinois' delegation along. The bosses didn't want to take up any questions with the Illinois miners and so the joint conference was dissolved. The workers had only received a sample of the present-day capitalistic treatment of the miners. It was perhaps a fitting sequel to the United Mine Workers' twenty-first annual convention.

The Reign of Peace.

By Emilie S. Chamberlin.

See ye, beyond the starless night, a dawn,
Clear, radiant and fair, no cloud above,
Shuts from our gaze the glory of the morn,
The day of peace and universal love.

Broken the time-worn fetters of the years,
No more the earth shall moan and reek with blood,
No more shall fall the starving children's tears,
But plenty sweep the earth in one vast flood.

The cry of war, the cannons' bursting shells;
The clang of arms; the rifle ringing clear;
No more shall tell of sorrow or farewells,
The blood-stained flag no more shall drape the bier.

The slavery that dwells on earth has ceased,
And o'er the field the song of reapers fills
The perfumed air, humanity released,
The song that wakes the echoes from the hills.

The rifle, useless, hangs upon the wall,
The sword, red rusted, now is laid to rest,
From out the cannon's mouth the low, sweet call,
A bird is singing there, within her nest.

The prophecy of peace has been fulfilled,
Blood-red, triumphant banners, float above;
O'er all the earth the sound of strife is stilled,
To hail the reign of brotherhood and love.

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Wall Street's Unrest.

By JOHN D.

S a panic coming? The slump last week when United States Steel shares dropped to 77¾, a loss in a few weeks of about twenty points, on very heavy transactions, caused this question to be asked of leading bankers. This drop brought about panicky conditions and finally caused the failure of Fisk & Robinson, one of the most prominent bond houses in America. This concern failed for about $10,000,000, and was the first smash that can be credited to the high cost of living.

The manager of the house stated that "the average investor will not accept mortgages yielding five per cent. of railroad and industrial corporations, but must have seven per cent., since it is not enough return for him in these days of high commodity prices, etc."

This is a very serious condition for the middle-class investor and brings him closer to the brink of disaster, since a mortgage in excess of five per cent. does not in nine out of ten cases insure any guarantee of safety, and since that is the most essential factor in investing funds it can be seen just how dangerous things are at present in Wall street for the middle-class.

The recent drive at securities also developed this fact that J. P. Morgan and his allies do not want any anti-trust legislation at Washington and took this method of putting an object lesson before Congress and the administration, a trick very often worked of late years. The pressure brought to bear on Taft, by Western Congressmen, and the fears of a Democratic victory next fall, are shadows that mean much to our captains of industry and they are running to cover in their stock market operations.

But after all is said and done, when the capitalists put up steel to the neighborhood of par ($1.00), they then began to unload and the recent liquidation gives them the opportunity of purchasing the shares from frightened middle-class holders at their own figures. Every shareholder in the big corporations to-day has absolutely no chance as against the men at the head of these gigantic machines, since they can and do manipulate securities to the undoing of all of the little fellows.

Some wag in Wall street has said that so low had the big captains

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"they would steal a mouse from a blind kitten" and do it without remorse.

As an evidence of the unrest prevailing in the Wall street district at present James M. Beck, one of the counsel for J. P. Morgan, said in a recent speech before the Pennsylvania Bankers that if the anti-trust law was enforced it would bring in its wake the most terrible panic that this country has ever seen, one that would make the 1907 panic seem like a cooing dove. This was taken to mean that Morgan will not stand for any trifling with the corporations of the country, and since Taft is being deluged with "down with the meat trust" letters and the recent big Democratic victory in Missouri, even after Governor Hadley and Secretary Nagel had stumped the district for the Republican candidate is of much import to "Injunction Bill" and his cabinet, i. e.—the future for the G. O. P. Besides that every editor in the land and every owner of a magazine is being snowed under by letters written by educated men and women demanding either Bread or Blood. That is the situation as Wall street sees it and I must confess that the paper I know all about in New York City is shaping its columns to-day as it never did before to catch and hold the people in check.

The West, Wall street understands, is a seething cauldron of discontent, and they are accusing Wall street of every crime on earth.

At the Chamber of Commerce dinner the other day I talked with some of the leading financiers of the country and while none of them would stand for quotation all agreed that we are in for it unless our industrial kings are halted in their mad rush to gobble everything. Of course this makes a Socialist grin, but it is given as an indication of just how they feel down-town at this writing.

Henry Clews talked before the Finance Forum a few days ago on "Half a Century in Wall Street," and it was not intended he should predict anything or say anything worth while. It was intended to be nothing but a homely talk of men, incidents, etc., that he has met in the half century that he has been down in Wall street, but at the close of his remarks Mr. Clews said:

> "I am quite of the opinion that the time has arrived for calamity-howling to cease; that there is now no occasion for undue anxiety. Business men have now no reason to feel otherwise than confident.
>
> Now is the time for the timid to develop bravery, for the strong to aid the weak, for the ignorant to be willing to learn from the wise. Let us all work together for the common good,

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and the upward tide will bear us along towards better times and lasting prosperity.

Panics come in cycles. It will be years, probably many years, before another one can strike us. Let the worker give his best services to his employer. Let the employer grant justice and fair pay to the worker and to all, and the nightmares and storms of the past will be forgotten, or remembered only as a lesson taught by experience, which will serve to admonish us not to overdo in the future, but to temper enterprise with conservatism."

Then Prof. Carver predicts a panic in 1912. Prof. Phelps says it is here now. Everybody whose opinion is worth considering views with grave alarm the meat agitation and the clearest headed think it is the first cloud of an approaching economic upheaval in these United States of America.

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilized peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again.—Frederick Engels in Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

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The National Civic Federation.

By A. Ledots.

"It is a matter of common observation that such a rapid industrial recovery from a great panic has never been witnessed before in the United States. It is also true that after no other panic have employers so uniformly maintained the rates of wages prevailing before the panic. Many have criticised this policy as contrary to sound political economy. The question may well be asked, however, whether the rapid recovery from the industrial depression is not partly due to this change of attitude towards labor. The country has been entirely free from labor troubles incident to an attempt to reduce wages. More men may have been thrown out of employment than had a different policy been pursued, but the purchasing power of the vast body of men that remained in employment was not cut down. I do not know whether this maintenance of wages is related to the rapid industrial improvement, as cause and effect, or whether they coincide only accidentally. One thing, however, is certain, that both capital and labor have been spared the costly losses that result from the prolonged struggles incident to a reduction in wages; and they are now being spared again the losses incident to the prolonged struggle to regain the old standards of wages that usually follows the return of prosperity."



THE paragraph preceding contains the opening remarks of President Low of the National Civic Federation at the recent convention of that body, held in the Hotel Astor, New York City, November 22d and 23d. One can see from the general tenor of those remarks (further taking into consideration the fact that they were made within the hearing of several of the leading officials of the A. F. of L.) that the capitalistic element of the National Civic Federation realize that they have nothing to fear from the labor chiefs. A single glance over the industrial field is sufficient to refute all of the statements contained within that paragraph.

It was a well-known fact to almost everybody present that Mr. Gompers had an invitation in his pocket to address a meeting of the Ladies' Shirt-Waist Makers in Cooper Union that very evening. Also, there was to be a conference the following month in Pittsburg, Pa., between the labor chiefs to decide upon a plan of campaign against the United States Steel Corporation. Yet, with all the evidence of the falsity of the statements of Mr. Low, not one of the accredited chiefs of the labor unions had the temerity to deny them.

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The Civic Federation exists for a purpose, and as an evidence of the fruitfulness of its purpose witness the consummate ease with which the labor leaders swallow the rhetorical lies of their capitalistic masters. This control over the leading representatives of labor came as the result of diplomacy and—jobs—and the big capitalists have found that the Civic Federation is a good organization for them to support and maintain.

A brief sketch of its history, covering the main points, will show fairly conclusively how the labor bodies come beneath its baneful influence; how labor is throttled and controlled, and, ultimately, made to serve the capitalists alone.

About ten years ago Ralph M. Easley, a Chicago newspaper man (then out of a job), came into the private office of the late Marcus A. Hanna, in Cleveland, Ohio, and to him unfolded a plan whereby the labor organizations of the country could be controlled and made to serve a useful purpose to the big capitalists. He pointed out that the huge vanity of the labor leaders was one weak point to work upon and that, coupled with the opinions that they sometimes voiced regarding the identity of interests between the employer and his employes, could be turned to great advantage, if proper means were utilized.

The plan he had in view was to form a large organization that would be composed of three sections, each of which would be equally represented upon the executive board, and these three sections were to be employers, employes and the general public. In view of the fact that anything smacking of the flavor of democracy would find favor in the eyes of the average labor-leader, who is generally open-eyed only to his personal interests (and blind to the interests of his followers when it is conducive to his material welfare to be so), there was but little reason to fear that this general public section would be looked upon suspiciously, in spite of the notorious fact that this general public section was and is composed of some of the bitterest opponents of organized labor.

Mr. Hanna thought so highly of the plan that he at once provided the wherewithal for Mr. Easley to get to work and form the organization. Shortly after, Mr. Hanna had the supreme satisfaction of presiding at the conference, brought together by his man Easley, that comprised several of the best-known and most conservative labor-leaders of the country, if not of the world.

The plan worked harmoniously from the very start. Mr. Hanna gracefully bestowed upon his capitalist associates the soubriquet of "Captains of Industry," and the labor lieutenants were termed "Our Trusted Lieutenants of Industry," and the National Civic Federation

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up with a bounteous banquet where Labor and Capital rubbed elbows at the festive board and the "General Public" looked on benignly.

One might reasonably ask, why was Mr. Hanna so solicitous for the formation of such a body? The answer comes, that he was interested by virtue of the fact that he was a large owner of coal and iron mines, ships, steam and street railways, and as such was always more or less at war with various labor bodies, and to control them through their leaders was a less expensive method than fighting them, therefore Mr. Hanna was out for their control.

It was understood that the National Civic Federation was to be a great Board of Arbitration, through whose influence labor disputes could be adjusted without the long and tedious (not to mention extremely expensive) methods of the strike, as heretofore. This was certainly a laudable purpose, and one might well say a pupose deserving of a better aim. So strongly did this arbitration idea gain a hold upon the labor-leaders that before long they were devoting more energy towards building up the various branch bodies throughout the country of the Civic Federation than they were expending on their labor organizations. As a result there is scarcely a city of any importance throughout the length and breadth of the country but has its branch. The roster of these state and local branches contain the names of nearly every well-known labor-man, and apparently each is striving harder than his fellows to push the good work along.

One of the baits that catch these leaders coming and going is a notice in the columns of the local papers where they are influential, or a leader's photograph and some favorable comment in the official organ, the Civic Federation Monthly Review.

The first issue of this paper came out in April, 1903, and in it is the picture of the Board of Arbitration that settled the Teamsters' Strike, shortly prior to that time in Chicago. Special mention is made of President Young of the Teamsters, and a long article goes to show what an extremely level-headed and useful fellow is he. They quote him at some length from a speech the worthy fellow delivered, and this shows the kind of men they are enamored with. It reads: "President Young declared—We will show no mercy to any teamster, or local, that dares to go out on a sympathetic strike that we have not endorsed—."

In the June number is a photograph of the Mosely Industrial Investigation commission, a body composed of several trade-union officials of Great Britain, sent over here by Mr. Alfred Mosely to investigate industrial conditions in America. They were taken under

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the protecting wing of the Civic Federation and conducted about the country—feted and banqueted as never before in their whole conservative lives. Therefore, it is small wonder that upon their leaving these hospitable shores they presented commendatory resolutions to the National Civic Federation and expressed the hope that the welfare of British workmen be looked after by a similar body. In their report, presented in England, they expressed themselves similarly (June, 1903, N. C. F. Review).

The Convention of the Street Railway Employees held at Pittsburg, Pa., May 4, 1903, passed a set of resolutions endorsing the National Civic Federation, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers passed similar resolutions also (June, 1903, N. C. F. Review).

The year 1904 gave evidence of being a stormy year and the Civic Federation got on the job at once. The Mine Workers were restless under a threatened cut. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers were balking at a 20 per cent. reduction. The Longshoremen, too, were kicking and the Subway men in New York also had a grievance that they wished to have adjusted. Apparently, the Civic Federation was going to have its hands full. To cap it all, the guardian angel of the Federation, Mark Hanna, died.

However, everything was settled satisfactorily (?). The employes accepted the reductions of wages. The lake strikers were defeated through the kindly assistance of the mine-workers, under President Dolan, "who absolutely refused to let the mine-workers go out on strike in sympathy with them" (page 9, July, 1904, N. C. F. Review), and the officials of the Railway Brotherhoods helped Mr. Belmont to go on his vacation, which he told them he had to defer, by preventing the motormen from striking. So what had promised to be a turbulent year in the industrial field was averted through the beneficent influences of the Civic Federation and the labor officials.

During the winter of 1904-5 the annual convention of the Federation was held, and Mr. August Belmont, employer and capitalist, was elected President. The N. C. F. Review (January, 1905, page 1) says of this convention: "Both the presiding officer, Mr. Samuel Gompers, the head of the largest labor organization in the world, and August Belmont, capitalist and employer, whose election to succeed the late Marcus A. Hanna as President of the National Civic Federation—and who was warmly supported by the labor element—pointed out that in no other country on the face of the earth could such a gathering be brought together."

The month of February, 1905, saw the memorable subway and

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doubt heard in the banquet-room above the din of the speeches and the rhetorical nothings that the betrayers of labor and myrmidons of capitalism were tendering their new master, Belmont.

Those familiar with the details of the strike are aware that it

was immediately caused by the action of General Manager Hedley. He deliberately violated the ten-hour arrangement agreed upon the September previous between Mr. Belmont for the railroad and Messrs. Wilson, Stone and Mahon, for the motormen. In attempting to force the men to make 160 miles for a day's run, he was compelling them to work, in some cases, over fifteen hours a day. It was against this 160-mile schedule that they were forced to strike—after repeatedly protesting to their national organizations in vain. The national officials of the railway organizations openly did all they could to break the strike for the railroad and afterwards boasted of their work.

On page 8 of the March number of the N. C. F. Review is an article headed "Lessons of the Interborough Strike," and in it appear the following gems: "Labor unions must keep their part of the con-

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tracts if they expect success." "No labor union can break its contracts, or aid others to break theirs, and live."

In view of the fact that it was notorious that the Manager of the Interborough deliberately broke the agreement by tacking an extra run onto the schedule, there can be no doubt as to the guilty party to the breaking of the contract.

Subsequent to this strike, Mr. Belmont has frequently been referred to by Gompers, Mitchell, Mahon, Keefe, Garretson, O'Connell and other big guns of the labor movement, as an "ideal trades-unionist." He may be, and probably is, for all we may know.

In the general plan of the Federation, socialism plays no inconsequential part. Nearly every issue contains one or more articles dealing with it. Also there are accounts of the feats-at-arms (or, is it voice?) accomplished by the valiant defenders of capitalism, the labor-leaders, in their laying of the ghost of socialism in their organizations.

The issue of the National Civic Federation Review of June, 1905, contains a huge tirade directed against the curse of socialism. Over two and a half pages of it and extracts from a number of bombastic outbursts directed against it, by its especial favorites. Particular stress is laid upon Gompers' disposal of a socialist resolution presented to the A. F. of L. convention in Faneuil Hall, Boston. An extract follows: "President Gompers gave a good example of the straight-from-the-shoulder fight that trades-unionism makes against socialism in the following forcible conclusion to a speech against a socialist resolution: 'I declare to you that I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy also. I have read the best works of your most famous teachers and writers, in English and German. Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility.'" Applause (page 10, June, 1905, N. C. F. Review).

Another long screed appears in the next issue also and evidently the bogey of socialism is used to great advantage (for the N. C. F. Review's circulation, at any rate), and the great leaders of labor are received with open arms by the great capitalists of the country. The pictures of great men like Gompers, Mitchell, Keefe, Mahon and all of the other labor leaders who express themselves as being opposed to working-class solidarity, sympathetic strikes, or socialism are lavishly displayed throughout the various issues. All of those who serve capitalism well are pictorialized and editorialized, and somehow there seems to be a competition as to who can get in the most.

Of course there is no such idea as a possible remuneration in one

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shape or another. The great number of state and local bodies need attention. Several committees are almost continuously at work and probably some help is needed from time to time, and as the Federation can command unlimited resources, it is quite safe to say that all who do its work are well paid for it.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

The year 1906 was another great year for the body. A commission was elected by the body to junket through Europe investigating public ownership. The expense of this body was almost one hundred thousand dollars. It came out afterwards in an investigation that the great bulk of this money came from Mr. Belmont and Mr. Ingalls, who

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had collected it from several railroads. Mr. M. E. Ingalls is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the "Big Four" railroad system and he acted as chairman of the commission on the tour. It might be easily deduced from this why the public ownership question received a black-eye at the time. Labor-men, college professors and public men, entirely disinterested persons who composed this commission at the behest of the National Civic Federation, could not see any advantage to be gained from it after an extended tour and much research.

The year 1907 was the panic year and the annual convention would have been a mournful occasion but for two things. One was so ludicrous that it deserves mention. Mr. Carnegie was slated to read a paper on the currency question, which was then a most important issue. He read a voluminous document, chuck full of glaring economic contradictions, and, exhausted by the effort, he sat down and immediately fell asleep. Mr. Victor Morawetz followed him and, in a few sentences, completely disposed of Carnegie's voluminous and contradictory document; then, for over a half hour presented his view of the subject. All the while Carnegie was blissfully sleeping on his chair. He was awakened by the applause the finish of the speech occasioned and hurriedly joined in. This brought a laugh from everyone in the room, for they all could see that he was sleeping. After the applause and laughter had subsided, Mr. Carnegie arose and moved that a vote of thanks be tendered the gentleman for his illuminating address, and again there was a tumult of laughter. Possibly St. Andrew doesn't know yet what occasioned the merriment.

The banquet was the other feature that brightened the otherwise gloomy occasion. It was a feast, both literally and rhetorically—especially the latter. The bombast of the great labor leaders (Gompers and Mitchell) was appalling. They were playing to the galleries, and their pseudo-antagonism of the idea that it would be necessary to curtail wages of employes, in order to safely ride the panic wave, was so apparent that one could not help noticing it. Gompers waxed really eloquent when he called attention to the fact that "the vast fields of grain and corn give forth their bounteous yield as of yore; the earth refuses not its stores of ores and minerals; no force, hitherto unknown, smothers the fires that generate the steam and electricity. Labor stands willing—aye, ready as it always was—to create more and yet more wealth for the human family to enjoy. It would be neither just nor fair to expect labor to bear the burden of a condition that it by no means had brought on."

But, somehow or other, labor was made to bear that burden; wages were lowered; numbers of thousands were unemployed; unions

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were depleted in treasuries and their powers and membership dwindled. Yet, the convention of 1908 congratulated itself upon the rapid recovery from the throes of the panic. None of the great labor leaders who spoke (Gompers, McConnell, Garretson, Mitchell, Lynch, Duncan or any of the others) in any way referred to the sufferings of their followers. In the presence of "God Knows" Taft, who was guest of honor at the banquet, how could any of them refer to the sufferings of the millions of workers and their families, when more important subjects were to be considered, such as the impending (and still impending) imprisonment of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison.

Mr. Melville E. Ingalls spoke eulogizingly of the three-to-be-prison-members of the organization and anxiously pleaded for the abolition of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law that alone was responsible for the situation. "For," said he, "just think, Mr. Gompers is a great man. And we oftentimes do honor to the great men of history. 'Tis an ancient custom to have the faces of our great men on the coins we use. Some day we may have the picture of Mr. Gompers on our coins, so look out that it don't appear there looking out between iron bars. It would be an everlasting disgrace to us."

Andrew Carnegie laid great stress upon "what a grand man" our "John Mitchell is." (was). Also "the more I get into touch with union labor, the more I get to understand and respect it. I am getting to be a better and better union man as I get better acquainted with its leading representatives."

So, from year to year the farce-comedy is enacted and labor is continuously kept in shackles by the leaders fraternizing with the capitalists. No good has ever come to labor through these fraternal gatherings. When the leading representatives of the labor movement applaud the subtle sayings of the most bitter opponents of labor organization, what has labor to expect from such representatives? Does it ever occur to the mind of the average union-member that the cost of keeping up the National Civic Federation is an enormous amount? Does it ever occur that no unions have ever contributed towards this expense? Further, does it not appear somewhat against your interest to be represented by only a third of the number on the executive board, while capital has a two-thirds representation?

I do not know as to whether such men as Gompers, Mitchell, Moffett, Garretson, O'Connell, Keefe, Mahon, Stone or several of the well-thought of leaders of labor, get any pay from the Civic Federation. It is not a material matter whether they do or not. These men have been made by you, the men and women who toil and moil. They misrepresent you when they sit supinely by and permit the capitalists

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to adopt a paternalistic attitude towards you that means to you the loss of any self-respect that you may have.

They misrepresent you when they permit your condition to be deliberately misrepresented, for the effect it might momentarily create.

They misrepresent you when they enter into any sort of agreement with capitalists, the result of which ties up one union and prevents it from going to the aid of another.

They misrepresent you when they hold that there is an identity of interests between you and your employer and the proof of the identity of interests manifests itself when you are locked out, the factory closed, you starve and your employer goes upon a vacation to Europe, or elsewhere.

They misrepresent you at any time they side with your employer. They should be of you and with you, at all times. Right, or wrong, you must stand, or fall, together. You are on one side of the economic battle and your employer is on the other. Those that are for him are against you, and you should so regard them whether they are your leaders or not.

All the labor-leaders that are in the National Civic Federation are there for a purpose. That purpose is to hand over the labor movement to the keeping of the capitalists.

Remember! You don't pay to keep up the National Civic Federation. The capitalists do. And they rarely spend money uselessly.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.—Communist Manifesto.

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MIE RILEY will come down. He's in his room now. There's a light there, see?"

The organizer of the local that had ceased to exist dropped his eyes from the lighted window across the street and glanced over the little group of Socialists huddled about the soap-box platform from which the woman speaker was to address the crowd, if any crowd could be gathered on such a night.

"Tell Jimmy there's a chance to reorganize tonight if we can get a crowd out. That'll bring him," continued the organizer addressing himself directly to a young miner who had been secretary of the dead local.

The secretary hesitated. Twice he started toward the lodging house across the street, and twice returned to the soap box where, in the light of a blazing torch, the organizer was sorting out pamphlets, selecting the ones of lowest price to offer for sale at the meeting that evening. The depressing weather, as well as the fact that many of the miners were out of work and short of money, would make it difficult to sell anything at more than ten cents.

"Say," said the secretary at last, "Riley would come all right, but his feet ain't well yet by a long way."

"I know that," growled the organizer. "I guess none of us is going to forget it. But we need him, and he'll come, just as sure as he held the light in the bottom of the shaft that night. It may mean organization, and if we get started right now the local will live. Just tell him to come down till we get things going, and then he can sign an application card and go back, or else we'll get a seat for him. Tell him who's going to speak, if he hasn't heard about it. He read about her work in the Los Angeles free-speech fight, and he wants to hear her any how."

The secretary moved off, obedient to the command. The organizer

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scowled as he glanced again over the pitiful gathering of half-discouraged Socialists and sympathizers, and from them to the lighted window of Jimmie's room.

"Wait a minute!" he called after the reluctant messenger. "Don't put it too strong to Jimmie, and tell him that if his feet are hurting bad tonight we can get along without him all right if he don't come."

The secretary nodded over his shoulder and continued on his way more cheerfully.

"Who's Jimmie Riley, Comrade?" asked the woman speaker, who had heard the conversation between the officers of the dead local.

"He's a miner, member of the Western Federation, and a good fighter. If it hadn't been for his feet getting cooked, we might have kept the old local alive and made it one of the strongest in Arizona."

"Cooked?" cried the woman from California, startled.

"Yes," said the organizer. "Jimmie was——." He broke off abruptly as he recognized a passing pedestrian as a "sympathizer."

"Hey!" he yelled desperately, plunging after the man; "we want you! Great talk tonight, woman comrade from Los Angeles. Say," his voice fell as he caught up with his man and gripped him firmly by one arm, "we need you to help make a crowd. If she can stand here in a drizzle of rain, to try to get things going in this dead town, we can."

"It ain't no use," objected the other, trying to shake off the hold on his arm. "And, any how, I'm beginning to thing there ain't nothing in political action. We'll never break up the capitalist system by throwing paper wads at it."

"That's all right," said the organizer propitiatingly. "You just come along and ask the speaker some questions along that line. Maybe she can put you straight."

"No," said the other sullenly, "I ain't had supper yet, and by the time I do it'll be time enough to get to bed."

"Jimmie Riley is coming down to help make a crowd," said the organizer, with more than a suggestion of reproof in his tone; "and his feet are bad. If he——"

"Oh, hell!" ejaculated the discouraged one, turning back. "I'll stay if you think it'll do any good. Riley ought not to be coming out, though, a night like this."

"Nor a woman to speak on the street, with the damp getting into her throat and lungs," suggested the organizer, "but if we can reorganize the local——"

"There's Jimmie now!" exclaimed the other man.

Refusing to be helped by the secretary, who walked beside him,

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a man of medium height and weight, of the general appearance of thousands of other members of the Western Federation of Miners of his age, was hobbling painfully across the street.

The woman speaker looked searchingly into his face as he entered the area of light from the blazing torch. It was the face of a man

"HE HOBBLED TO THE CURBSTONE AND SAT DOWN."

about 28 years of age, distinguished only by one quality which was not revealed in the faces of thousands of the younger miners, and that was the stamp of pain and pathetic patience on the homely face. The fea-

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tures were unmarred by furrows of toil such as disfigure the faces of the miners in later years, but there were thin white lines about his mouth and on his forehead which told of a world of suffering endured with unassuming fortitude.

"This is Comrade Riley?" asked the speaker, introducing herself. "We're going to reorganize the local tonight, and I'm glad you're here to help."

She saw the pain-worn face light up with pleasure at the confidence of her tone.

"We shouldn't make you come out, though," she went on. "I was told of your injury, but not how it happened."

"Why, it was mostly because it would cost the mine-owners a good deal more to hire engineers to run the stationaries than to get unskilled men, and so they don't do it," said Jimmie Riley dispassionately. "In the bottom of the shaft, below the lowest level that has been run in the mine I was working in, there is always water. It runs in there from all the levels, and is pumped out. The steam pumps exhaust into the bottom of the shaft, which keeps the water there at boiling point.

"One night there were seven of us going down in the cage, when the man at the engine at the top of the shaft let the cable run clear out, so that the cage was plunged to the bottom of the shaft. That was how I got my feet cooked, standing there in the boiling water, over my ankles, till I could be lifted out.

"Comrade, I think I'll have to sit down." He smiled wanly, apologetically, as he hobbled to the curbstone and sat down. "My feet hurt me more when it's wet."

"You shouldn't have come out, Comrade," said the speaker.

Jimmie Riley smiled again, his pathetically patient smile.

"And you shouldn't be out to speak, a night like this," he said, "but those who are carrying the light——" he broke off in some confusion, as if from a failure to complete the expression of a half-formed thought. "I hope we can reorganize the local tonight," he said. "I'm getting so much better now I could do lots to help keep it up, and I'll have lots of time, because my feet will never be so I can work in the mines again."

"Tell me," said the speaker, "does the company support you, since you were crippled through their failure to employ a competent engineer?"

She saw Jimmie Riley smile with quiet amusement, and at the same time she heard a snarl of bitter fury behind her. She turned and

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the crowd.

"The company!" raged the man. "He could get nothing from the company, but he's supported by his union."

The man stepped back and began talking with the organizer. The speaker turned again to Jimmie Riley, asking:

"And the other six men who were with you in the cage, were they so frightfully burned?"

"Oh, no," was the answer. "They weren't hurt to amount to anything. They jumped to the walls of the shaft, getting any hold they could, and so got out of the boiling water."

"But why didn't you jump, too?" she asked, wondering.

"Why," answered Jimmie Riley, in seeming surprise at her failure to understand, "I couldn't without dropping the lantern, and leaving it dark so that none of the boys could have found hand holds. I was the one with the light."

Faint and sick as she grasped the meaning of what he was saying so dispassionately, the speaker listened as Jimmie Riley, displaying no emotion nor any feeling that what he had done was anything but a matter of course, went on:

"You see, when several men go down to work together only one of them carries a lantern. When we fell to the bottom of the shaft none of us would have got out without being badly scalded if there hadn't been light. I was carrying the lantern."

For a moment the woman was silent, and she felt herself choking. The organizer came up, saying hurriedly:

"Ready, Comrade? Guess we better start now, before anybody goes away."

"Just in a moment," she answered. "Well, all right, yes; I'm ready."

She mounted the soap box and began, her voice shaking a little at first, but growing more steady as she proceeded with her argument for the political and economic organization of the workers of the world. She felt that she was doing well, and could see that the crowd was growing in spite of the drizzling rain, but through all her thoughts the phrase was running:

"The one with the light."

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The General Confederation of Labor.

By Louis Duchez.

INTRODUCTION.

In view of the tremendous interest that is being taken in industrial unionism the last year, not only in the United States by throughout Europe, it is highly important to the working class of America to know the progress made by the workers of France, where, doubtless, the revolutionary union movement has made greater progress than in any other country.

In regard to the revolutionary unions of France and Italy George D. Herron wrote from Europe in the International Socialist Review a few months ago: "A turn of the hand might place the French government—and in two or three years the Italian government—in the hands of the revolutionary unions of the syndicalists." He further says: "The syndicalist revolutionary unions are compelling things from respective governments, and are achieving results for the working class beyond anything that Socialist members of parliament have ventured to demand."

The following article is the substance of a pamphlet entitled, "La Confederation Generale du Travail," by Emile Pouget—one of the foremost of revolutionary unionists in the world to-day—and published by the "Library of Political and Social Sciences" of Paris. I have attempted to condense this booklet of 65 pages as much as possible, outlining the structure of the Confederation, the tactics employed and something of the results attained so far. The pamphlet is a history of the organization up until 1908.

THE ORGANIZATION.

The General Confederation of Labor was organized in 1895 at a syndicalist congress held at Limoges, which is perhaps the most Socialistic center in France. It is the most dominant labor organization, both in numbers and in spirit, in France to-day. It is not affiliated with any politcal party.

At its base is the syndicate, which is an aggregation of workers in different crafts and different kinds of employment. Second, the Federations of Syndicates and the Union of Syndicates; and, lastly, the General Confederation of Labor, which is an aggregation of federations. In each degree the autonomy of the organization is complete.

The structure of the General Confederation is not a cut and dried affair. Its development has been remarkably spontaneous. First the

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syndicates developed and as the need of greater power became apparent, the federations sprung up, and, lastly, the General Confederation. No one is excluded from membership because of religious, philosophic or political views, so long as he or she is a bona fide wage earner.

It has only been since 1884 that the law permitting the existence of syndicates was enacted. Long before that, however, they were in existence. Because they were growing in power, the State sanctioned what it could not prevent. In 1884 the State, after abolishing legislative prohibition in regard to them, enacted another law requiring them to deposit their constitution and by-laws and the names of all their officers in the mayor's office of the place in which the syndicate existed. It also stipulated that the officers shall be Frenchmen. Everything was done by the State to curb their influence and if possible to destroy them. But they developed without regard to legal requirements; and, as a result, a general feeling of distrust among the syndicalists in regard to the State's attitude toward them prevails. It is needless to say that they had a fierce struggle to gain a foothold.

The Confederation is founded upon a knowledge of the class struggle. It is essentially a fighting organization. Solidarity and the resistance of capitalist exploitation are its watchwords for the present-day battles of the workers. But it aims at greater things. One of the principles which the Confederation teaches is that the embryo of the new society is the economic organization of the workers. The Confederation presses forward with that end in view. It holds that there is no harmony between itself and the State, and resists the latter to the extent of its power. The Confederation has passed that stage where it can be brought in harmony with the State and capitalism. In fact, from its very foundation 15 years ago, revolutionary principles were taught.

Another trait of the Confederation which characterizes it as a revolutionary organization is the fact that institutions of mutual help play no part within the organization. There are, however, co-operatives of different character carried on outside the organization in general. Everything within the organization is avoided that tends to hamper its combative spirit. In this respect the French syndicates differ radically from the trade unions of England and Germany.

In the Preamble of the Confederation, after explaining the class character of modern society and the futility of expecting the State to help the workers even if it desired to do so, it urges a class organization of the workers on the economic field. "Only through this form of organization," the Preamble states, "will the workers be able to

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struggle effectively against their oppressors and completely abolish capitalism and the wage system."

The governmental statistics state that there are 5,000 syndicates in France. Of this number over 2,500 are affiliated with the Confederation. They are called the "red" syndicates, because of their revolutionary spirit and aggressiveness in all lines of working class activity in opposition to the public powers and the bosses.

Besides these there are about 900 syndicates not affiliated with any organization that are "red" in character. So out of the 5,000 syndicates about 3,400 are revolutionary and endorse the Preamble of the Confederation. The remaining 1,600 syndicates are what are called "yellow." They act upon the principle of the harmony of interests between capital and labor. Many of them have been organized by the employers and are officered by foremen, "straw-bosses," etc. Like the recent movement of the clergy of France to organize Catholic unions, which the "reds" have labeled "green" syndicates, the aim of those in charge of the "yellow" syndicates is to sidetrack and prevent the revolutionary unions from gaining ground. But their efforts are futile, as we have seen. We learn that these "yellow" syndicates are decaying and the rank and file of their members are being carried into the ranks of the "reds" by the increasingly revolutionary activity of the latter.

The syndicates are affiliated with the Confederation in two ways. First, those of different occupations are assembled in one city or region; second, the syndicates of the same occupation or industry over the whole country. The first groupments are called the "Bourses du Travail" or Unions of Syndicates; the second the National Federations. The latter is more the plan of the Confederation. The former is more popular, however, which is doubtless due to the fact that the "Bourses du Travail" are what would be called temples of labor and were built by the different cities for all classes of workers, organized and unorganized, to meet in to discuss their grievances. In this connection it is well to note that the object of the municipalities in building these temples of labor was to bring the unions more under the control of the States. In certain instances ordinances were passed governing them which were diametrically opposed to the organizations which they claimed to uphold, and in many cases the workers have refused to meet in these Bourses. The tendency now is to break away from them in order to keep clear the class character of the syndicates.

There are 135 "Bourses du Travail" or Unions of Syndicates affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor, taking in about 2,500 syndicates, 1,600 of which have now rallied to the National Fed-

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erations. The "Bourses du Travail" tend to keep the workers divided, still it is through them principally that the workers have gone to the National Federations.

The "Bourses du Travail" are performing an important function in freely assisting those out of employment to secure the same and in furnishing legal advice and transportation from one point to another to the best of their ability. As a rallying ground and avenue of propaganda they have meant much.

Since the congress of Amiens, 1906, however, the federations of existing trades, without being eliminated, are admitted to the Confederation as federations of industries.

A remarkable spirit of solidarity and democracy prevails throughout the Confederation. Pouget says: "The centralism which, in other countries, kills labor's initiative and hobbels the autonomy of the syndicates, disgusts the French working class; and it is that spirit of autonomy and federalism (initiative and solidarity) and which is the essence of the industrial society of the future, which gives to French syndicalism a profound revolutionary phase."

There are 60 Federations affiliated in the Confederation and three of what are called National Syndicates. Nearly all the federations publish a monthly paper which is distributed free to all the respective members. Then there is the national organ, "The Voice of the People," which is published weekly.

The 1906 statistics of the Confederation showed that there are 205,000 members in the Confederation. The workers of the building trades are the most numerous. They number 210 syndicates. The printers and binders and the metal and machinery workers number each 180 syndicates; the textile workers 115; leather workers 64; agricultural workers, which are composed principally of wine growers, 100; wood choppers 85; moulders 79; besides several other smaller groups.

The term "National Syndicate" was given to the railroad workers, which comprises 178 sections. They have had to fight the hardest for the right to organize. The State only consented to their organizing and joining the Confederation when it could not avoid it. But the struggle has made them the most militant of all the syndicates. The same thing is true of the mail carriers and the school teachers. The latter two, however, regardless of State intervention, are getting together and they are manifesting a militant spirit in proportion to the pressure of the State upon them.

The Confederation is not an organization of authority and direction; instead, it is one of co-ordination. It aims to bring into

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harmony the various groups affiliated with it for the general welfare of the working class. The ideal proclaimed and followed is "the entire elimination of the forces of oppression, established by the State and the forces of exploitation manifested by capitalism." Its grounds for neutrality in politics are that the wage system cannot be abolished and still retain the political State. It aims at a social reconstruction where the workers will have direct say in the exercise of their labor power through an organization of the workers, with its foundation laid in the industries and not upon the institutions of official capitalist society.

The fact that the Confederation does not take part in parliamentary life does not mean that it does not take a stand against the State. On the contrary, as is well known, its position in that respect is well defined. Its opposition to the State increases and intensifies as its power grows. True to the Socialist philosophy, it holds that all power is economic and that the proletariat in order to overthrow capitalism must exercise its economic power along the line of the industrial organization of capitalism in order to effectively win concessions now and form the basis of the new society when capitalism is to be overthrown. The political action of the Confederation is exercised in the form of exterior pressure, and, as we will show later on, is the real and effective method of the workers in compelling legislative favors.

The National Federations and the "Bourses du Travail" each form a section of the Confederation and officers are elected from each, composing a Confederal Committee. This Confederal Committee harmonizes the work of the organization, directs the general action and carries on an active propaganda. The treasury of the Confederation is comparatively insignificant. In this respect its aims are limited to the meeting of administrative and propaganda expenses. In case of strikes or mass movements it depends, principally, upon assessments and voluntary contributions. In a large degree the strength and revolutionary character of the Confederation is due to the fact that there is no honey jar at the national headquarters to which self-seeking individuals gravitate. Conventions or congresses are held every year, in some cases every two years. The Confederation proper meets every two years.

It has recently been estimated that the Confederation numbers about 300,000 members and is just now gaining that momentum which is destined to make it the ruling power in France.

TACTICS.

As stated, the method in dealing with the hostility of capitalist institutions is that of exterior pressure—what is commonly known as

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direct action. Its same attitude holds good in regard to religious and philosophic conceptions. The prime object is to get the workers into the "red" syndicates. This done, it knows that in associating and struggling with others who have like economic interests, they will not only be carried on by the momentum of the organization, but they will at the same time develop their class knowledge along all lines. In this respect we see that the Confederation applies the modern secret in education—the inductive method. It may well be characterized in the words, "Learning by doing."

In this connection it is well to note that the methods of Direct Action do not necessarily imply violence. On the contrary, they may mean the reverse, as has been shown in numerous cases in France. Direct Action is the dominant trait of French syndicalism. The common method in opposing State hostility is that of mass uprising in the form of propaganda meetings and demonstrations for some particular thing, as for instance, the eight-hour day in May, 1906, or to compel the enforcement of some law in their favor. The common method of fighting the employers are the strikes, the boycott, demanding the label and the sabotage.

Hairsplitting and squabbles now find little room in the Confederation; there is too much revolutionary activity in the movement to give an opening to those who live by talk. Pouget says that if the spirit of State intervention were to enter the Confederation it would be a good police in favor of the exploiters and would lead the organization toward conservative ends. That fear has left the militants of the movement, now, however.

In order to parliamentise the action of the syndicates the Superior Council of Labor (the Civic Federation of France) was established. Its function, as Pouget states, is "to chew working class laws into parliament"; in short to attempt to absorb the revolutionary energy of the workers into "hot air."

The avenue of the strike has been the most effective method of organizing the "red" syndicates. The Confederation has discovered that and every opportunity is taken. It has also been discovered that wherever a ray of confederal influence manifests itself during a strike, a profound revolutionary aspect is noticed. A victorious strike is a partial expropriation of the instruments of production, and, under the guidance of confederal influence, has sharpened the revolutionary appetites of the workers to a remarkable degree.

The declaration of strikes, in most cases, is left to the initiative of those interested. In the Constitution of the Federation of Leather Workers we read: "All syndicates before declaring a strike shall notify

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the Federal Committee. The Federal Committee, without having the right to oppose a declaration of strike, may make objections if judged necessary." In some cases, however, the declaration of a strike rests with the Central Committee; as, for instance, with the printers and bookbinders.

The use of the boycott and the demand for the label are well known—though they have amounted to very little. The "sabotage" (following strictly the bosses' rules, turning out inferior work, etc.) has been used effectively in compelling the bosses to give in and still remain at work. Of course, back of all these methods is the organized and disciplined power of the workers.

It is in the mass movements, however, that the Confederation has found its greatest stimulus. In the midst of them the organization grows tremendously, revolutionary spirit blazes and proletarian power is impressed directly upon the minds of the workers. One of the prime objects of the Confederation is to be ready for these mass movements, encourage the spirit as much as possible, welding, when the interest is at white heat, the workers into a solid body. It holds that every mass movement, whether manifested in the form of a general strike, general agitation for the enforcement of some law or in the form of propaganda demonstrations, undermines the faith of the workers in existing institutions, tears away the veil and exposes the class character of capitalist society, and at the same time develops faith and self-reliance in the minds of the workers in their own organization.

One of the most characteristic of these mass movements took place in 1903-1904 against the employment agencies. After two months of increasing agitation the Confederation compelled the government to suppress them. It did in two months by united effort what could not be done in 20 years before through petitions and parliamentary wrangling. (Those who have been following the Spokane fight for free speech against the employment agencies can realize what the suppression of these employment agencies meant to the French workers.)

It was the same kind of a mass movement applying exterior pressure which broke out after well-laid plans the 1st of May, 1906, that compelled the government to enact the eight-hour law and the weekly rest day.

It is important to remember, too, that there is nothing like these mass movements aimed against the State to send the chills up the spines of the middle class and win their good will, for they are generally hit the hardest where a good blow counts—in their pocketbooks.

Lastly, all these mass movements of more or less intensity are

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But that is not all. The statistics of the strikes of 1906 make a better showing. Out of 830 strikes in that year 184 were entirely won, 361 partially successful and 285 lost. One hundred and forty-seven thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight participated in the 830 conflicts. The statistics show that more than 83 per cent. of those who engaged in the conflicts were in one way or another benefited. The increasing progress is, indeed, noticeable.

Also, in 1905 out of the 530,000 strikers that demanded a decrease of the hours of work, nearly 40 per cent. were entirely successful, 51 per cent. were partially so and only 9 per cent. lost.

All over France syndical action has benefited the workers. In the center of France before the organization of syndicates the woodchoppers were working 15 and 16 hours a day. To-day they work 10 hours and have increased their wages from 40 to 50 per cent. Besides, they have abolished the pooling or contract system which was one of the worst things they had to deal with. The wine growers after a series of strikes in 1904-1905 won an increase in wages from 25 to 30 per cent. with the work day reduced to 6 and 8 hours a day. In 10 years the match workers (males and females), which have now a very solid organization with 90 per cent. of all the match workers in the organization, have raised their wages 50 per cent., with the nine-hour day. The workers in the mail system and those of the telegraph and telephone lines have obtained through syndical action the eight-hour day and an increase of 30 per cent. The workers in the government navy yard after three years of hard fighting have the eight-hour day and a large increase in wages, also. The bakers, barbers and nearly all other workers in the public service department have received corresponding increases in wages and better working conditions. Those of the building trades have made remarkable progress also.

But the mass movement for the eight-hour day which burst through the crust the first day of May, 1906, is the crowning glory of the Confederation so far. It has been the greatest thing the Confederation has done to solidify its forces and give the working class of France a taste of proletarian power.

At the 1904 congress of the Confederation the resolution was passed. The date of action was set for May 1st, 1906. For eighteen months after the congress adjourned an intense educational propaganda was kept up in order to show the workers the tremendous power of better working conditions and the higher wages the eight-hour day meant in itself. All forces were centered to this one end.

When the day arrived workers all over France knew it and everywhere when the eight hours were up from border to border workers

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picked up their buckets and went home. Of course there were great struggles, and in many places awful defeats. These things are expected in the class war. But there were more victories. Not only victories direct from the bosses but the government was compelled to pass the eight-hour law, which is supposed to be in force all over France. When the Confederation grows in power not only will the eight-hour law be enforced, but a still shorter work day. The agitation during the eight-hour mass movement did one thing, which alone is worth all the effort put forth, and that was to teach the workers that the short-hour day and a small individual output mean, in themselves, higher wages. Before the eight-hour movement the general rule was that the man who did the most directed the pace. It has now changed. The man who does the least is the pace setter. Individual production has decreased 20 to 25 per cent. And we see this substantiated by the fact that the unemployed army of France is smaller in proportion to its population than in any other country in the world.

These are some of the concrete material results gained by the workers of France through their class organization in the industries. It is, however, the potential power of the Confederation and the great hope it inspires in the proletariat of France with reference to the Social Revolution that interests us most. Even with its comparatively small numbers it has done wonders. Its revolutionary vibration has penetrated every institution of capitalist society in France. It has won the respect and support of a large part of the standing army, as was seen a few years ago when a whole regiment threw down its guns and refused to shoot down the strikers of the vineyards. Even the prison guards of a large number of institutions have banded themselves into "red" syndicates, reducing their hours of labor and raising their wages. We learned recently, too, that a large number of the Parisian policemen have also formed a syndicate. Premier Briand is worked up over it and in an address before them some time ago said that he approved of a fraternal organization among them for mutual assistance, but it was out of their sphere to affiliate with a "militant union," meaning, of course, the Confederation. It is stated by several militants that already a large percentage of the "slugging committee of the capitalist class" may be "counted upon"—when something big happens. But they are not depending on that. They know that if they have the economic power all other power is theirs.

Another feature in connection with the Confederation which is an indication of remarkable solidarity, is the action of strikers in sending their children, in many cases hundreds of miles, across the country, where they are kept in the homes of other workers who are

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employed, while the parents stay at home and do all in their power to win.

CONCLUSION.

We have traced the development of the Confederation from the syndicates upward. We have shown that while its growth was spontaneous it was natural; that as the pressure of economic conditions pointed out the need of greater working class power, that power developed, and that the syndicates assembled into federations and the federations formed the Confederation. We have also shown that the tactics of the organization were first, last and always those of Direct Action; that its methods of dealing with the hostility of the State were those of exterior pressure; that it holds that parliamentarianism weakens revolutionary fibre, tends to prevent the growth of solidarity and blurs the line of the class struggle; that it has remained neutral to political, religious and philosophical doctrines, holding that the prime object of the revolutionary movement is to get the bona fide wage earners into a class organization on the economic field, resting assured that they will think right and act right in their collective associations under the confederal influence.

We have further shown that these tactics of Direct Action have won; that they have won concessions from the capitalists of France that are not equaled in any other country; and that they have but sharpened the appetites of the workers for more.

Lastly, we have shown that while the Confederation and its "red" syndicates carried out a "constructive program," fruitful, indeed, with "immediate demands" that were granted in most instances, it carries with it and keeps ever in sight its ultimate aim—the Co-operative Commonwealth. Yea, it is already laying the base for that co-operative commonwealth—the new society. We have shown that the Confederation is actually preparing itself and teaching its membership for the management of industry when capitalism is overthrown. In the language of the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World—a revolutionary union of the United States with principles and tactics identical with the General Confederation—it is "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Now, the revolutionists of other countries may ask the question why it is that the proletariat of France has developed a revolutionary movement superior to those of the other capitalist nations. Many reasons, perhaps, could be offered. We will suggest two. First, there is the French blood. The Celtic race has always been a fighting race. And France is universally known as "the classic land of revolt." Then there is its geographical status and climate. It is about half agricul-

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velop into a big industrial nation, splendid outlets to other countries, and a climate and traditions that attract its own and other peoples. France, like the United States, can live within itself.

Then the French nation has gone through many political changes, in which the working class has painted the streets with their own blood. These "revolutions" and "communes," brutal and terrible as they have been, have been lessons to the proletariat of France. It has been taught by cruel experience that mere shifting of political scenes will not benefit it; that it has been fighting the battles of the nobility, the capitalist class, the middle class and all the elements of the old society long enough. It is now going to fight for itself, taking no quarter, and conscious of its social mission. Hence the General Confederation of Labor.

The proletariat of France is carrying the torch of the Revolution in Europe.

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agitation of the I. W. W. and free speech fight in pokane, Washington, if it brought no other effects has een valuable in that it has forced the officials to take ction against the employment agencies. In the begining of the difficulty they were admitted by Judge Mann) be the cause of all the trouble. Since that time Mayor Pratt has frankly admitted refunding thousands of dollars to workingmen who had been sold fictitious jobs by the employment agencies. There were about thirty-one in the city of Spokane but the licenses of all but twelve of these were revoked.

The following statement from Mayor Pratt explains this action: "On the whole we have found that the larger agencies have not been causing so much trouble. Some of the larger men have made a study of the business, understanding human nature, and have been successful. In some cases we find that men who do not understand the business have engaged in it nevertheless and have made a little money and have held on to every dollar that has come into their possession whether they were entitled to it or not."

The institution of job-selling has by no means been abolished. Simply the smaller ones have been weeded out and the larger ones, which

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are practically the labor-furnishing departments of the lumber trusts and railroad corporations, have been permitted to remain. Legislation was suggested in the city council to the effect that employment should be furnished free to workingmen and all fees should be borne by the employer. The Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railways thereupon publicly announced that upon the passage of such legislation they would boycott Spokane and secure their labor in the east and in the coast cities. The threat had the desired effect upon the city council and the proposed legislation was summarily dropped. (Such a threat upon the part of the I. W. W. would be characterized as criminal conspiracy).

A further effect of publicity in connection with the free-speech fight is the enforced resignation of at least three members of the police force. Scores of affidavits have been furnished by I. W. W. men alleging extreme brutality on the part of the police. Officers Shannon and Miller were mentioned by name in these affidavits and their acts specified. Shannon is 63 years of age, already three years past pension time. The Board of Police Commissioners accepted his resignation by a unanimous vote although he stoutly protested against rendering it. His reward for years of service as a police officer consists of $47.50 per month and a position as night watchman and house detective for the Spokane Hotel. Miller was also requested to resign from the force aginst his individual protest, to be at once re-employed by the Washington Water Power Company. Both the Spokane Hotel and the Washington Water Power Company believe in the policy of "rewarding our friends." It is needless to say, perhaps, both of these men have a record in connection with the recent imprisonment of the I. W. W. men that will hardly bear the light of public investigation and their sudden removal from the police force, but further justifies us in this conclusion.

Another of the incidental but beneficial effects of the ever-increasing publicity is the agitation of the appointment of a matron in the city jail. The Woman's Club and various organizations of a non-partisan character have taken up the fight. The city council voted at one meeting to appoint a matron and with the trickery common to all politicians killed the motion in the finance committee on the grounds of expense. The city of Spokane is in a peculiar financial condition. She can afford to suppress the Constitution of the United States, yet cannot afford a matron in her city jail.

Since last writing for the REVIEW all of the I. W. W. conspirators have been disposed of as follows: Roe, 90 days in the county jail; Amundsen, 15 days in the county jail; Fisher, 30 days in the county jail; Brazier, 5 months in the county jail; Gatewood, 4 months in the county jail; Douglass, 30 days in the county jail; Reese, 15 days in the county jail; Whitehead, Speed, Justh, Foss, Grant and Shippy, 6 months in the

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ern Socialist paper as *"Six business men sentenced six workingmen to six months in six minutes."* The time element was really but a few seconds over this.

Attorney Symmes of Chicago was associated with Attorney Fred H. Moore in the defense of these cases, but the "expense to the county" was held up in such appalling terms by the prosecuting attorney's office that the able defense of our lawyers was powerless to counteract the economic fear of these little tax-payers.

One of the most humorous documents yet foisted upon the innocent public is a letter of Mayor Pratt to Prosecuting Attorney Pugh, published on January 8th, wherein he compliments the prosecuting attorney on his "able, energetic and willingly given assistance during the recent I. W. W. demonstration against the laws of this city which contributed in a great degree to the victory over the conspiracy to defeat the enforcement of law in this community."

Leonard D. Abbott, a well-known Socialist in New York, addressed the Mayor in regard to the treatment accorded myself and others in the county jail. His vigorous protest was characterized by Mayor Pratt in an open letter on January 7th as "impudent criticism." The letter read as follows: "It may surprise you to be informed that Miss Flynn was never confined in the Spokane city jail; that inasmuch as the charge preferred against her was conspiracy under the state law she was confined in the Spokane County jail over which this city and its authorities have no jurisdiction. However, those having charge of that jail, while admitting that Miss Flynn was confined therein, deny decisively the wild and hysterical inferences and conclusions drawn by Miss Flynn."

"A man's reputation is dear to him, and if based upon true character he deserves that his good name should not be unjustly attacked as a mere incident to a hysterical and lawbreaking conspirator. We who know him know that his character is so high and his daily conduct so well ordered that Miss Flynn's charge against this man refutes itself and discloses the prejudice and hysterical character of her letter."

Chief of Police Sullivan is quoted as follows: "I have been on the force 20 years and I have never heard a complaint from any female prisoner against her treatment here until the charges of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. I think them of the same brand of lies as those against the police department. If there is a spark of decency left in them the women do not go to jail but are provided for otherwise."

Sheriff Pugh is quoted as follows: "The only complaint ever registered was by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the I. W. W. leader who made charges against the jailers that were false and made out of whole cloth."

Readers of the SOCIALIST REVIEW will remember that the "Indus-

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copies in the office of the Inland Printing Company. Chief of Police Sullivan justified this drastic action by saying that he would proceed at once under the criminal libel law. This story was published in the confiscated issue of the "Industrial Worker," yet almost two months have elapsed and no legal action has been taken to substantiate the chief's claim.

Upon the publication of the Mayor's letter he was openly challenged to take action under the criminal libel law or to apologize for his statements in regard to the condition of my mind. He did not have the cour-

age to take a decided stand on either ground. Thereupon the attorneys for the I. W. W. started suit against the three officials quoted above for the sum of $10,000 each. Needless to say with the sort of jury we are able to draw in Spokane we hardly expect to collect $30,000 for *"spending money,"* but we certainly intend to force these officials, who so commonly brand one as hysterical and libelous, to prove their assertions.

Since the release of the majority charged with disorderly conduct, suits have been entered amounting to $120,000 against Chief of Police Sullivan, Captain of Detectives Burns, Captain Miles and Officers Shannon, Warner, Nelson and Jelsett. These suits are based upon the treatment the men received in the sweat box and the Franklin School. Every man injured will certainly cost the city of Spokane thousands of dollars

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tice or humanity, consequently an appeal to their pocket-books as a last resort will be the most effective. The I. W. W. have already been forced to spend hundreds of dollars from the defense fund caring for sick and disabled members as they were discharged from custody. At the present time one man, George Prosser, is ill at the Kearney Sanitarium, two others, Ed. Collins and M. Johnson, are confined in local hotels with extreme cases of rheumatism, and Frank Reed is in the Washington Sanitarium ill with erysipelas. This little fellow who, by the way is one of Uncle Sam's ex-soldiers, went through the hunger strike at Fort Wright and but a few days after his release was re-arrested charged with criminal conspiracy and desecrating the flag. When he was taken ill he was allowed to remain for 48 hours without medical treatment and in a terrible delirium. County Physician Webb excused this ill-treatment by saying that Reed had been left in charge of a trustee, in other words—a fellow prisoner. He was put under the care of a special nurse and during the first 48 hours he was in an extremely critical condition. The cost to the I. W. W. for the first two days alone amounted to $166.00. This is not reported in any mercenary sense for dollars are of course not to be considered in the balance with the life of a revolutionist, but the extreme character of his suffering and the costly treatment that it required is a severe reproach to the standard of civilization attained in the Spokane County jail.

Governor M. E. Hay has put himself on record with the following statement: "The I. W. W's do not seem to be able to understand the idea of our form of government. A large precentage of them are non-residents, many of them foreigners, and no small percentage absolutely illiterate. They desire no laws that interfere with their way of thinking. If we were all of that opinion we would soon have no law but anarchy and that is the law of might." There are laws in the State of Washington forbidding cigarette smoking, forbidding tipping, demanding open screens before saloons; forbidding playing cards, forbidding the exercise of ones "God given and inherent right" to free speech, but it certainly is the last straw to have the Governor criticise those who *"desire no laws that interfere with their way of thinking."* Not only are we deprived of free speech, free press, free assembly, but it seems we must now submit a schedule of our thoughts for official approval, and this is "Free America."

The Chamber of Commerce of Spokane have appointed a military committee to devise schemes for getting recruits for the militia, and have decided to give as a premuim military brushes and gold watches to all militia men who bring in a substantial number of recruits. The inevitable result will be a strong well-armed force of ignorant, brutal men, practically under the control of the Chamber of Commerce, to be used in de-

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fence of their "economic" interests in further I. W. W. demonstrations. These, in conjunction with the negro soldiers at Fort Wright, are certainly typical of the *"Slugging committee of the capitalist class."* The workers will feed them, clothe them, house them—to be murdered by them when they fight for their rights.

In view of the recent developments the contention of the officials that the I. W. W. can "have a hall" becomes not only an absurdity, but an insult. The Socialist Party Local has rented the Oliver Hall for six years, but on January 17th, after a talk by myself on "Industrial Unionism," they were notified that they could no longer secure the hall. Application was made by both the Socialist and the I. W. W. to a number of owners of halls as well as to theatrical managers, exorbitant rents were offered, but the same curt refusal was general everywhere. But one hall is open to the I. W. W. to-day. The police notified the Turner society that they would have to quit renting their hall for free speech meetings, and the latter body (ignorant foreigners, the Chief would probably call them) voted to rent their hall to us whenever it was not otherwise engaged and demanded that the police take legal action if it were objectionable to them.

The Turner Society is certainly to be congratulated. They are the only people in Spokane who have the courage to take a stand against a popular prejudice in favor of the right. The I. W. W. are holding splendid lecture meetings every Wednesday and Sunday nights at this hall. Organizer James P. Thompson has been released on $2,000 bond and he is now doing the speaking, although in a very weak condition, having lost 25 pounds as a result of 90 days in jail.

One of the most noticeable features of the entire fight is the splendid liberality of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor. Local after local upon receiving an appeal for financial assistance have emptied their treasury to us, expressing the regret that they did not have more to offer.

I addressed the convention of the Shingle Weavers at Marysville, Washington, on January 3rd, and they passed a strong resolution of endorsement, and also a motion donating $100.00 to the defense. A recent trip through British Columbia netted splendid financial results from the locals of the W. F. of M., this in spite of President Moyer's recent attack upon the free speech fight and the I. W. W.'s, wherein he characterized "the so-called I. W. W. as an absolute failure," and prophesied that they would be a "thing of the past in less than 12 months from to-day." He prophesied that the Butte Miner's Union would be carried down to destruction in this crash if it continued to assist the I. W. W., but the threat did not seem to have greatly worried either the miners of Butte or B. C.

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scaffold by the capitalist class had it not been for the organized labor throughout the United States is certainly not one to criticise a revolutionary and militant labor organization.

The trial of myself and fellow worker Filigno commenced Wednesday, February 9th, and at date of this writing the jury has been finally completed. A change of venue was requested on a basis of intense prejudice created by the Spokesman-Review and the Evening Chronicle, but the motion was denied by Judge Kennan. One hundred and twenty-six names were produced in court as signers to a protest against a change of venue, one of whom was the Reverend Dr. Hindley. Yet one prospective juror after another admitted intense prejudice on the basis of increased taxation or newspaper articles and had to be excused by the court. The further progress of the trial and the ultimate decision will be reported in next month's issue of the REVIEW. Here's to the ultimate victory of the toilers.

M. JOHNSON.

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Campaign Methods

By J. G. Phelps Stokes.

(Report of Special Committee submitted to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, January 24, 1909, but rejected.)



T the present stage in the development of our movement, the chief aim of our campaigns should be the education of the people to an understanding of the wastefulness, destructiveness and basic injustice of the capitalist system, and to an appreciation of the infinite possibilities of betterment in the proposed Socialist system of rational democratic co-operation in the control and management of land and machinery.

Our campaigns should be educational in the most thorough sense, the comrades recognizing that even the election of Socialists to office is useless except in proportion as the electors appreciate the importance of the measures for which we stand and are willing to support them.

Nothing can be lost by educating the people to an understanding of Socialism and its purposes. Much can be lost by concentrating efforts upon attempts to elect candidiates to public office in advance of the development of well-informed and intelligent public sentiment, without which our demands in office would pass unheeded, or our proposed measures would if enacted be left uninforced. Attempts to compel legislation in advance of public sentiment are futile, except in so far as the coincident agitation has educational effect upon the public. It is the educational effect that counts in such cases, and that only.

Let us recognize this fact more frankly and direct our efforts consciously and deliberately along clear-cut educational lines, leaving "politics" for the immediate future at least to our adversaries. "Politics" succeed only in proportion as the voters are blind and misinformed.

Let us devote ourselves to the task of lifting the veil from the voters' eyes and showing them things as they are.

To this end let us apply ourselves assiduously to the task of gathering material, information, facts, and presenting such to the people. Let us, if thought advisable, go as far as to employ, constantly, experienced and able diggers after facts, who shall devote all their time and attention to searching out and collecting concrete and specific evidences of the exploitation of the workers by the masters through appropriation of natural resources and through industrial and political coercion, deception, chicanery and fraud.

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Let these diggers be attached particularly to our national headquarters, to supply organizers and lecturers, editors and writers with ever fresh and telling material with which to deluge the country from platform, street corner, newspaper and magazine.

Such information to be used to drive home into the minds of the people, by specific evidence of fact, the reality of the Socialist's charges that the capitalist system reeks, and by its very nature must continue to reek, with all that is destructive and vile, and that the greed, corruption, adulteration, fraud, deceit and ruin, "panics," unemployment, poverty, destitution, sickness, "white plague," vice and crime that flourish on every hand are specifically related to and consequent upon the economic anarchy and exploitation from which the master class draw their unholy unearned "profits."

And just as the national diggers devote themselves chiefly to the larger problems of waste and destruction, checking the progress of the people as a whole, so let local diggers be employed by local organizations of the party, wherever possible, to dig into local problems and expose local conditions that thwart the workers in their several localities in their attempts to realize liberty and enjoy in freedom and peace and decency the products of their toil.

In other words let the representations of Socialism be shown to be real and vital by concrete demonstration and application both locally and nationally, rather than by mere reiteration of theory that tends to weary the people unless its practicable application be made clear.

Let us DEMONSTRATE the real issues of the day and not merely assert them, and be well prepared to fight them out in the interest of justice for all.

Facts that intimately affect men's and women's and children's lives, appeal if clearly shown to thousands to whom theory is at most of but passing interest or concern, LET THE FACTS be worked up and presented with the thoroughness of the highest grade newspaper or magazine story, but presented with simplicity of phrase, and our campaigns will sink deep into the minds of the people and they will more readily respond to our call.

As regards choosing candidates for public offices, let us keep ever in mind the educational needs of our movement, never neglecting opportunities for securing real political advantage, but recognizing that most supposed opportunities for political gain are illusory rather than real, and that our real political opportunities will increase and prove of value only in proportion as our educational propaganda is effective.

The personal popularity of a comrade should count as nothing in such matters. Popularity is no measure or index of either critical or con-

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structive ability. Our nominees for political office should be chosen for their powers of penetration and understanding and for their ability to affect wisely and helpfully the reasoning of other men and women, both in governmental positions and in the community at large.

Popularity or sentiment or oratory may sway temporarily the emotions of admirers in a convention hall or elsewhere, but have little effect in modifying the basic traditions of men or in permanently altering their economic relations.

We are unjust to our movement if, craving the exhilaration of some immediate victory we nominate the man or woman who can "get the most votes," instead of him or her whose candidacy would lead the most people to an intelligent interest in and understanding of our principles and aims.

Let us place no reliance upon reputed political sagacity or skill, that might perhaps enable individuals to catch a legislature or a city council unaware and jam through a bill public sentiment would not yet support and that consequently would have no chance of being enforced even if it were to succeed in running the gauntlet of veto power and of legislation to test its "constitutionality." At best attempts to jam through legislations that the majority of the voters would not support, would be undemocratic and contrary to the spirit of the movement.

In conclusion, let us strive ever to keep the character of our campaigns upon the highest possible plane, confining our political speeches and writings to the teaching and advocacy of such principles of Socialism as are universally accepted in our party, and to pointing out their application to the conditions confronting the people; and avoiding public discussion at such times of less important matters concerning which individual Socialists often disagree.

Let us in our campaigns teach the accepted doctrines of Socialism; not the personal theories of individual Socialists that have as yet failed of acceptance by the party.

And let us scrupulously avoid all that savors of mere wrangling or personality; not hesitating to criticise individuals freely and frankly where we must in order to make clear a wrong for which they are responsible; but in an intelligent and fair criticism let us avoid abuse and so far as possible refrain from bitterness; so that all may perceive that our criticism is prompted by no other motive than the desire to promote justice and equity and truth.

Let us establish and maintain such campaign standards as will of themselves win for us the respect of the people and aid us to secure an ever wider hearing for our teachings and ever wider and more earnest support.

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A Socialist Guessing Contest.

HE following is a guessing contest used at a Socialist entertainment in Chicago, Ill. We think our readers may like to use it also.

The answers to the questions are the names of Socialists well known to the international movement, in some cases, though most of them are Americans:

1. Who was the scientific revolutionist who signed marks for his name?
2. When it comes to the love of comrades who is victor over all?
3. Who is the woman who always has dates ahead, who gives very little thought to the morrow?
4. What New York Socialist is always frank, speaks his mind freely, and makes no bones about it?
5. Who is the American Socialist who has always been English?
6. Who is the Texas Socialist who always rings true?
7. One Socialist who works overtime?
8. Who is most earnest of them all?
9. Who is always warrin' on the courts?
10. Born a Londoner but lives in California?
11. Flits like a fairy from one good Italian political job to a better?
12. Though his name puts him last, he is the first man in the hearts of the English Social Democracy?
13. There's a babel wherever he speaks?
14. The best known man in Australia?
15. What woman has the largest family in the party?
16. Who is the merriest woman in the movement?
17. Always chasing work at the national office?
18. What Socialist in Alabama is what every man in the party aims to become?
19. A Socialist in Illinois with oodles of brains who is not a highbrower?
20. Atlas carries the world on his shoulders; what Socialist carries Massachusetts?

Answers to questions will be found in the News and Views De-

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The Coming Socialist Campaign. A report of the recent party election will be found in our News and Views Department. It resulted in the choice of three new members, Lena Morrow Lewis of California, George H. Goebel of New Jersey and James F. Carey of Massachusetts. Of the former members Robert Hunter, Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit and John Spargo were re-elected. The newly elected members are experienced party workers, and we believe there are good grounds for hoping that the reconstituted committee will devise a plan of campaign that will help put new life into the party. By a referendum vote just closed, the motion of Local Philadelphia to restore the pay of organizers to the old figure of $3.00 a day is overwhelmingly carried. The motion was opposed by a member of the old N. E. C. on the ground that it would prevent the party from securing the services of members of the more highly paid unions to continue the work inside craft unions to which so large a proportion of the party's income has been devoted for several months. The result of the referendum looks as if many members shared our opinion that this work has proved unproductive and that other methods had better be tried. We, therefore, are glad to call attention to the report by Comrade Stokes, rejected by the old N. E. C. last year, but now first published in this month's REVIEW. Briefly stated, Comrade Stokes' plan is to put some of our energy into gathering concrete evidence showing how American wage-workers are being exploited, injured and degraded by American capitalists, and to use these facts in our propaganda through speeches, books, leaflets, newspapers and magazines. The average wage-worker cares little for theories stated abstractly, but he is quick to join a movement from which he expects to realize a benefit. Let us put our theories into a shape that wage-workers will understand, and we shall grow as never before.

The Appeal to Reason and the Federal Courts. For many weeks the *Appeal to Reason,* edited by Fred D. Warren, Girard, Kansas, has been publishing evidence showing that certain judges of the federal courts are common criminals and should be impeached. It will be remembered that Com-

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rade Warren is already under sentence of six months' imprisonment by a federal judge on a trumped-up charge, and that he is out on bail pending an appeal. It might seem foolhardy for him to keep up an aggressive fight under these circumstances, but he has evidently counted the cost. Under the laws of Kansas, no one can be convicted for libel if he proves his charges. Fred Warren has repeatedly challenged the judges to prosecute him for libel if they dare. No prosecutions have been started. But Judge Peter S. Grosscup has announced through the daily press that owing to the state of his health he will shortly sail from New York for Egypt to take a much needed rest. And just as we go to press word comes that Judge John F. Phillips of Missouri will retire "voluntarily" from the bench on June 25. Meanwhile the *Appeal* is demanding the impeachment of Judges Grosscup and Pollock, and other papers are beginning to call for a public investigation of the charges. The *Appeal* is thus doing an educational work for millions of people, the effect of which can hardly be over-estimated. One chief obstacle to our propaganda in America has always been a blind belief that the law courts exist for the purpose of administering justice to all. The disclosures of Gustavus Myers in his History of the Great American Fortunes afford ground for a reasonable doubt whether this was ever true at all. The mass of new evidence which the *Appeal to Reason* is rolling up from week to week should make even the dullest reader see that the federal courts today are simply a machine used by the big capitalists to plunder the little ones and to keep the wage-workers duly submissive. The plundering of the small capitalists will go merrily on. It is well for the life of the future that it should not stop. They have been and still are the most effective bulwark of the profit system, and by crushing them, the big capitalists are shortening their own period of rule. Great changes are coming in the near future, and the *Appeal to Reason* is likely to be no small factor in helping them on. Fred Warren is a clear-headed Socialist editor who has "a nose for news," and he is making a paper that no reader of the REVIEW can afford to miss. If by any chance you are not already on the *Appeal's* mailing list, send fifty cents to Girard for a year's subscription, and ask to have it start if possible with the first of the federal court exposures.

A Danger for the Socialist Press. The United States has had a postal deficit for forty years or more, but President Taft has lately discovered the fact and come forward with a remedy. He does not propose that the postoffice take up the profitable express business on which hundreds of millions of profit have been made. He does not propose that the United States own its own postal cars and stop paying their value every year in rent. He does not even propose that the railroads be compelled to give the government as favorable rates as they give the express

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money wage than prevails in other countries. But in the last decade a new thing has happened. The value of gold, as explained in our leading article this month, has sharply declined. Thus the "cost of living" has sharply increased, and wages have not yet increased correspondingly. This affects not only the wage-workers, who while divided have little political importance, but also the shopkeepers from whom they buy their supplies. The pressure was already beginning to be felt two years ago, and in response to a general demand the Republicans inserted into their platform a pledge for tariff revision. They kept their promise and revised the tariff, only they revised it up instead of down, as far as articles of popular consumption are concerned. The old-party wage-workers are still dumb, but the shopkeepers, at least those within a thousand miles of Chicago, seem to have waked up, and to have communicated some of their new-found energy to the country editors. It looks as if Roosevelt might be welcomed back from Africa as the savior of his country. He may even be re-elected by a party of insurgents on a radical platform. If so, his struggles against the real rulers of the United States will be amusing. Meanwhile, whatever dims the faith of the voters in old party names and starts them thinking is a gain. If the wage-workers ever begin to think, it will not take them long to discover that they can dispense with the capitalists. Incidentally, the *Tribune's* move diminishes the danger of a Gompers party.

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ENGLAND. The Election. The votes have been counted at last. After months of frenzied electioneering, after a wild confusion of meetings, speeches and editorial argument, the results can finally be checked up. And what is the upshot of it all? What have the Liberals and Laborites gained by their policy? In the mathematical form the tale is a short one: Liberals 276, Tories 275, Nationalists 81 and Laborites 41. That is, the Laborites have lost a half-dozen seats and the majority of Liberals, exclusive of Laborites and Nationalists, has fallen from 205 to practically nothing.

On the face of it the result seems preposterous. The reform budget and the Anti-Lords campaign were supposed to be popular. Certainly the Liberals took them up with no other purpose than to save themselves before the country. And the Laborites? Those measures to which they gave their support were not socialist measures. The Labor members of Parliament rallied to them for tactical purposes. And here we have the outcome. Both Liberals and Laborites lost so tremendously that the Nationalists have them at their mercy. A strange conclusion to a campaign aimed solely at achieving popularity. An examination of the issues at stake, however, makes the new turn of events appear the natural one.

It is with some hesitation that I write about the political affairs of a country so unlike any other as England. Socialists should be especially wary about criticizing the tactics of foreign comrades. In a recent issue of *Justice* Comrade Hyndman makes protest, justly it seems to me, against continental comments on the campaign just closed. The capitalists of other countries always seem more liberal, more socialistic, than those we ourselves are fighting. More than this, we are constantly under temptation to interpret foreign events in favor of the policy to which we have committed ourselves at home. The greater part of our international criticism falls wide of the mark.

But after all necessary deductions are made, it seems to me that an examination of recent events in England makes one thing fairly

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clear. The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the mere chance of securing a mess of pottage. I record this fact reluctantly. More than once in this Department of the REVIEW I have expressed the conviction that in some essential respects the Labor Party, or at any rate the Independent Labor Party, comes nearer to representing the position of the International Socialist Movement than any other organization in England. In its attitude toward militarism, for example, it has been consistently right, while the leading members of the Social-Democratic Party have been consistently wrong. Furthermore, it has seemed to me to represent a real working-class movement, slow, comparatively conservative, but at least moving in the right direction. And I have more faith in a large body of workers who are nearly right than in a small body of agitators who are entirely so. The workingmen are in the daily class-struggle and they will learn. On the other hand, the agitators are in grave danger of isolation. I had almost writen insulation. For example, a leading socialist opponent of the Independent Labor Party said quite recently in the *Clarion* that he was right eighteen years ago and had been right ever since. Another comrade, one of the best fighters of them all, writes in *Justice*: "It is necessary that we press on more vigorously than ever to educate this extremely *backward* and *benighted* British proletariat." Because the Social-Democratic Party is largely animated by the feeling which finds expression in this sentence I have been inclined to look to the Independent Labor Party for the crystallization of the English Labor Movement.

So it is with the greatest reluctance that I have been forced to conclude that the Labor Party, under the leadership of the I. L. P. men, has sold its birthright. This conclusion is not the result of the election but of the course of events that led up to it. If the Laborites had increased their representation in Parliament, they would be little better off than they are. As things stand, the number of members who can write M. P. after their names has little significance for the working-class.

The fact of the matter is that the Laborites have committed the supreme political blunder; they have gone into a campaign without an issue. The Liberal budget has been twice discussed in this department. Readers of the REVIEW will recall that while it provided for the raising of certain revenues from the land-holding class, it provided for the raising of greater amounts by indirect taxation, which would naturally fall directly on the working-class. And of the great sum to be raised only a small part was to go for education and old-age pensions; the rest was to provide for increased armaments. This

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budget, "socialistic" or not, furnished an issue for the Liberals. If it had been popular, the Liberals should have won a definite victory. But in Parliament the Laborites had done little more than support liberal measures and in the public mind they stood merely for the budget just as did the Liberals. Under these circumstances, electors who favored the budget naturally preferred to vote for Liberals. In almost every case in which a Labor candidate faced a Liberal he went down to defeat. The workers could see little advantage in the fact that he somehow, indefinitely, represented labor and, if elected, would have to be supported by funds collected from the working-class.

Lack of an issue brought on defeat, but in case of success at the polls it would just as certainly have brought on ultimate disillusionment and disappointment. Ultimately the working-class will demand revolutionary expression. It will spurn a party without an issue. This, it seems to me, is the heart of the whole matter. The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the chance at a mess of pottage and the chance has turned out to be a poor one.

As for the Tories, their gains seem to have been made on the tariff issue. In the manufacturing districts the workers have been promised prosperity if they will give the Conservatives a chance to pass a new tariff law. With pictures of the prosperous protected American workingmen before their eyes, thousands of English proletarians voted for Toryism and protection. The Laborites suffered, no doubt, from their free-trade policy.

The honors of the campaign really belong to the Social Democratic Party and two or three comrades who have fought a straight fight for socialism either independently or under the Labor Party. Altogether there were about a dozen who stood as socialists. The smallness of the number was due, of course, to the great expense of presenting a candidate for the English Parliament. Together these comrades polled something over 24,000 votes. In most cases their polls were smaller than those of socialist candidates standing in the corresponding constituencies in 1906, but they fought a good fight and take defeat in the best possible spirit. Hyndman and Victor Grayson, of course, attracted the most attention. The friends of the former confidently expected to send the old war-horse of English socialism to the House of Commons; and Grayson, too, with the memory of his victory at the comparatively recent bye-election still fresh, certainly expected to retain the seat for the Colne Valley. After it was all over he wrote: "We were defeated, but we are not downhearted. We kept our ideal to the front and our banner free from

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represents.

One feature of the situation in England is very striking to an outsider. The English electoral system is one of the most antiquated, one of the most flagrantly unjust, in the world. The candidates have to pay the expenses of the election. Therefore, it costs some $2,500 even to put one candidate for Parliament in nomination. It is at tremendous sacrifice that the Labor Party runs 80 candidates and the Social Democratic Party a dozen when more than 600 members are to be elected. More than this, the distribution of seats is so uneven that whereas in one district 3,000 voters may be represented by one member, in a neighboring district 10,000 must content themselves with the same representative. Furthermore, England has not even manhood suffrage; only adult men having a certain income or paying a certain minimum rent have a ballot. On the other hand, landlords have votes in all the constituencies in which they own property. This furnishes an easy method of colonizing voters. The strange thing is that there is so little protest against this monstrous electoral system even on the part of socialists. Here and there a feeble protest is raised, but electoral reform is never made an issue. It has been pointed out over and over again that with a modern system of representation, not to mention the proportional plan, the chances of socialist success would be immensely improved. On the continent the socialist parties have often made this matter an issue. In every case they have forced the bourgeois forces to line up definitely in opposition. One nation after another has thus been stirred up, and from every point of view the socialist gains have been great. Why this apparent indifference to electoral misrepresentation in England?

AUSTRALIA. Strike Suppression by Law. The official reconciliation of capital and labor, in which the function of government seems to be to tie the hands of labor, has borne amazing fruit in the Australian coal strike. In December thirteen members of the Miners' Board of Delegates had been sentenced under the Industrial Disputes Act, to fines of $500 each, and five of their other officials were awaiting trial. But the men sentenced refused to pay their fines, and the indicted officials, out on bail, were urging the men to stand firm. It was evident to the government and the employers that the strike could not be broken by arresting the leaders. Unhesitatingly the government took the next step, the suppression of all union activity. In one day it rushed through the parliament of New South Wales

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a strike suppression act. This remarkable piece of legislation is based on the assumption that producers of the necessities of life have no right to try to improve their conditions in any way which may cause a stoppage of production. The "necessary commodities of life" are defined as coal, gas, water and "food the deprivation of which may tend to endanger human life or cause serious bodily injury." Any man who by speeches, deeds or writing instigates or aids in the stoppage of the production or distribution of these commodities is liable to twelve months' imprisonment. It is an attempt to revive the principle on which ancient civilization was based; the necessary work must be done by slaves who cannot rebel.

The provisions for the enforcement of the act give irresponsible power to the police, invade the property rights of the unions and threaten the rights of free speech and free assemblage. Anyone taking part in a strike meeting is liable to twelve months' imprisonment. Any sergeant of police may break into the rooms of a union and seize any documents "which he reasonably suspects to relate to any lock-out or strike."

The legal machinery was set in motion by the appointment of a Wages Board for the Newcastle district, a board with power to settle the dispute, and by the issuing of a new summons to the leaders of the miners.

The well-directed and uncompromising activity of the capitalistically controlled government was not met by equally united and determined action on the part of the strikers. Almost from the beginning of the strike the radical and conservative elements, and especially their leaders, pulled together with some difficulty in the Strike Congress. Peter Bowling, socialist and industrial unionist, President of the Northern Miners, favored such an extension of the strike to the allied industries as should force the employers to terms. William Hughes, ex-attorney general of the Commonwealth, ex-member of Paliament, President of tht Waterside Workers, aimed at securing a conference with the employers through political and diplomatic means and wished to restrict the strike to the miners. To sustain the strike fund, Peter Bowling made arrangements with the owners of two mines to have them run by the union miners on shares. The

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of the Coal and Shale Workers, and protested against his acceptance of a seat on the government's Wages Board.

The disagreements of the leaders and the fear of the enforcement of the new strike act brought about the dissolution of the Strike Congress. A new body, consisting of the Northern and Southern Miners and some of the Coal Lumpers and Waterside Workers, was formed under the leadership of Peter Bowling. The Western Miners had gone back to work under the advice of the former Strike Congress.

The last newspapers received from Australia show a situation almost desperate for the strikers, although the strike was unbroken in the northern and southern districts and about 13,000 men were still out. The unions dared not publish accounts of their contributions to the strike funds, and union meetings were invaded by the police. The government was importing 50,000 tons of foreign coal and had appropriated at its own price most of the output of the two union mines. The Labor Party in Parliament, after urging the nationalization of the mines and protesting against the Strike Act, seemed powerless. Most of all, the strikers are not united on the tactics to be used in breaking through the wall which the government has built around them. The telegraph news of January 27th that Peter Bowling had been sentenced to one year's imprisonment at hard labor and the other leaders to eight months, was not unexpected.

It is a great battle that is being fought out in Australia between the ranks of labor and the combined forces of capital and government. All the old pleas of public interest and the rights of the consumer are being used; legal persecution such as English labor knew in the eighteenth century has been revived—and the workers have so far just one weapon to use, persistent refusal to resume work.

GERMANY. The Government and Electoral Reform. The fight for electoral reform grows ever hotter. On February 13th there was cabled to this country news of a great popular uprising and of brutal repressive measures resorted to by the government. This clash resulted from the open flouting of the people by the Kaiser and his majority. When the Reichstag met on January 11th the members were given to understand that the government's proposal for electoral reform would be presented within a few weeks. But no hint was allowed to leak out as to the nature of the proposal. Meantime a certain Herr Von Oldenburg, a Junker, declared before the Reichstag that the Kaiser was always at liberty to send a company of troops to disperse the national assembly. Finally, on February 4th, after

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excitement had reached fever heat the electoral "reform" bill was introduced. What was the popular astonishment when it was found that this measure provided for the retention of the old three-class voting system! In only one important respect was this to be modified: officers, government officials and, in general, the educated classes were to be placed in the first or second class irrespective of the amount of their taxes. Evidently the intent of the law was to make the government even more secure than hitherto. Realization of this fact inspired the tremendous demonstration which was held on February 13th. Prussia is aroused as it has not been for twenty years. The Chancellor, Von Bethmann-Holweg, declares openly that the government will not allow itself to be influenced by popular feeling. What the immediate outcome will be it is impossible to tell.

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WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

It was a foregone conclusion that the United Hatters would be mulcted by the United States District Court of Connecticut after the decision was rendered in this famous case by the United States Supreme Court, exactly two years ago, pronouncing the boycott unlawful. But it was not generally believed that the damages would be so high. The award of $74,000 by the jury, which, multiplied by three under the Sherman anti-trust law, actually amounts to $222.000 and costs, probably bringing the total cost to the hatters up to $300,000, sort of dazed those who believed that only a nominal fine would be imposed.

It is announced that the attorneys for the hatters will appeal the case, claiming that the award is excessive, but under the circumstances it is difficult to understand how the hatters can hope for any favorable ruling in the superior courts. It looks like pouring money into a rat-hole. The courts are thoroughly capitalistic, whether the hatters are aware of that fact or not, and they will quite likely follow the jury that has spoken.

Of course, if in this country the workers had a political movement strong enough to threaten the overthrowal of the capitalistic courts the latter might make concessions, but unfortunately we have too many hidebound Republicans and Democrats in labor's ranks who pooh-pooh the efforts of the Socialists to revolutionize the courts and the laws, and so the hatters will have to carry their burdens.

The great strike of the shirtwaist makers in New York is virtually won, and just at present the women are busily engaged in solidifying their ranks and spreading the gospel of unionism among members of their sex in other branches of the clothing trades. It is not improbable that there will be more big strikes along in the spring, for the working women appears to have caught the spirit of militancy and revolt against the shameless conditions under which they are compelled to work.

There is one phase of this contest in which nearly 30,000 workers were engaged that deserves attention. As an aftermath a studied attempt is being made to discredit the splendid work of the Socialist women throughout the struggle. The very eminently respectable ladies, or faddists, who butted into the strike, and some others who consider it a great privilege to win the smiles and friendships of social queens, and all of whom advocated compromises that would virtually have meant surrender, are turning up their lovely noses at the Reds and saying things that are unwarranted.

The truth of the matter is that the Socialist women were always "Johnny on the spot" when work was to be done. While the ladies of the boudoir were sipping tea and receiving the members of their set, the Socialist women were out on the firing line, organizing, picketing, raising funds and doing a hundred and one practical things to help the fighting girls, and, therefore, it comes with poor grace from the rich personages, who subsist upon privileges and profits wrung from the working class, as well as their hangers-on, to make cutting remarks about the brave and large-hearted Socialist women.

The prediction made in the REVIEW some months ago that the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners would merge into one great organization is being verified. Another long stride to bring about amalgamation has been taken, as those who have followed the daily Socialist press may have noted. The United Mine Workers' convention at Indianapolis last month, after listening to eloquent speeches delivered by a delegation from the W. F. of M., elected a committee to meet with the stalwart Westerners, with the result that a sries of recommendations were brought in providing for an interchange of working cards, co-operation in organizing the non-union miners, that the W. F. of M. should apply for affiliation with the A. F. of L., and that both organizations then maintain their juris-

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dictions and form an industrial department in the Federation for offensive and defensive purposes. This accomplished, final amalgamation will not be long postponed.

Many of the delegates at the Indianapolis convention complained that the joint recommendation did not go far enough, but the experienced men in both organizations pointed out that many details had to be worked out carefully in order to avoid friction and possible misunderstandings, and so the report was adopted without much opposition. It is noteworthy that the Socialists in both organizations have been in the forefront in furthering this amalgamation plan, thus once more giving the lie to those who ignorantly or maliciously charge the Reds with favoring disruption and segregation. Moreover, the election held in the United Mine Workers recently, as well as the temper of the Indianapolis convention, demonstrate the fact that the great mass of coal miners, like their brothers in the metalliferous mines, are becoming thoroughly class-conscious, politically and industrially.

Socialist speakers and organizers who have traveled about in the mining regions, east and west, declare, almost without exception, that the miners will lead the vanguard of the American labor movement. As a class, they are a big-hearted, broad-minded, sympathetic and generous people. Their occupation keeps them united naturally, scabs and unionists cannot work together and live as neighbors, and so they suffer or prosper in communities—mostly suffer. Consequently they keep fairly well posted of what is transpiring in the outer world and learn how their material interests are affected by the gradual encroachment of capitalism.

A big, black cloud that is looming up on the horizon of the coal miners is causing considerable concern and probably doing much to influence them to prepare their ship for action in the future. The United States Steel Corporation has acquired 350,000 acres of coal land and is reaching out for more. Everybody knows that the pirates in control of that trust are the foes of organized labor, and hence the miners are wise in preparing for a struggle to the finish.

Like a famous poet's brook, the strike of the tinplate workers is going on and on and on. The appeal for funds for the men on the firing line is being responded to quite liberally and the indications are that the battle between men and money will continue for many months to come. Every effort is being made by a corps of organizers to break into the mills controlled by the United States Steel Corporation and the laborites are said to be meeting with some success. The plan is to organize the workers secretly in order to circumvent the paid hirelings of the combine, and no worker who joins the union is to learn the identity of other members until the time is ripe.

While it is true that this plan has been announced from the housetops by some organizers who delight to see their names in the papers and the trust magnates are notified, in a measure, what they must expect, still the exploited and enslaved workers are also made aware of what is coming, and if they hope for deliverance their spirits will be revived, provided that the organizers make good in practical work as well as talk.

That the trust magnates are considerably disturbed cannot be denied. Their publicity agents are kept busy puffing prosperity and peddling watered stock to the unsophisticated workers that they are attempting to ensnare. Meanwhile the class war continues.

There is now every indication that a national strike of bituminous miners will take place this year. It is true that the officers of the U. M. W. and some of the mine-owners are giving out interviews that are optimistic in tone, and at the same time the unionists are working like beavers to strengthen their lines and the operators are, in many instances, stocking up coal to be in a position to profit when the shut-down comes.

To an onlooker it is almost impossible to understand how a suspension can be avoided. Owing to unsteady employment and the high cost of living the miners are in no mood to listen to the talk of the operators about a reduction in the first place, and, in the second place, the temper of the Indianapolis convention was so pronounced in favor of an advance that no officer would have the hardihood to recommend a compromise on anything short of a 15 per cent raise in wages.

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The strongest point that the operators make is that they are in competition with the cheap scab coal of West Virginia, that famous or infamous wage-slave state controlled by Republican and Democratic politicians. But some of the very operators who own union mines in Ohio and other states also control non-union mines in West Virginia and Pennsylvania. It would come with better grace from them if they lent a hand to organize the scab districts instead of opposing every effort to better the conditions of labor.

Follow the tortuous movement of the tobacco trust, for a change. It gobbles up plantations in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines and enslaves labor; it absorbs fields in Connecticut and Kentucky and creates "night-riders," who fight for existence in truly frontier style; it purchases or bankrupts manufactories that transform the raw material into commodities, and virtually drives the union of tobacco workers off the earth; it raises prices to independent cigar manufacturers and weakens their competitive abilities, and then establishes a chain of cigar stores throughout the country and cuts prices; it employs women and children and machinery to overcome the skilled union cigarmaker in the competitive field and almost gives away its goods in strong union districts in order to monopolize the trade; and now the tobacco trust is making a serious attempt to close out independent retail dealers by absorbing the stands in drug stores, groceries, saloons, candy stores and even barber shops. Where the trust is unable to secure a stand in a good business locality it sets up a drug store, grocery or barber shop of its own and beats down prices for the time being to secure patronage.

This is the logical policy of the trust. Its surplus profits must be invested and it is investing them. Still there are a few great labor leaders, so-called, who really talk of "smashing the trusts"—when they are not busy talking about "smashing socialism." Really, now, wouldn't it make a horse laugh?

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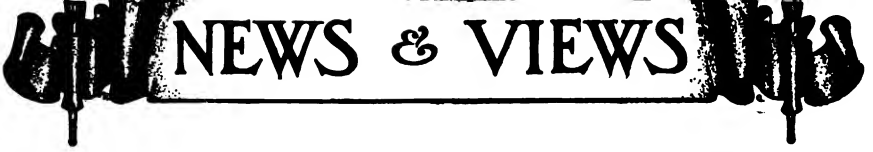
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PARTIAL VICTORY AT LUDLOW. Announcement was made Feb. 6th in a meeting of the Central Labor union that a complete understanding on the wage scale question had been reached between the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates and their 1,700 employes who struck in September because of a cut in wages.

The wage scale on which the State Board of Arbitration has been at work since the strikers returned to work has been settled by the acceptance by the strikers of a proposition from the associates.

The strike of the Polish employes, now at an end, is regarded as one of the greatest battles between labor and capital which has occurred in some time, not only because of the element of paternalism in it, but also because of the principles involved in the strike.

The conflict began early in September, when creel boys left the mills because of a cut in wages. On the 12th, because of a notice lowering the price given the weavers, the creel boys were joined by the weavers in No. 8 mill. At that time the company cut the price for a 100 yards of bagging from 24 to 20 cents a roll, the cut going into effect on the 13th.

From that point the strike gradually involved more and more employes until at one time between 2,500 and 2,800 were out of the mills.

On two occasions the company evicted strikers from their houses, ostensibly to provide accommodations for new employes and by both eviction processes fully 400 strikers were thrown out into the street at a time when the weather was bitterly cold.

Gov. Eben S. Draper and the State Board of Arbitration were then called in to effect a settlement. After some delay the state board announced that all difficulties were at an end and the striking employes, then numbering about 1,700, returned to work, only to walk out again after an hour's labor because of alleged misuse by overseers in the mills.

Through the most intense periods of the strike both the company and town employed large forces of Pinkerton de-

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tectives and special deputies, and the cost to both has been very great. Finally, after further effort by the state board the strikers in a massmeeting Sunday, December 19, voted to return to work at the cut wage pending arbitration of that question by the state board, and in lots of 300 daily for a week they reentered the mills.

The union into which the strikers were formed is already strong and has on hand a fund of over $2,000 in case any further trouble arises.

THE BEST SUNDAY PAPER. Every Socialist who has seen a copy of the (New York) Sunday Call is telling his friends that it is the best Sunday paper in the world. We can go one step further and say we have never read a newspaper that gives so much good material in a single issue. The Magazine Section alone is a treat to every lover of good literature, and the translation of French, German and Russian classics appearing every Sunday are worth many times the cost of the paper.

Comrade Robert La Monte, the editor of the Sunday Call, deserves our hearty congratulations on the splendid band of contributors he has organized to help build up the paper. Those of us who know Comrade La Monte know that he wishes first, last and always to spend his energies toward the abolition of the wage system. The Sunday Call is giving the Socialists of America greater opportunities toward that end.

If you are not a subscriber send 5c to 442 Pearl street, New York, N. Y., for a sample copy. The subscription price of the Sunday Call is $2.00 year. We offer a combination rate of the Review and the Sunday Call one year for $2.00. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago, Ill.

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SOCIALIST PARTY ELECTION. The recent election of a National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party resulted in the election of Robert Hunter, Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, John Spargo, Lena Morrow Lewis, George H. Goebel and James F. Carey. The vote was on the preferential plan, as explained on page 46 of the REVIEW for January. The names on each ballot were numbered by the voter in the order of his preference, the seven candidates receiving the lowest total numbers being elected.

Many ballots were thrown out on account of errors, including the vote of several entire states, and others came in too late to be included in the official totals. These as given by the National Secretary were as follows:

1. Hunter	115,567
2. Berger	122,752
3. Hillquit	126,382
4. Spargo	126,937
5. Lewis	129,312
6. Goebel	129,615
7. Carey	135,556
8. Thompson	137,091
9. Berlyn	138,521
10. Brower	139,488
11. Collins	141,313
12. Slayton	142,323
13. Maurer	144,547
14. Germer	145,079
15. Branstetter	146,089
16. Simons	146,105
17. Duchez	148,303
18. Work	152,167
19. Clark	157,721
20. Strickland	158,930
21. Carr	161,225
22. Snyder	163,282
23. Morgan	167,985
24. McDevitt	168,968
25. Kaplan	172,404
26. Rose	178,371
27. Bell	187,331
Total	3,983,364

We add a report of the order of preference expressed for candidates by the several states, including in this report all but those casting a very small vote.

Preference of States.

California, 709 votes. 1, McDevitt; 2, Duchez; 3, Branstetter; 4, Lewis; 5, Brower; 6, Slayton; 7, Carey; 21, Thompson; 22, Carr; 23, Strickland; 24, Hillquit; 25, Berger; 26, Morgan; 27, Simons.

Connecticut, 223 votes. 1, Hunter; 2, Berger; 3, Maurer; 4, Hillquit; 5, Carey; 6, Spargo; 7, Clark; 21, Snyder; 22, McDevitt; 23, Germer; 24, Morgan; 25, Strickland; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Illinois, 859 votes. 1, Berger; 2, Berlyn; 3, Hunter; 4, Collins; 5, Germer; 6, Spargo; 7, Simons; 21, Maurer; 22, Carr; 23, Snyder; 24, Clark; 25, McDevitt; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Indiana, 295 votes. 1, Strickland; 2, Collins; 3, Carey; 4, Goebel; 5, Slayton; 6, Germer; 7, Hunter; 21, Work; 22, Kaplan; 23, Bell; 24, Rose; 25, McDevitt; 26, Clark; 27,

Iowa, 234 votes. 1, Work; 2, Lewis; 3, Hunter; 4, Goebel; 5, Slayton; 6, Berlyn; 7, Spargo; 21, Morgan; 22, Simons, 23, Carr; 24, McDevitt; 25, Clark; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Kansas, 306 votes. 1, Snyder; 2, Lewis; 3, Branstetter; 4, Hunter; 5, Thompson; 6, Spargo; 7, Berger; 21, Kaplan; 22, Strickland; 23, McDevitt; 24, Slayton; 25, Rose; 26, Morgan; 27, Bell.

Massachusetts, 299 votes. 1, Carey; 2, Hillquit; 3, Hunter; 4, Spargo; 5, Simons; 6, Goebel; 7, Lewis; 21, McDevitt; 22, Maurer; 23, Snyder; 24, Branstetter; 25, Strickland; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Minnesota, 481 votes. 1, Berger; 2, Thompson; 3, Simons; 4, Hillquit; 5, Hunter; 6, Goebel; 7, Spargo; 21, Branstetter; 22, Maurer; 23, Duchez; 24, Slayton; 25, Morgan; 26, McDevitt; 27, Bell.

Missouri, 405 votes. 1, Hunter; 2, Berger; 3, Lewis; 4, Germer; 5, Carey; 6, Hillquit; 7, Goebel; 21, Carr; 22, Maurer; 23, Morgan; 24, Rose; 25, McDevitt; 26, Bell; 27, Kaplan.

New York, 1,160 votes. 1, Hillquit; 2, Hunter; 3, Spargo; 4, Berger; 5, Carey; 6, Goebel; 7, Lewis; 21, Kaplan; 22, Branstetter; 23, McDevitt; 24, Strickland; 25, Snyder; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Ohio, 653 votes. 1, Slayton; 2, Carey; 3, Collins; 4, Duchez; 5, Lewis; 6, Berlyn; 7, Spargo; 21, Carr; 22, McDevitt; 23, Morgan; 24, Rose; 25, Clark; 26, Kaplan; 27, Bell.

Oregon, 381 votes. 1, Duchez; 2, McDevitt; 3, Maurer; 4, Brower; 5, Slayton; 6, Lewis; 7, Carey; 21, Strickland; 22, Hunter; 23, Hillquit; 24, Spargo; 25, Work; 26, Berger; 27, Simons.

Pennsylvania, 885 votes. 1, Maurer; 2, Slayton; 3, Lewis; 4, Spargo; 5, Hunter; 6, Hillquit; 7, Duchez; 21, McDevitt; 22, Simons; 23, Strickland; 24, Morgan;

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25, Thompson; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Texas, 368 votes. 1, Lewis; 2, Bell; 3, Branstetter; 4, Brower; 5, Carey; 6, Goebel; 7, Germer; 21, Work; 22, Thompson; 23, Spargo; 24, McDevitt; 25, Hillquit; 26, Kaplan; 27, Simons.

Washington, 255 votes. 1, Brower; 2, Duchez; 3, Collins; 4, Carey; 5, Goebel; 6, Germer; 7, Slayton; 21, Kaplan; 22, Berger; 23, Work; 24, Rose; 25, Strickland; 26, Bell; 27, Morgan.

Wisconsin, 1,034 votes. 1, Berger; 2, Thompson; 3, Simons; 4, Hunter; 5, Hillquit; 6, Goebel; 7, Spargo; 20, Branstetter; 21, Lewis; 22, Brower; 23, Kaplan; 24, Duchez; 25, McDevitt; 26, Bell; 27, Carey.

THE HARP IN IRELAND—We are informed that the Harp, the journal edited by Comrade James Connolly, has been transferred to Dublin, Ireland, and will be published from there commencing January, 1910. It is hoped and believed that this change of location will be beneficial to the movement in both countries. American comrades will learn at first hand of the revolutionary movement in Europe, and Irish comrades will be kept in touch with Socialist development in America. The subscription price will remain at 50 cents per year.

The January issue among other things will contain a statement of the position of the great Irish agitator, Daniel O'Connell, towards the Labor movement in Ireland—a statement of facts suppressed for 70 years by the middle class historians of Ireland. Every one should read it.

Comrade Connolly has undertaken the entire responsibility for the production of the paper and asks us to appeal to all friends and comrades for help in bearing the financial end of the burden. Letters should be addressed and money orders made payable to Nora Connolly, 436 East 155th street, New York. All Socialist papers please copy.

ANSWERS TO GUESSING CONTEST. 1, Karl Marx; 2, Eugene Victor Debs; 3, Lena Morrow Lewis; 4, Frank Bohn; 5, William English Walling; 6, Secretary Bell; 7, John M. Work; 8, Ernest Untermann; 9, Fred D. Warren; 10, Jack London; 11, Enrico Ferri; 12, H. M. Hyndman; 13, August Bebel; 14, Tom Mann; 15, Mother Jones; 16, Mary E. Marcy; 17, John C. Chase; 18, Fred Freeman; 19, James H. Brower; 20, James F. Carey. (See page 838.)

THE PRIMERO EXPLOSION. The following resolutions, passed by Trinidad Miners' Union No. 198, Western Federation of Miners, deserve a wide reading:

WHEREAS, The explosion in the Primero Mine, which killed about 100 workingmen, can be charged with certainty to criminal neglect and incompetency of the State Mine Inspector, Jones; the Superintendent, Kilpatrick; the Mine Boss, Williams, and the management of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company;

WHEREAS, Colorado's state, county and village officers are in office only to protect the interests of the great corporations;

WHEREAS, No independent coroner's jury can be found in Las Animas county;

WHEREAS, From about 60 mines in Las Animas and Huerfano counties, employing more than 8,000 men, mostly foreigners, not one is safe, most are nearly as rotten as Primero Mine, No. 4;

Resolved, We demand:

(1) From the Governor of Colorado, to remove immediately the State Mine Inspector, Jones, and to appoint a practical miner in his place, taken from the rank and file of organized labor; to order immediately an investigation of the different mines in Las Animas and Huerfano counties; all unsafe mines shall be closed.

To remove immediately the Coroner of Las Animas county from his office and to appoint an honest and independent man in his place; or, if not possible, to appoint a special committee, consisting of practical miners taken from outside of Las Animas county; this committee shall investigate the Primero Mine, give every person a right to testify before it, and shall have power to try the guilty persons for murder.

To make a member of Local Trinidad, Western Federation of Miners, Special State Mine Inspector for Las Animas and Huerfano counties; his wages shall be paid by Local Trinidad, W. F. of M.

To force the proper authorities to grant a permit to our organization which gives our organization a right to visit the different mining camps without being in fear of being crippled or murdered. To appoint a sanitary committee to investigate the privately owned Model Villages and Model Houses, and which shall stop the mass murder of little babies.

(2) From the governments and the parliaments of Austria, Italy, Germany, Korea, Japan, Greece, Montenegro and other countries, whose children are always in danger, the sons of being mur-

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dered or crippled, the daughters of being dishonored; to investigate jointly the foul and rotten condition in Southern Colorado; to warn their children not to work in this part of Colorado; to take measures which will compel the authorities of Colorado to enforce the Labor Laws, to prohibit the Truck System, and to make a Dollar 100 cents instead of 90.

A printed copy of this resolution, together with a report from the minutes of our last meeting, shall be sent to the Governor of Colorado, to the above-named foreign governments, their parliaments, and Socialist Kongress Fraktion, to the Miners Magazine, the United Mine Workers' Journal, the Socialist Press, and the Austrian-American Society in Chicago.

ROBERT UHLICH,
MIKE GUCKI,
HONZA TRIV,
A. D. DANDA,
Committee.

COMRADE M. W. WILKINS. To many who know him and had learned to prize his counsel in the affairs of the party, the news of the death of Comrade M. W. Wilkins will be sad news. No better testimony could be offered of the party's appreciation of his service, than his repeated recall for additional work where he had labored as speaker and organizer. Having the courage of his convictions, he ever stood firm—never swerving from what he thought was right.

Of an active, studious and inquiring mind, he took an interest in public and political questions when but a young man. While working in the mines, he took an active part in labor troubles; the first of any consequence being in the early '80's when he was a leader in the Knights of Labor movement in Des Moines, Iowa. It was at this time, and during the strikes in the mines, that he learned of his own ability and power as a speaker and organizer; then it was he felt it his duty to devote his life—as lecturer, editor and organizer—to the cause of labor. At the time of that strike in Iowa he was a Republican, yet a firm believer in the rights of the laboring class. He attempted to introduce measures of reform, to correct the wrongs, to rid the Republican party of its evils; but he soon found that designing politicians, were in control and were using the party organization to feather the nests of the few to the neglect and detriment of the many.

On discovering this deplorable condition he joined the Greenback party; and later the People's party and the Farmers' Alliance, both of which he helped to organize. He was also active as a writer for many publications, among which was The Non-Conformist of Kansas; of this he became editor-in-chief in 1889, just before the removal of the paper to Indianapolis, Ind. In the Indiana city he continued his labors until 1891, when he severed his connection with the Non-Conformist, and started for himself the Cincinnati Herald, a Populist paper. This latest venture was not a financial success, and in 1893 the Herald was discontinued.

But no misfortune could abate his zeal for the people's cause. For a time he engaged in the work of lecturing and organizing for the Populists of Kansas; a little later he moved to California, and there edited a Populist paper called the Frisco Spectator. Still later he edited a Populist paper in San Jose, Cal.—until the election of 1896, when the Populist party fused with the Democrats. This fusion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Wilkins, and when defeated he became a "Middle-of-the-Roader." But very soon he affiliated himself with the Socialist party, for which he worked earnestly both with tongue and with pen. In 1903 he took the field for active work as National Organizer, in which vocation he worked early and late, through heat and cold, with that unflagging zeal and energy so characteristic of the man—until 1908, when his last illness compelled him to quit the field.

Comrade Wilkins, like all revolutionists and agitators, traveled the rugged and thorny path that is ever strewn with obstacles of opposition, privation and self-sacrifice.

To-day, as we mourn the taking away of our comrade who served his country so well, we stand with uncovered heads to pay our last tribute of respect and reverence to his memory; extending, as best we can, our heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family. May the thought that the husband and father labored for his country's good and died in a righteous cause, and that through his devoted service the world was made better—may this thought, this knowledge, reconcile the bereaved ones to their loss; and may they live to see the fruits of his labor ripen into the full harvest of that peace, joy and justice that can come only with

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the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the industrial brotherhood of man. Very respectfully and fraternally yours, W. H. McFrall, 30 Central street, Concord, N. H.

GET BUSY. Since there are so many people reading Socialist papers and magazines, it fills us with encouragement, knowing, of course, they are seeking knowledge, simply because the system is driving them to it. They can't get what they are looking for in the Capitalist literature, therefore, it's the duty of every Socialist to contribute his mite, so that the wheels of progress may not be clogged by indifference and lethargy.

It is up to Socialists to be doing something all the time, as the cause is greater than all we can ever contribute. Its growth and strength depends upon our doing things, not in dreaming for the evolutionary utopia, by believing that what is, is. And what is to be, must be. Rather must we get busy and help make things what we want them to be. That is the mission of Socialism, if it is anything. Further, we should not merely seek votes, as they would be of no value without an educated organization. Of all things most needed is an intelligent organization of the workers, conscious of its power, recognizing the class-struggle, yet we hear so many say they are Socialists, who are workingmen, not connected with the organization. They are about as valuable to the movement as a pig's squeal is to the meat trust. Then, again we must do more for the children. That is, in the home, as well as in the shop, mill and factory for the reason that we know the child's mind is dwarfed in the home by its parents by having instilled in its head the miserable creeds, dogmas and beliefs of capitalist society, filling them with fear and superstition, and making them more subjective than they otherwise would be. The children are up against it much more than we are.

We take advantage because we know we are bigger and stronger. If there was a doubt, the children would be spared many of the abuses they must otherwise suffer. Fathers and mothers, don't abuse your own flesh and blood. You brought them into the world. They are not responsible for your misery and troubles. They did not create conditions. They may have added to your burdens, but they are not to blame. They don't control your job. It's the private ownership of the means of life that enslaves you and your little ones and fills the worker's homes with misery throughout all the lands. Therefore, why don't you wake up to the cause of all your troubles. Instead of venting your spleen on your wife and children, turn it on the system and the parasite class which is living in luxury off your labor and degrading you and your family by robbing you of the fruit of your toil by owning your job. You and your wife must protect the children. It's your duty. You must not hate, but love them. All your hate must be used in your class-interest, the workers versus the master-class of idlers and retainers. Do your duty. Don't try to fight the battle yourself, but join the great world-wide Socialist movement which is in the field in the sole interest of the working-class and whose aim and object is the abolition of the capitalist system and the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth through the collective or common ownership of the means necessary to the life of society. Thereby it guarantees to all the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. T. J. LEWIS.

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Lately, as will be seen from our last three monthly reports, we have been paying off these loans much faster than they have been coming in. This has cut into our working capital, and prompt action is necessary if we are to meet all our obligations promptly.

The best and safest way to raise the money we need is to sell one-third of our stock of books AT ONCE. So we are making a new offer that is a big opportunity for you to get the books you need, while at the same time you will help lift your co-operative publishing house over a hard place. Here is the offer.

You can have any of OUR books, express prepaid, at HALF the advertised prices, provided you send CASH with order, and NOT LESS than $10.00 at once, BEFORE the end of March.

This offer applies to all the books published by us, and to **no others.**

If You Haven't $10,00, see if you can't get others to join with you promptly in making up a $10.00 order which will entitle you to the half price. In that way each comrade who puts in a dollar will get $2.00 worth of books. But if that is not possible, here are some other offers:

For $1.15 we will mail the **Review** a year and one of our 50c books.

For $1.30 we will mail the **Review** a year and one of our dollar books.

For $1.50 we will mail the **Review** a year and one of our $1.50 books.

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For $2.00 we will mail the **Review two years** and one of our $2.00 books.

These offers are good only to the end of March.

Our Record for January. As usual we give our readers an accurate report of our receipts and expenditures for the last full month before going to press. Note that the receipts of the **Review** for December and January are larger than for the entire year 1907. Let us all work together and we can double the circulation again this year. Here are the figures:

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Cash balance, January 1	$ 184.59	Manufacture of books	$ 545.27
Book sales	1,970.28	Books purchased	23,79
Review subscriptions and sales	1,304.22	Printing January Review	623.53
Review, advertising	115.50	Review articles, drawings, etc.	13.50
Sales of stock	96.59	Wages of office clerks	318,00
Loans from stockholders	295.00	Mary E. Marcy, on salary	60.00
Donations: H. R. Kearns	1.00	Charles H. Kerr, on salary	125.00
Warren Atkinson	5.00	Postage and expressage	403.43
		Interest	18.20
		Rent	70.00
		Miscellaneous expenses	76.40
		Advertising	743.61
		Copyrights	45.00
		Loans repaid	548.38
		Cash balance, January 31	358.07
	$3,972.18		$3,972.18

SOME OF OUR NEW BOOKS

The following are only a part of the new books and new editions published by us during the last few months. They are all substantially bound in cloth, and the list prices are in nearly every case lower than the prices charged by capitalist publishers for similar books:

Capital. Vol. I. The Process of Capitalist Production. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 869 pages, $2.00.

Capital. Vol. II. The Process of Circulation of Capital. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 618 pages, $2.00.

Capital. Vol. III. The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 1,048 pages, $2.00.

(These volumes by Marx, the greatest of Socialist writers, are simply indispensable to any revolutionist who wants to have a clear idea of the capitalist system which he has to fight. Volume III, which has only been within reach of American readers a short time, is the

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most interesting as well as the largest of the three, but it can not be thoroughly understood without reference to the previous volumes.)

History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Cloth, illustrated, three volumes, $4.50. Volume I, dealing with the Colonial Period and the Great Land Fortunes, was published a few weeks ago and the first edition is nearly exhausted. Volume II, telling of the beginnings of the Great Railroad Fortunes, is just ready. Volume III, completing Mr. Myers' account of the Great Railroad Fortunes, will be published in April. The entire work is full of the best sort of ammunition for Socialist agitators.

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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Do You Believe In Industrial Unionism?
Do You Want to See the Wage System Abolished?

IF YOU DO—ORGANIZE IN THE

Industrial Workers of the World

Twenty wage-workers who indorse the Preamble and agree to abide by the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World can secure a charter as an Industrial Union for that locality, if they are all employed in the same industry. If they are employed in two or more industries they can be chartered as a mixed industrial union until such time as they have the required number employed in the one industry.

Charter fee is ten dollars and covers the cost of all books and supplies needed to fully equip a local of twenty-five members.

Per Capita Tax paid to the General Organization is 15 cents per member per month.

The amount of dues and the initiation fee charged by the local union is fixed by the local, provided the dues do not exceed $1.00 per month, and the initiation fee does not exceed $5.00.

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THE INTERNATIONAL
Socialist Review

Vol X. APRIL, 1910 No. 10

"When the Sleeper Wakes"

THE CAR STRIKE AND THE GENERAL STRIKE IN PHILADELPHIA.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

POLICE SHOOTING AT WORKERS IN WINDOWS OF BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS.
Colliers.

A CHILD does not blossom into maturity in a day, nor can a weakling to transformed into a Hercules over night. It requires the lapse of many years in the one instance as in the other. And several decades may pass before a city or a nation attains its majority. Yet there is no telling for how long a time the elements have been gathering for some mighty upheaval; how soon, when the surface of things seemed as calm as ever, there would break out an eruption such as would rearrange all that seemed stable and permanent.

Philadelphia is the third city, in population, in America. It has its own peculiar makeup, fondles its own brand of conservatism and will have to work out its own method of salvation from the condition of "corruption and contentment" which has been ascribed to it.

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It is a city of "magnificent distances." That, of itself, explains a great deal, for solidarity and separation are usually antithetical, and Philadelphia is spread over such a wide territory, that people who work and live in Manayunk, Chestnut Hill, Germantown, Olney, Fox Chase, Frankford and Bridesburg—all within the city limits—come down to the center of the city much as country folk go "into town." Many wage-workers in these localities have had no notion at all of what a trades union is. The seeds of class feeling were only beginning to be scattered among them, their outlook was for all the world, that of some fair sized village—not of the third city in America.

The trades union movement of Philadelphia, as would be expected, is in a backward condition. There is the Central Labor Union, composed of possibly a majority of the organizations of labor in the city. There is the Allied Building Trades Council, which broke away because of the scramble for control of the central organization. There are the Hebrew Trades and German Trades, practically independent organizations. And there is the Central Union of Textile Workers, comprising about thirty locals—the sinews of the Kensington mill district—and less than half a dozen of them have been sending delegates to the Central Labor Union. Unallied with the central body, too, are the railway organizations and some other unions.

It may also be said, in passing, that the Central Labor Union exercises about as much jurisdiction over the organized labor of the city as does the Executive Council over the American Federation of Labor. Its usefulness is largely advisory. Complete autonomy prevails among the craft organizations except in so far as they discuss each other's grievances in the "sections" or "councils" consisting of delegates from the crafts most closely related. The powers of the sections and councils, in turn, are considerably circumscribed. The great ship yards, locomotive and car shops, steel works, refineries and larger industrial establishments in general are practically operated by unorganized labor.

Into this state of affairs was projected the strike of the street car men of the city, members of Division 477 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Men of America.

The present strike was the logical outcome of the forming of the car men's union. Ever since the defeat sustained by the men in the strike of 1894, there had been no organization. One incipient union was started in 1907 and 1908, but was quite easily discouraged by the display of police force, in the deliberate prevention of one mass meeting and the beating up of motormen and conductors at another. When the strike came in May, 1909, only a few hundred men out of a possible 6,000 were members of the union. The men as a whole were dissatisfied with their lot—but they did not want organization; they wanted fight.

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The company was appalled at the sentiment displayed, both among the employes and the public. Even at such notoriously non-union establishments as Baldwin's Locomotive Works and Stetson's Hat Factory, feeling ran strong against the strike breakers. At the navy yard a conflict between the marines and the police on strike duty was barely averted. The employes at the federal arsenals were so disaffected that all efforts to coerce them to ride the cars had to be abandoned. After a week of strike the company capitulated, granted some concessions and signed a contract promising to deal fairly with the men.

The company made the contract in order to evade and break it. It had agreed to discharge no man without just warrant, and to permit the union's grievance committee to plead the case of any one dismissed. On Friday, February 19, it locked out several hundred employes "for the good of the service." It later admitted that it considered membership in the union to conflict with good service. Its avowed purpose was to exterminate the car men's union.

The officials of the local union carried the news to Clarence O. Pratt, chairman of the international executive board, who was then

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left his car.

The union was not anxious for a fight just then. The organization was less than a year old, and dissension had been spread by some of the old officers, who were finally expelled from the union, and not a few of whom were taken care of by the company or the local politicians. Moreover, the union did not desire a strike in the midst of winter, for obvious reasons. But when the lockout came, there was no alternative. It was fight or perish.

A POPULAR BONFIRE—STALLED CAR BURNING. *Leslie's Weekly.*

The people were in sympathy with the union. In almost every part of the city there was "rioting," cars were stoned and destroyed, crews beaten up and the strikers supported financially. Even Manayunk, with its most poverty stricken population, entered its protest against the company and the city authorities. But it was noticeable from the start, that, whatever sporadic outbursts there were elsewhere, the intensest feeling was manifested in the Kensington mill district. Here class consciousness was most acutely developed.

Sunday following the declaration of the strike crowds began congregating. It is safe to say that ten thousand people strolled about along Kensington avenue, within the radius of half a mile. The scene at one point will give an idea of how the crowd works.

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of bricks and stones shatter every pane of glass. The policeman on the car throws up his hands and joins the crowd. The motorman follows suit. His coat and hat are ripped from him but he is not otherwise molested. The conductor tries to run away. In a minute he is writhing in the street from a shower of blows. He staggers to his feet, blinded by the blood which spurts from a gash in his forehead. He runs about like a trapped rat. A hundred hostile arms are raised against him. The crowd closes in. Again he is down in the dirt, being pummelled and kicked. He no longer stirs.

On the floor of the disabled car four strike breakers are crouching, their chins to their knees, their hands covering their faces. They do not know why the car has stopped, other than that the motorman has deserted in the face of the jeers and missles. One jumps up, grabs the controller and turns on full power. The car is derailed by the obstruction. He and the other strike breakers dash out of the car to get away. The crowd batters them into helplessness. By and bye an ambulance comes along and carries the injured men off to the hospital.

The "riot call" brings the chief of police and a hundred of his men. They try to drive the crowd back. The mounted men force their horses upon the sidewalk and against the women and children. The crowd is urged up into the cross streets, back and back, but it trickles through the cordon of police to the scene of disorder. By this time one of the company's repair wagons has put the car into shape again. It is returned to the barn under the care of a troop of police. The company makes known its intention to run no more cars in the district. Rain begins to fall. The crowd disperses.

For a few days no cars were run in the northeast. When they were sent out later on, they were so well ventilated by the crowd and so poorly patronized that it was a matter of curiosity to see them running.

STATE FENCIBLES—ROUTED ON FEBRUARY 22.

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plined. They acted spontaneously. The smashing up of cars was a source of amusement rather than the consequence of resentment—only against the strike breakers was there animosity shown. The crowds fraternized with the regular policemen and laughed at the state fencibles, one hundred and seventy-five of whom were called out. The people helped themselves to the buttons from off the coats of the fencibles for souvenirs, and plucked the bullets from out their belts. The presence of these "darling boys" was provocative of so much hilarity that even the mayor became sarcastic. If, on this occasion, the state fencibles did not behave like an infantry corps, they did nevertheless establish a reputation as a corps of infants.

On February 23rd, Mayor Reyburn dispatched a telegram to Governor Stuart, asking for the state constabulary, or cossacks, as they are more popularly known. Four companies of them, 158 men all told, arrived next day and remained until March 1st.

STATE COSSACKS—RESTING.

Now, the people of Philadelphia had no particular quarrel with the state constabulary. Their antipathy was confined largely to the transit company and its strike breakers. To fight against the cossacks meant to engage in bloody warfare, not with fists or bricks, but guns, and this the people were not prepared to do. Were it otherwise, the handful of cossacks would never have left Philadelphia alive. So, aside from a drubbing admi[illegible]l to a few of their number, they were permitted to depart in peace.

The people refrained from patronizing the scab-manned cars and let

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A WORKING CLASS "CARRYALL."

passengers and did a flourishing business. The director of public safety tried to put a stop to the vehicle traffic by having scores of the drivers arrested and fined, for doing a transportation business without a license. But the wagons continued to go "all the way up" or "out" or "down." To circumvent the director, they displayed legends such as the following: "Charity Wagon," "Free Ride," "Union Transit." Unnecessary to add, no one was discouraged from tendering the conductor a free will offering.

Here it may be inserted that the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company did not exert itself to any extent in this struggle. It imported strike breakers, true enough, issued conflicting statements as to its strength, and parleyed with its old employes in the hope of bribing them to return to work. It converted its car barns into stables for the horses of the constabulary and mounted police, and tendered the use of the floors of its cars to the policemen for sleeping quarters. That represents the limit of its capacity to cope with the situation.

The fight upon the car men's union and the sympathizing public was not conducted from the offices of the company. The seat of war was at the city hall. The plans of campaign were mapped out at the desks of the mayor and director of public safety, and carried into effect through orders issued by them.

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Every car contained from one to half a dozen policemen, to protect the strike breakers and assist them in learning the route. Possibly ten thousand extra policemen were sworn in altogether, recruited by the political ward heelers. Their character can readily be imagined. They were called "brownies," and seemed to aspire to become of the hue of the "black hundreds" of Russia. Whatever other faults they may have had, they early acquired a very exasperating one of clubbing and shooting inoffensive wayfarers. Of the number, three thousand or more were "plain clothes men," who circulated among the crowd. At least two instances of dynamiting they were responsible for. To what extent they instigated disturbances cannot, of course, be ascertained. Insofar as the mayor and director were concerned, it was a fight of brute force, in which the side guilty of the greater amount of thuggery would prevail.

The local magistrates and judges were at the elbow of the company's officials. The term "riot" was distorted out of all legal sense, while an amusing precedent was established in making it appear that the alleged act of one individual, C. O. Pratt, constituted a "conspiracy."

It is hardly worth while to enter into a consideration of the part played in the trouble by the mayor and his underlings. Pennsylvania's political history, and Philadelphia's contribution to that history, are too well known to require it. Suffice to mention here that after the mayor frowned down all talk of arbitration, he called the attention of the city councils to an act of assembly of 1893, which provided a way for the adjustment of grievances between employer and employe, by having each side select three arbiters, the common pleas court appoint three, the nine to constitute the board. And after doing that, when the men on strike offered to accept this medium, unfair to them though it was, the mayor sitting on the board of directors of the company, as a representative of the city, voted against his own proposition.

That the mayor of the city owns traction stock is denied. But is has been charged, and never refuted, that the director of public safety is a heavy holder and a heavy loser. During the course of the strike stocks tumbled headlong down, so the rage of the director can be understood.

Like most, if not all, public service corporations, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, apart from its stock manipulations and gentlemanly "steals," has been enriched by valuable franchises and other favors conferred upon it without a penny of recompense to the city. Transit and political interests have always been found together. Therefore, no stone has ever been left unturned to defend the holdings of the clique in control of the company at any particular time.

To cement the tie between the corporation and the city officials, a contract was entered into by city councils in July, 1907, whereby the company bound itself to turn over to the city all earnings above a stipulated amount;

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the city, in exchange, to be the guardian of the company. To insure the carrying out of the provisions of the compact, the city is entitled to three representatives on the company's board of directors. That the city's representatives served the company only too well, is attested by the fact that one of them has since been promoted to the vice-presidency of the company, while another openly fought the public in the strike. The mayor's position we have already seen. On the other hand, no part of the company's surplus has ever found its way into the city treasury.

Among the holders of large amounts of traction stock are men who either own or influence one or more of the daily papers. This explains why every editor opposed the car men, although several of them went as far as they could in antagonizing the present directors of the company. Financial jugglery even reached the stage when it was believed that the men in control aimed to throw the company into the hands of a receiver, in order to squeeze out the small investors. As many as 25,000 shares changed hands in one day's transactions during the strike.

That the group of financiers seeking to discredit the present directorate desires not to stand in intimate delations with labor was shown later on when the president of the Central Labor Union, John J. Murphy, was arrested on the charge of "inciting to riot." His unsophisticated friends hastened to try to procure bail from the moneyed men who had supported the reform movement, on whose ticket Murphy had twice been a candi-

ARRESTING A "STRIKE SYMPATHIZER."

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names sullied by association with that of a strike leader.

One more incident might be cited here to indicate the nature of the conflict. Among those who put in a conspicuous appearance were the United Business Men's Association, claiming to speak for 90,000 of the city's merchants. They reported themselves to be "the bone and sinew of the community." But they and their plea for arbitration received scant courtesy from either the company or the city officials. A delegation from the Kensington Business Men's Association came down to attend a session of the city councils and exercise their influence upon that recalcitrant body. They were permitted to have their picture taken in front of the city hall, but not to enter the portals of that stately edifice. In this way was it made manifest that the fight was between the real vested interests, corporate wealth, in the one camp, and labor, the small business men and all other elements of the people, in the other.

For their own part, the car men's union, if anything, under-estimated their relative strength, and guided themselves accordingly. Everyone strained himself to the utmost. The two local secretaries scarcely left headquarters, day or night, while other local officers and international officers, after attending to matters in the office during the day, were out all hours of the night and early morning, addressing meetings called for the members of a car barn, some sister union or the public.

The car men are fully aware that the company has plenty of resources, that it is strongly intrenched politically, and that the greater part of the financial burden of the fight will be borne by the city. For this reason, among others, all that the men hoped to accomplish was arbitration, arbitration that would secure for the men a fair consideration of their grievances.

At the same time, the riding public had its own complaints against the company, although it had apparently never entertained any serious idea of having them attended to. Yet it was on the lookout for the occasion to present itself where it could manifest its displeasure at having the rate of fare increased although the service remained abominable. Furthermore, that which had been the eye-sore of the company, the big buttons worn by the members of the union, had done much to encourage a fellow feeling among the working people who daily came into contact with the motorman and conductor. So that the notion of having a sympathetic strike, as a protest against the management of the company and the executives of the city, was not the extravagant conception of some dreamer. It was the expression of the desire and will of the working people of the

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the halls of the United Trades Association. One consisted of the delegates to the Central Labor Union; the other of representatives from unions unaffiliated with the central body. The meetings lasted all afternoon. Everyone present at those meetings—and there were a dozen international officers and several veterans of the labor movement—everyone declared it to be the most inspiring meeting he had ever witnessed. There was unanimity of opinion as regards the purpose of the meeting. But the unaffiliated unions were in favor of carrying out that purpose the following Tuesday. They had to be prevailed upon to withhold making the move until Saturday.

In the anteroom were nearly a hundred newspaper men, one local paper having as many as fourteen reporters there. After what seemed endless waiting, the union's press committee came with the resolutions, with a list of the organizations which had participated in the meetings, and with words of greeting from unions in other cities. By relays the information was scribbled down and telephoned to the paper offices. Within a quarter of an hour the news was in type and had been telegraphed across the continent.

The first general strike in America had been ordered. Philadelphia, the city that seemed until that hour to be impervious to all progressive ideas, had for once taken the lead. The sleeper had awakened!

Within the next few days special meetings were called of all unions and the question of going out on strike was put to a vote. With the exception of a few organizations bound up in "iron clad contracts," the decision was favorable. Wednesday evening there was held a joint conference of delegates from all unions in the city, whether or not affiliated with the Central Labor Union. A proclamation was drawn up, a committee of ten empowered to take command of the situation, and the call to cease work issued for Friday midnight, Marth 4th.

A very curious thing happened at this juncture. The company furnished the newspapers with copies of telegrams it had received from manufacturers' associations and citizens' alliances throughout the country. With two exceptions, they were dated March 4th. It demonstrates only too well the concerted nature of the action of the employers. It showed that it was recognized among the ruling class that this was to be an important grapple between the forces of labor and capital.

Possibly the publication of this intelligence was calculated to dismay organized labor. In this purpose it utterly failed. At the appointed hour the general strike went into effect.

Philadelphia, Pa.

(To be continued.)

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The Class War in New Castle.

By Louis Duchez.



EALIZING the power of a revolutionary press in the very heart of industrial America, the Steel Trust has set its blood hounds on the trails of Solidarity, the I. W. W. weekly and the Free Press the local Socialist Party paper both of New Castle, Pa., thinking that by putting these papers out of business a long step will be made in preventing the tremendous interest in industrial unionism that is spreading throughout the State of Pennsylvania most rapidly at the present time.

The editor of Solidarity, A. M. Stirton, the manager, C. H. McCarthy and the press committee were arrested on the first of last month. Also several members of the Socialist Party connected with the Free Press, including Charles McKeever, the newly elected councilman. There were eleven in all "pinched." Four refused bail and remained in the county jail three days when they were given a hearing; gave bail and were held for court. They are Stirton, McCarthy, and Moore of Solidarity, and McKeever who is now the editor of the Free Press.

The charge upon which they are held is a technical violation of a state law requiring papers to print the name of the publishers and editors of newspapers at the head of the editorial column. While the Free Press did not entirely live up to the law in this respect—and there are many capitalists papers in the state that have not done so—Solidarity did, yet it was held that the press committee's names should have appeared, also.

However, it is seen, the arrest is but a pretext to put the socialist papers out of business by hook or crook.

But that is not all. Finding that this charge was too weak, since the socialists retaliated by bringing the same charges against the "Herald,' a capitalist paper of the same place, another line of attack was adopted.

On the following Saturday evening five more arrests were made in connection with articles that appeared in the Free Press regarding the tin mill strike and the attitude of the city and county officials in behalf of the steel trust which owns the tin mills there. The charge against the socialists is "criminal libel" and the information

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contains about 5,000 words and is signed by chief of police Gilmore of the city. The names of the socialists arrested on the second charge are Charles McCarthy, Charles McKeever, William White, Frank Hartman and Evan Evans. The cases will come up before the grand jury in June.

It has been discovered that detectives have been working on the cases against the socialists for several months and that it is thought an effort will be made to involve several other active socialists before the steel trust is through. Thugs broke into the desks at the socialist headquarters and took the names of the 300 or more Socialist Party members on the books and many of these will, doubtless, be called up in the case.

The whole is part of a well laid plan to kill, before it gets any stronger, the revolutionary propaganda eminating from New Castle. Whether or not the Steel Trust will succeed depends upon the amount of publicity and financial assistance that the New Castle revolutionists receive from the outside. If the revolutionary press of New Castle can be strangled to death by a too heavy financial burden imposed by litigation—which is, doubtless, the tactics of the Steel Trust a heavy blow will be dealt to the revolutionary movement in the most strategic revolutionary point in America. The Steel Trust is out for blood. Will it succeed? The New Castle revolutionists say it won't. But they are expecting the assistance of the revolutionary movement at large. They must have this assistance if they are to win. The issue involved is a national one.

In this connection it should be remembered that in sending funds to the defense of Solidarity and the Free Press, those intended for the former should be labeled, "Solidarity Defense Fund" and those intended for the latter, "Free Press Defense Fund." Solidarity is owned and controlled by the local unions of the I. W. W. in New Castle, while the Free Press is owned and controlled by Local Lawrence County Socialist Party. The Free Press Publishing Company simply does the press work for Solidarity.

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The Bethlehem Strike.

A Revolt of Slaves.

By Robert J. Wheeler,

Member of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Union.

THIS little town is the scene of a bitter industrial conflict. Her one time peaceful streets are thronged daily with the striking wage slaves of the Bethlehem Steel Company. Sinister, brutal faced men, armed with riot clubs, patrol the highways. Heavily armed Cossacks, grim visaged and as merciless in action as Capitatism, guard the gates of the steel plant, or in groups of two or three ride up and down. Business is paralyzed. The social life of the town is disrupted. Men's faces show lines of care and apprehension. Women are becoming worn and pinched from want and worry. Little children go hungry to bed. All is turmoil, anxiety, dread.

Schwab is at war with his men. Schwab, the steel king, the pet of Carnegie of Homestead infamy. Schwab, the picturesque philan-

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FUNERAL OF JOSEPH SZAMBO, STRIKER, KILLED BY THE COSSACKS.

thropist, the debonair gambler, the owner of 10,000 men's jobs, the master of 10,000 men's lives. Schwab, backed by American capitalism and Cossacks is contending against 10,000 wage slaves supported only by their capacity to endure privation.

No, he has nothing to arbitrate. He had no complaint. His men suited him well. Were they not the most highly skilled in all the land? Did they not work the longest hours for the least wage? No, nothing to arbitrate. What master has? ,

For nearly a quarter of a century, Bethlehem has been a city of peace; the peace that exists where slaves are submissive and the master supreme.

Here was the ideal open shop. No union men were tolerated. "Union men," said Schwab, "are all Socialists." The lowest wage in the steel industry is paid here; 12½ to 27 cents per hour. The hours were from 10 to 12 per day. Overtime, Sunday and holiday work for straight pay, the bonus system for bosses, these were the conditions. And coupled with this slave system was the church, enacting its historic role, "the ally of depotism," collecting dues through the office and teaching "Servants obey your masters."

The lords of America Industry gave a banquet in that modern Babylon—Chicago. There while they feasted and the wine flowed freely, they boasted of their greatness and riches. Schwab, more vain glorious than the rest, like some modern Belshazzar, praised himself as the most successful slave owner. "The best mechanics in

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the steel business at the lowest wage," said he. The newspapers carried the boast to the men. It was the last straw. Resentment against the system now flamed into action. Three machinists refused to work overtime unless paid time and a half. They were discharged. Then 1,000 men threw down their tools and walked out, their foremen with them. The revolt had come at last.

Marx was right, there is a point below which the workers will not be driven. This outburst is significant of that which is to come.

The capitalists are up against the "law of diminishing returns." The rate of profit continues to fall in spite of most economical management in production. Dividends must be maintained somehow. They try to force the wage slave to accept less and less as his share. Therefore outbreaks, strikes and in the end revolution.

And they are drunken with power in Pennsylvania, these masters. They care not that the human machines have needs or unsatisfied longings. Schwab told Chairman Williams that he estimated the cost of production before he took a contract. He could not see why he should be expected to readjust his estimate of cost after the contract was made. "Why," said he, "should I be obliged to pay more now for labor than for any other item in the estimate." Chairman Williams replied: "You mean you buy labor power from us as you buy other commodities from the producers." "You are on," said Schwab. He and his kind have no other relation to the working class. Neither do they fear unarmed strikers. The brutal Cossack

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Two weeks of slow progress in organization, Chairman David Williams and Chief Organizer Jacob Tazlear, ably supported by their corps of assistants, worked night and day gathering the men into the unions, then Ettor and Schmit of the I. W. W. came to town. Their addresses on "Solidarity" aroused the fighting spirit of the men. Ettor advised the men to get up in the morning and do picket duty in a body. "Don't let anyone go to work," said he. When the leaders decided to act on this advice, sending more than 2,000 men on the picket line, the big plant closed down. Mass action cannot fail of success.

Schwab rested easy while the slaves passed resolutions, proclaiming the justice of their cause and their respect for "law and order," but when they used the power of numbers to carry out their plans, he was aroused to action. He called on his servant, the Governor, for help. The Governor sent the Cossacks.

These thugs and gun men came to promote disorder and break the strike. Hardly had they detrained before they were clubbing and shooting. 'Ere they had gone the short distance from the train to the mill, they had murdered one striker and wounded another. The crowd aroused to fury, fearless now, assailed them with bricks and stones. By desperate fighting they forced their way through the thousands of furious strikers and reached the mill. The troopers

I. W. W. TACTICS—"EVERYBODY GET OUT AND DON'T LET THEM GO TO WORK."

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"BEATEN UP" BY COSSACKS BECAUSE HE DID NOT MOVE FAST ENOUGH.

said they had never faced such an angry crowd, not even at McKees Rocks. Had anyone urged the strikers, they would have killed the police before they could have reached the shelter of the plant. The fighting was renewed time and again during the day and night. Many were injured on both sides. Twenty arrests were made, including a member of the city police force. He had the temerity to order a Cossack off the sidewalk. The prisoners were jailed in a box car and on Monday were given a hearing in the company's office. Several were remanded for trial under $1000 bail. The unsupported testimony of a Cossack was sufficient.

Since then the city has been under martial law without the formality of a proclamation. The municipal government is ignored. Peaceful people are clubbed on their own door step or walking the street. Men are held up after dark and searched. Some have been dragged from bed and given the choice of going to work or to jail. The city government is in sympathy with the strikers but is powerless to protect citizens against the Cossacks, who are above the law and backed by the state. Again Marx was right, the state is merely the executive of the business interests.

Still the strike goes on. The men are enduring patiently. The A. F. of L. is not giving much financial aid. President Gompers does not seem to take the strike very seriously. Waiting for the "pschycological moment" perhaps.

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of this section have learned a needed lesson. Before the strike they believed they had liberties and rights and that the state would protect them in the enjoyment of the same. Now they know that the capitalist is the state and can violate all rights and destroy all liberties when he wills.

These people are a patient people, slow to change. But the club of the Cossack has quickened their faculties. Men beaten down on the street by a thug in the employ of their master, and being denied redress at law, become advocates of force thereafter. The multitude standing by, helpless to aid, because unarmed, and furious because of their impotence, becomes ripe material for the propaganda of revolution.

This fall, we shall make a determined effort to right these wrongs by the ballot. Failing, then, though we are a peace-loving people, no defense will remain to us but force against force.

We can retreat no further in this slave state. Our backs are as it were against the wall. The veneer of civilization seems slipping off. The primal instinct to give blow for blow in brutal combat is rising strong within us. We can endure no more. So listen——

"Masters and Rulers, take warning, we're men;
The blood in our veins came down from the past;
We've hearts and they're human, forgiving, but when
Aroused to the Limit, resist to the last."

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Politics, Parliaments and the State

By Henry L. Slobodin.

a youthful ardor and apostolic zeal issued forth Por
d Duchez, the neophytes of a renewed revolutionary
th, to spread the stirring gospel of proletarian Social-
ı. Por's brilliancy sparkles like a fine cut diamond
d is bound to stir the most inert spirit; while the fire
.. Duchez will set the most slothful blood a-tingling and a-coursing. Whether in agreement with them or contradiction to them, Por and Duchez will prod one out of one's self-complacency to renewed thought. They are of the leaven that sets ideas fermenting. This good work no one can gainsay. Undoubtedly, these two are bound to stir up a theoretic discussion and an interest in the fundamentals of Socialism of which we are sadly in need. So Boudin complains in the Zukunft, the Jewish Socialist monthly, of the contempt on which avowed Marxists hold theoretical discussion in this country. Por and Duchez have stirred up an interest which offers to a lover of theory a rare chance to try his mettle.

As for myself, while I may take issue with both our militant comrades on some points, I confess that I will do so not without sympathy with their ideas. First, because they came from France and I have a predilection for France, though you will find me sitting reverently at the feet of German philosophy learning of the mysteries of cosmic wisdom and harmony. But mindful of the revolutionary testament of Karl Marx—Watch and listen when the Gallic cock crows! I hope and hold that the spirit of the American people is more akin to the French spirit than to that of Germany, let alone the English spirit. We stand with bared head before the proletarian movement of Germany. It is deep, clear and creative. But France the Liberatrice, France the Torch Bearer, the Alariam bell of the world, holds a place of her own in the hearts of the proletariat. Of England we can only say this: we devoutly pray that the American proletariat may be spared some of the wiles and temptations to which the English proletariat fell a prey.

The dispute, the lists of which Por and Duchez entered, is not between Marxists and anti-Marxists. I am told that Duchez snaps his fingers at Marx. Well, what will you have? Such a youth! I do not see why our direct action comrades need to abandon Marx. To be sure, independent political action by the working class is one of the important

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inferences which Marx himself drew from his theories. But it seems now that by acepting Marx's theories one is not bound in duty or reason to follow Marx into the fleld of practice. The teachings of Marx seem to survive all sorts of dismemberment. So, for instance, Professor Seligman, in his work on Marx entitled Economic Interpretation of History, accepts Marx's philosophy and historical method including the theory of class struggle, but declines to follow Marx into the field of economics, let alone into a Socialist commonwealth. The Labor Party of England exorcised Marxism for the reason that Marx hated compromise and advocated revolution and the Labor Party hated revolution and advocated compromise. Until one day it was told by Beer that itself was Marxian and that what it advocated was the purest Marxism. Whereat, strange to relate, the Labor Party was greatly rejoiced and ever since the worse thing it found to say of the Socialist Democratic party was that the S. D. P. was not Marxian.

This is as it should be. We can conceive of no proletarian revolutionary method, but it will be bound to gain in strength and inspiration from the three Marxian fundamentals—the materialistic conception of history, the class struggle and the surplus value theory. We can conceive of no such method which would militate against these fundamentals. And, while in the end these fundamentals must too stand trial before the forum of reason and science, it is not for us lightly to pick them up and drop them to suit our every petty convenience of the movement. But when the question discussed is of mere inference and policy, I am willing, together with Por and Duchez, to exchange snuff with Marx and slap him on the shoulder as a good fellow.

Por and Duchez offer the following thesis:

The political state is used by the capitalist class to oppress the working class. Parliaments are dying institutions of the dead past. The working class cannot free itself by the same instrument by which it is oppressed. The working class should not attempt to breathe new life into the dead past. The past offers no lesson to the working class. It must ignore capitalist institutions and forge its own instruments of defence and attack outside of state and parliament.

Por quotes Maeterlinck's counsel to ignore experience and be guided by imagination. I hope Por will not follow this counsel in eating his soup too hot. This is not meant for a gibe, but in all earnest. If experience will stand Por in good stead in eating his individual soup, why will it not serve us in cooking and eating our collective broth? How else should we have learned that wise rule that things are never eaten as hot as they are cooked.

It is a mistake to say that the past is dead. It would have been a calamity if it were so. Mankind would be in the pitiful condition of a

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man whose memory became suddenly obliterated. And there would be no one to fill the void with new images and ideas. Forutnately, the past we will always have with us. It follows Maeterlinck to his Olympic regions. Who is Maeterlinck, anyhow, that he should sit in our party councils and give us advice? Has he ever carried a platform and distributed real proletarian literature? Real proletarian literature, I say, which puts a thing up to you as plain as the nose on your face. Not the mystic and mystifying beatitudes which no workingman can understand. Under Socialism the working men will learn to value Maeterlinck and other great masters of literature. But now Por might as well talk to the workingmen about the fourth dimension. And who says that Maeterlinck is good literature? The answer is—the cumulative experience of the past says so.

If we must accept the judgment of the past that Maeterlinck is better literature than our agitation leaflets, why not consult the past among others, on the use of politics and parliaments? Por and Duchez are particularly hard on politics and parliaments because they are so effectively used now by the capitalists against the workngmen. But what if they are? Are the workingmen forever to forego the use of everything that is now used against them? What is not used against them? Science and art are certainly doing yeoman service against them. And the printing press, the spoken word, the teachers, the preachers—how about these? Are these, too, taboo for the working class? How about guns, cannons, explosives? Is the working class to forge its own weapons? Certainly Duchez and Por are not trying to make things easy for the working class. They want the working class to create a civilization out of their imagination, ignoring the past and present.

And how about your industrial unionism? The capitalists have industrial unionism long since. You don't find, as a rule, one capitalist owning the coal in a mine, another the machinery, a third the mules. Here is where a pinch of Marxism helps one out in great shape. The same conditions and forces that brought about the industrial organization of capitalism impel now the workingmen to organize industrially. What are those forces? Imagination? Ideas? Oh, yes; they helped a bit, but they were not the forces. The forces were economic necessity. "Necessity, thou mother of the world!" said Shelley, who in his way is as good as Maeterlinck. But we may talk Shelley and Maeterlinck till we are blue in the face; all the workingmen will be interested to know is whether those fellows had union cards. And they are right, too. The revolution is a serious business for the workingmen. We may be standing on a hill admiring the marching hosts of the revolution. It all appears to us as one grand procession. But those who march do not

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fall dead in their tracks by the thousands.

If workingmen must organize industrially because the capitalists are so organized, does it not follow by the same token, that workingmen must go into politics because the capitalists are in politics? Does it not follow that if the capitalists use the state to oppress the workingmen, the workingmen ought to use the state for the overthrow of the oppressors? The state is a stick of two ends and it devolves upon us to show the workingmen how to get on the right end of the stick.

> "If the proletariat, during the contest with the bourgeoisie, "is compelled by the force of circumstances to organize itself as "a class; if by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling "class, and, as such, sweeps away by force, the old conditions of "production, then it will, along with these conditions, have "swept away the conditions for the existence of class antago- "nisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished "its own supremacy as a class."—*Communist Manifesto.*

The proletariat will seize control of the political state in order to overthrow capitalism and the political state itself. This is in accord with the Socialist philosophy which teaches that all great institutions bear within themselves the agencies for their own destruction. Neither Duchez nor Por urge upon the proletariat the Tolstoian theory of non-resistance, though their Socialist ideal undoubtedly contemplates the abolition of all murderous weapons. Not to use the state? In what respect is this advice different from the Utopian counsel to withdraw from organized society into the wilderness, there to establish an ideal community? Both views reject the achievements of the past and are pessimistic of the political institutions as hopelessly in capitalist control.

The state is usually referred to as if it were a thing fixed, unchangeable. As a matter of fact the idea of the state is in a flux as is the thing itself. The King's I AM THE STATE has become obsolete. Why should the capitalist state not undergo a similar change? It requires only a little twist in the course of development. Wonderful changes does dame nature achieve just by a twist. Nature is not wasteful of energy or matter. Whenever an organic change is to occur for the good of the species, this change is not brought about by the destruction of the obsolete organ and the creation of a new. Nothing of the sort. Just a little twist by that wonderful master workman—nature, and the same organ will perform a different function. A feeler will be made into a pincer or an eye or any old thing to suit the need. And evolution will make your terrible state fetch and carry for the social revolution, and then bring about its own destruction. Not to use it? Ignore it? That is exactly what Gompers was advocating for a generation. He suffered of late a change of heart.

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Well, what would you have? You cannot very well ignore a thing when it takes you by the collar and drags you to jail.

Por stands in reverence before the future and speaks with contempt of the past. There need be nothing awful about the future to us. We, ourselves, are the future that is of the past that was. There is nothing contemptible about the past. We, ourselves, are the past that is of the future that is to be. We are climbers. Mankind is climbing over rocks and precipices. Where to? We look above and we see a light. We look below and we see a bloody trail. That is where man has passed. The past is not dead. It is alive with images and emotions.

"Thoughts, like tides swing within fixed limits, with ages for "systole and diastole, ebb and full, and to know to-day you must "be a student of all the past."—GEIKIE.

Making Sugar in the Laboratory

BY W. O. WING.



THE miracles performed in the chemical laboratories to-day are second only to the marvels being wrought by the twentieth century inventors in the world of machinery. This is the age of growing wonders. Soon we will cease to marvel for every day the impossible is coming to pass.

Thirty years ago soldiers of fortune turned their steps toward the Orient in search of the indigo plant. In the interior of Hindustan innumerable natives worked in the indigo fields to supply the world with indigo dye. Six years ago Germany exported six millions of dollars worth of indigo made in her own factories. For many years a great German chemical firm had kept its chemists at work experimenting upon artificial indigo. After almost endless failures the golden secret was discovered in the new process that has transferred the indigo industry across the hemispheres from Hindustan to the indigo factories of Germany.

Offensive coal-tar, formerly counted among the waste products, is one of the most astonishing illustrations of the power of chemistry in taking waste products and turning them back into the channels of usefulness. Professor Ira Remsen, President of John Hopkins University, has made saccharin from coal-tar, and saccharin contains six hundred times the sweetening power of cane-sugar.

M. Berthelot, who was a member of the Institute of France, was one of the greatest modern scientists. It was his opinion—prior to his death

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two years ago, that the wheat stalk would ultimately be supplanted by the test-tube and that our bread, like our indigo, would come, not from the wheat fields but from our factories.

M. Berthelot made certain fats directly out of their original elements in the laboratory. And Fischer has, in the same way, made artificial sugars out of the original elements without the use of any plant or animals whatever. He has taken the original elements—carbon, hydrogen and oxygen into his laboratory and brought forth sugars exactly like those produced by the beet-root and the sugar-cane.

Now water is a compound—two parts hydrogen and one part oxygen. And the black smoke (that evoked the smoke nuisances) is nothing more nor less than unconsumed carbons.

In the packing industry they have learned to make use of every scrap of hogs and beeves. Nothing is wasted. "Nothing is lost except the squeal."

All the other modern industries are seeking the same results. Doubtless if the chemists suggest methods whereby the smoke nuisance can be abated, the smoke diverted into laboratories, there to be utilized with hydrogen and oxygen (of which water is composed) and manufactured into sugar, the factory owners will not yet be satisfied. The Germans have shown us how to consume our fuel altogether. This leaves no smoke. The trust magnates want chemists who can turn air and water and waste products into marketable products. Professor Fischer has almost attained these heights.

It was Victor Meyer, a celebrated German chemist, who said:

"We may reasonably hope that chemistry will teach us, in the near future, how to make the fibre of wood the source of human food."

Professor Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology observes that we may be able to use ligneous matter which is left after the fibre has been extracted for the purpose of making paper. This opens the possibility of using the WASTE PRODUCTS of our paper mills as food.

The old idea that chemistry has performed its mission when it has divided, subdivided and analyzed everything has passed away. Creation —re-building, putting together—is the aim of chemistry to-day.

This old earth contains the same old elements. The things we have used, the things our forefathers have used are still here. But in these modern days of rush and hurry Nature—unaided—seems a slow creator. It is the aim of the modern chemist to hasten the processes and supply our needs from the laboratories.

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Strikes and Socialism in Eastern Canada

By Roscoe A. Fillmore.

NTIL very recently the Maritime Provinces of Canada have seemed to be the hardest possible ground in which to inculcate the principles of Socialism. The industrial activities of the population are chiefly confined to agriculture, lumbering and fishing with the exception of certain portions of Nova Scotia (notably Cape Breton and Cumberland) where mining is carried on extensively.There are portions of the country where one can imagine himself set down in Europe during the dark ages. Religious superstition is rampant. The old fables anent the "Divine right of kings" are explicitly believed in by a very large majority of the people.

In this atmosphere of superstition, bigotry and medieval conservatism a number of isolated comrades have for years worked steadily and bravely for the cause until today we are beginning to reap the fruit from their sowing. In 1899 the S. L. P. was organized in Halifax. It was disrupted a few months later but it had done some good spade work. In July, 1902, an independent local (later affiliated with the S. P. of C.) was organized at Fredericton, N. B., with about a dozen members. In November, 1904, the Glace Bay, C. B., comrades organized. And so the work of organization and education went on until at the beginning of 1909 there were five locals in the maritime. In May of that year, with the financial assistance of party members all over the Dominion, we were enabled to secure the services of a competent organizer, Comrade Wilfred Gribble of Toronto. This comrade spent about five months with us, speaking on the street, in halls, every where and anywhere that an opportnuity offered. with the result that we now have sixteen locals with a membership of probably 300. A Maritime Executive Committee has been elected situated at Glace Bay, C. B., to carry on the affairs of the party. This committee is now considering the advisability of putting a permanent organizer on the road. Of course in the maritime, as elsewhere, we have the usual bunch of reform quacks with their palliative nonsense to deal with. There is also a bum Independent Labor (?) Party doing business in the country that has a few secret supporters in our ranks. But on the whole the movement is clear-cut and revolutionary, "impossibilist" as Berger would say.

Now, as regards our "local strike," I will give you a brief history of the causes leading to it and the results so far as can be seen at present.

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In Nova Scotia there has existed for about thirty years a labor organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association. Its adherents have been mostly miners (or ground hogs) but a few other crafts have affiiliated with it. Its stronghold has, until recently been in the mining communities of Cape Breton. A few years ago a corporation known as the Dominion Coal Company came upon the scene. Until its appearance the P. W. A. had, in its dealings with individual employers, attained quite a measure of success. But when the coal merger appeared a change was wrought. The P. W. A., a mere sectional organization, found itself powerless to cope with so large an organization of capital.

About five years ago the coal company, true to its traditions as an astute business corporation, decided to "recognize" the P. W. A. This of course was granted only because it did not injure the company and would have a tendency to pacify the workers. After many flowery promises and pledges had been made by the company the workers came to a working (be it noted these are always "working" agreements. Work is all that wage earners are good for) agreement with their masters. And since that the edifying sight has been presented of the lion and the lamb lying down together (the lamb within the lion as usual.)

None of the master's pledges have, as yet, been redeemed and the tyrannical rule of the Dominion Coal Company has steadily become more hateful to the workers as was natural. A three-year contract had been signed by the P. W. A. officials and Brother Capital and Brother Labor were locked in each others arms in a loving embrace. And it might be noted in passing that the latter has been unable to extricate himself from the bear-hug up to date .

The men, being unable to do otherwise and being under the domination of the master's moral teachers who expatiate upon honor (whatever that may be) and such like, lived up to the letter of the agreement with Brother Capital, as usual, flagrantly disregarding it. At the expiration of the first contract the workers were forced by economic necessity to sign a second and even more enslaving "working " agreement. The men became dissatisfied with their union officials suspecting them, with a very large degree of truth as later developments prove, of being merely tools of the masters. They tried to oust Moffat the grand secretary and the other tools of Dominion Coal but without success. Then a number of P. W. A. men invited the U. M. W. A. to come into the provinces. This the U. M. W. A. refused to do until a majority of the miners should declare for it. The P. W. A. officials, Moffat and his gang, submitted the question to the membership and a referendum was taken. The

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officials—no doubt expecting the proposition to be turned down—pledged themselves to abide by the result of the vote.

The vote was taken. About 75 per cent of the P. W. A. membership voted for affiliation with the U. M. W. A. and organizers were invited to visit the province and came. But Moffat, labor dictator, refused to vacate. He, and those who had voted against affiliation, still supported the obsolate organization. Those who had voted in favor of the proposition joined the U. M. W. A. Then the fun began. Members of the new organization were discharged—over a thousand of them. The P .W. A.—Brother Capital agreement had not yet expired. The U. M. W. A. demanded recognition and a new contract, also a cessation of discrimination against their members.

The company held up its hands in holy horror. Recognition! What! To a "foreign" organization! Ye Gods! Treason! Sedition! etc., etc., *ad nauseum.* A new contract! Some more spasms of righteous indignation over the terrible depravity of men who would break the unexpired contract, made by the P. W. A., and demand a new one. Finally the U. M. W. A. called a strike about July 1st, 1909, and about 6000 men dropped their tools. But Brother Labor, represented by Moffat and the remmants of the P. W. A. considered themselves bound by "honor" to stay on the job. So a labor (?) organization becomes a scab agency.

The second day of the strike some women, wives of strikers, clawed the face of General Manager Duggan of the Coal Company and pulled his hair. This was made a pretext for calling out the soldiery. The mayor and a majority of the councillors of Glace Bay were opposed to the calling of the military (as they know another civic election would be held within a few months.) But the red coated thugs were sent for nevertheless and came—500 officers and men from the Halifax garrisons armed with machine guns. It later developed that even before the requisition papers were signed the machine guns were entrained and the men under arms.

For some time after the arrival of the thugs everything was peaceful. But this did not suit the purpose of the masters. So Pinkertons were hired; a series of bomb outrages planned and carried out and then a number of workers were arrested for conspiracy. Meantime the licksplittle press of the company spread the news far and near that Cape Breton was in a state closely bordering upon anarchy. It was reported that the residence of Mine-Manager Simpson had been completely wrecked by a bomb presumably the work of the U. M. W. A. Later we learned from authoritative sources that $1.25 repaired the damage done. And so it went on.

On July 31st several thousand strikers, carrying their master's

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flag "the glorious Union Jack," formed in procession for the purpose of demonstrating the strength of their organization to the public. They were met by the military armed with machine guns. In spite of the flag of "their" country which the strikers carried the military ordered them to disperse upon pain of being blown full of lead if they refused. They dispersed. Men were arrested for calling "scab" at those who were at work and this still continues. Pickets are arrested almost daily. A few days ago a picket was shot by a company thug who had been sworn in special as constable. The fight is still on and likely to continue for some time. The company claims it has plenty of men and is getting out as much coal as before the strike. Whether this be true or not the strikers will probably lose the fight Within the past few weeks a merger has been affected by the Dominion Coal Company and the Dominion Steel Company another Cape Breton corporation. This, of course, has strengthened the masters.

There is a silver lining, however. Already there are four socialist locals in Cape Breton and these are steadily increasing their membership. The men are awakening to the fact that the political scab is the lowest, most contemptible sneak alive. They are discovering that they must unite politically and take, because they have the power, the coal mines and all other industries for themselves. Ere long Cape Breton will be "Red" which ever way the strike goes.

While these events were transpiring in Cape Breton the U. M. W. A. had ousted the P. W. A. in Springhill. They asked the Cumberland Coal and Railway Company to remedy certain grievances and were refused. So in August 1909 about 2000 men quit work and the mines have been closed ever since. Here several (five I think) investigations had been held under the Lenient Act (that glorious bit of labor legislation of which Laurier, King, et al., are so proud) and, of course, the findings of the boards of conciliation were against the men. Through incompetent management one of the finest seams of coal in America had failed to pay and the wages of the men had several times been cut in order to make up for this incompetency. They were also mulcted by a thieving system of fines and finally turned like the proverbial worm. Here, unlike Cape Breton, no effort has been made to start the mines.

The men may win at Springhill. But, whether they win or not, they are awakening to the need of political action on the part of the workers. There is still a certain amount of confusion in their minds as they are enthusiastic over their obsolete I. L. P. But a strong Socialist local has been organized and will ere long leaven the whole community. On the whole the Revolution is progressing favorably in Eastern Canada, and we will presently make the capitalist parties sit up and take notice.

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Preston and Smith

A Cry From the Depths of Nevada's Prison.

By MAURICE E. ELDRIDGE.

THREE years ago the 10th of March, John Sylva, a restaurant keeper at Goldfield, Nevada, was shot and killed by M. R. Preston, a miner and member of the Western Federation of Miners at that time affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, and on May 9th, just two months later, Preston and Joseph Smith, the latter a cook and member of the I. W. W., were found guilty on an indictment charging them with murder and were sentenced to imprisonment, Preston to twenty-five and Smith to ten years.

A girl employed as waitress in Sylva's restaurant had left her job and Sylva withheld a part of her wages. The local union of the I. W .W. sent its business agent to demand a settlement and upon being denied, a strike was called and a boycott instituted and the place was picketted, all the proceedings of the union being lawful in the State of Nevada.

Preston and Smith both acted as pickets in front of the restaurant and on several occasions, as appeared in the testimony at the trial, Sylva had displayed a large calliber revolver and threatened to take the life of Preston. On the night of March 10th, Smith had left his post and gone to his home to eat supper with his family. Preston came along and took up the picket duty and after a little while Sylva rushed to the door, gun in hand, and ordered Preston to leave. Pres-

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barter with them for the sale of the commodity, labor-power. And they were active members of their union, thus constituting themselves a menace to vested interests, to the right of capital to exploit labor, to the right of the capitalist to defraud and pillage the victims of our social system.

Like Debs, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, Preston and Smith were drawn into the coils of the capitalist law and order machine and the forfeit of their lives demanded because they had dared to oppose the capitalist monster and to fight in the interest of their class, the class that lives only when it finds work and that finds work only when that work adds to the wealth of other men.

The arrest and conviction of Preston and Smith occurred while the W. F. of M. and all of the other labor organizations of the conutry were in the throes of the struggle to save the lives of Moyer, Heywood and Pettibone. The W. F. of M. and the I. W. W. provided able counsel and some funds for the defense of these two valiant members of our class and a good fight was made for their lives, but it was almost entirely overshadowed by the other fight and as a result the capitalists and their hirelings in Nevada were allowed to send our comrades and fellow-workers to prison.

They have committed no crime but that of class-consciousness.

They have done no wrong but that of defending a helpless girl of their class against the brutal power of capital entrenched.

Their trial was a farce.

Their motion for a new trial was denied, arbitrarily.

Their application for an appeal was denied upon a technicality of language, a word used in the future instead of the present tense.

Through their counsel they have appeared twice before the State Board of Pardons and although the most flagrant violations of even the capitalist rules of legal procedure were shown to have developed at the trial, the Board has persistently, and consistently with the bourgeois idea denied their prayer.

Now, comrades and fellow workingmen and women of America, wherever you happen to be, it is time for us to act.

It is time for us to again submerge our differences of opinion as to the most effective method of political and industrial organization.

It is time for us to re-organize the Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone Protest Conferences into Preston and Smith Protest Conferences.

It is only by arousing and uniting the wage-workers all over the entire conutry that we shall succeed in swinging open the heavy doors of Nevada's bastile so that our imprisoned brothers may come forth into light, liberty and life.

Will you join us comrade? brother? fellow-worker?

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The following are a few of the most glaring irregularities that developed in the judicial farce which landed Preston and Smith behind the prison bars.

Preston and Smith were charged with having entered into a conspiracy to kill Sylva. To prove the conspiracy charge the State offered three witnesses—Claiborn, Bliss and Davis.

Claiborn was a predatory person infesting the mining camps of the West and at the time of giving his testimony was wanted at his home in Arkansas on a charge of having forged an insurance policy. He disappeared immediately after the trial.

Of Bliss, the leading paper of Goldfield had the following to say: "Member of Butch Cassidy's gang at Robber's Roost, Utah, and participated in the robbery of a $7,000 payrole; implicated in the Schurz stage robbery; arrested and brought to Goldfield, jumped bond; in trouble all through Nevada, Wyoming, Colorado and part of Utah; principal witness against Preston and Smith."

Jack Davis, the third of this trio of state's witnesses, had been tried and found guilty of a most brutal and cowardly murder of two sheep men in Idaho. While on the stand he was asked a question regarding the trial and he answered in great bragadocio "Sure—I was convicted of murder in Idaho," and he often displayed the rope with which he was to have been hanged.

It was not merely the evidence of these desperadoes that convicted Preston and Smith, it was generally understood in the court room that these three would "get" any juror who failed to come through with a verdict of guilty. But notwithstanding the charge of conspiracy and the testimony, the jury failed to bring in a verdict of murder in the first degree as the prosecution demanded and the instructions of the court would have permitted. The jurors knew that Preston and Smith were innocent, that they had violated no law, but they also knew that they had to bring in a verdict of guilty and consequently they found Preston guilty of murder in the second degree and Smith guilty of manslaugther.

I have before me two books of 80 and 75 pages, respectively, published by the Clerk of the Supreme Court of Nevada, and which constitute the briefs submitted by P. M. Bowler and F. J. Hangs, attorneys for plaintiffs in error, and by Judge O. N. Hilton, of Denver, of counsel for plaintiffs. In these two volumes every error and every flagrant violation of law and rule in the trial is taken up and discussed in the minutest detail and the reports of state and federal courts as well as English and Canadian reports have been ransacked for parallel cases that have been decided almost invariably for the defendant. Space will not permit me to go at length into these details, every

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America, but these two books should be reprinted in pamphlet form so that every member of the protest conferences might have a copy.

Attorneys for the defendants asked the trial judge to give the following instruction to the jury: "If you believe from the evidence that the deceased, John Sylva, made an attack upon the defendant, M. R. Preston, and that the defendant, M. R. Preston, believed and honestly acted upon the belief that he was in danger of losing his life or receiving great bodily harm, and that in order to protect his life, or to protect himself from great bodily injury it was necessary for him to kill the said John Sylva, then and in that case the killing was justifiable and you must acquit the defendants." But the court refused to give the instruction saying that it did not state the law correctly. Judge Hilton, in his brief, says: "It conforms to every authority in its requirements and is full, complete and cogent," and he asks if it would not have been given if the case had been reversed, if Sylva, the business man, had killed Preston, the workingman, and had been put on trial for his life.

That's the point, fellow workers! It was class justice that was being doled out by the court, capitalist class justice by a capitalist court. Let us demand working class justice, and let us organize the members of our class to voice that demand.

The case of Smith would be a joke if it were not so serious for Smith. He is charged as a principal and accessory to murder, planed, premeditated, and is found guilty of manslaughter. In this case it was impossible to commit the crime of manslaughter for he was not present when the killing ocurred, and the statutory requirement is that the act be done by the person charged and in the sudden heat of passion, too great, apparently, to be resisted, and without being premeditated. Smith was at home eating with his family when Sylva was killed and Attorney Bowler well says: "there being no evidence of the presence of Smith at the time and place of killing, there was no middle ground and the jury with equal propriety might have found Smith guilty of sodomy, rape, robbery or any other crime or public offense as to have found him guilty of voluntary manslaughter."

The jury just simply had to find a verdict of guilty for both Preston and Smith and in their fear and ignorance they decided upon manslaughter as a pretty good thing for Smith.

All the courts and constituted authorities to whom they may

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or the mine owners and paid $5,000 for his services as special counsel to assist in the prosecution. At the conclusion of the testimony, in his address to the jury, he uttered substantially the following words which I quote from the brief submitted by the defense to the supreme court: "You must convict the defendants, because such conviction will cause people living outside of Nevada to invest their money in the State and so bring about great prosperity. Convict these men as an example, not because of individual guilt, but sacrifice them, if need be, to secure the general prosperity of Nevada."

Enough!

Comrades and fellow-workers, our lives and our liberties are to be sacrificed in order that capital may not be timid, that it may be invested in the industries in which we toil our lives away to enrich others.

How long, oh, how long, shall we submit!

Let every Socialist and Labor paper in the land copy this article or get the facts and write their own version of the infamy, and then let us all with one accord urge the workers of America to unite for effective protest against the further imprisonment of these two brothers. Let the protest come from every quarter and let it be so loud that the very doors of the prison will fly open. Until a central organization can be formed communications may be addressed either to John J. Balem or to the undersigned, both members of a committee elected by Branch Oakland, Socialist Party of California, for the purpose of precipitating this action.

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The Pittsburg District.

By Bertha Wilkins Starkweather.

THE CARRIE FURNACES—CARNEGIE STEEL CO.—CAPACITY, 40,000 NET TONS.

a radius of forty miles from the city of Pittsburg
:at number of various kinds of industrial plants
ɔ be found. Here Nature furnished lavishly the
ntal materials which man has learned to turn to
ɜe in producing what he desires for his needs.
Two beautiful rivers winding westward through picturesquly wooded hills, joined forces and the larger stream which resulted, the Ohio River, became the great water high-way between the middle states and the West. "The Point" at the head of the Ohio has become strategically and commercially of vast importance.

The Pittsburg District, eighty miles in diameter, boasts of leading the world in the manufacture of iron and steel, tin plate, air-brakes and electrical machinery (both Westinghouse interests), coal and coke, fire brick, plate-glass, window glass, tumblers, tableware, pickles (Heinz's 57 Varieties and other pickle factories), sheet metal, white lead and cork. Each of these plants is conducted along sweatshop lines. All

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possible work is done by machinery and unskilled workmen form the greater part of the working force.

The great factory producing Heinz's 57 Varieties, is one of the boasts of the city. It is in every way a well-conducted, clean institution, where all things are well cared for except the poor foreign girls who do most of the work. The company gives these girls a lunch room, rest room, roof garden, a theatre and assembly room containing stained glass windows —in fact, it gives them everything except good wages.

In nearly all other institutions conditions are worse because the factories are dirty, unhealthy places. Sweatshops there are of every stage of sordidness in this great industrial maelstrom.

The Heinz pickle factory certainly surrounds the workmen and women with conveniences and comforts and insures to the consumers clean articles of food. Under a rational industrial system, the workers would work three hours where now they labor ten and they would work with even better machinery than the Heinz factory employs. With hours shortened and wages up to full producing power, surroundings pleasant and stimulating to faithfulness and cleanliness, the great work of the world might be done without suffering to any class.

As it is, the plague of the slum is upon this industrial center so that the civic clubs of the city are trying in their gently reformatory and apologetic way to remedy matters by establishing a bath here, and a settlement there, in a vain attempt to "save" the children of the slums.

Because of all the smoke stacks belching forth black soft coal smoke, Pittsburg is literally over-shadowed. The heavy pall of smoke from the mills alone would shut off the sun for many weeks in winter. The air is heavy with a marrow-freezing chill which is hardest to bear by the poor, half-fed working men and women as they go to work early and return late. This cold, darkness of the winter days and the sickening heat of the summer months seems to have a distinct phychological effect upon the inhabitants of the working districts of Pittsburg. The per cent. of suicides is unusually high.

"This dark, cold weather with the rents so high, and the living so high and the men folks always having trouble with the bosses, is enough to make a woman do the Dutch!" exclaimed a steel-worker's wife as she set her washboard into her tub of hopelessly soiled clothes. "You don't know what 'Doin' the Dutch' means? You must be a stranger in Allegheny! Why, it's committin' suicide, that's what it means and if you happen to have a helpless child or two to leave out in the cold world, you take 'em along so they won't have to suffer without your care. That's 'doin' the Dutch'. Everybody knows that—and lots do it, too. You can see by the Coroner's books. I've been witness at two inquests right in this neighborhood. Goodness knows, I didn't blame the poor things."

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little track overhead.

"I think he gets about a dollar and a quarter per day," said my guide. "The men get more. They make larger castings and it is harder work. Some of the Hunkies get a dollar sixty or a dollar eighty per day."

They were all working, hot and sweaty for many hours, casting the parts of the air-brake systems in this great sweat-shop which is hailed all over the world as a model workshop. There was one man who had the job of pulling down a lever to release a set of little castings from their moulds. A workmate said he had been pulling down that handle for twenty years—just one stroke of the two arms over and over and over for twenty years for a little less than two dollars per day. All around was

INTERIOR OF SWEAT SHOP.

just such slavish toil; no man could feel glad to be doing such mind-dwarfing labor all day only to drag his aching body home at night to prepare for another tragedy the next day. But it is vain to thing of the ideal of work which William Morris gave us—that it should be worth doing, that it should be pleasant to do, etc. Wherever one goes in this great center of industry, one finds the same slavish toil holding the men as in a straight-jacket.

Twelve miles down the Ohio River in a northwest direction from the Point, is the new town of Ambridge, the plant of the American Bridge Company. Three years ago. the soft hills of Pennsylvania rolled down to the Ohio invitingly, where now Ambridge stands. It is "made" by the American Bridge Company and every man who lives there is in some

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one of the seven men who had been injured by the accident of the evening before. His neck had been deeply lacerated, almost cutting the jugular vein. They told me that he was wild with delirium. They were waiting for the company doctor, who had promised to come at three o'clock. The little hospital of two rooms inside the works' enclosure had been too full to give him a berth when he was hurt, so they sent him "home." And eighteen hours later the company doctor was being expected to care for the wounded man in the foul room which he shared with four other men.

THE PROCESS AND THE WORKINGMAN.

In 1905 the United States Steel Corporation paid the sum of $128,900,000 in salaries and wages, in spite of the fact that more than one-half of its men are paid laborers wages—fifteen to twenty-five cents per hour—for dangerous work. Yet the Captains of Industry look with jealous eyes upon this "wage budget" and the limit of displacing labor by machine work seems farther away than ever, as new labor-saving inventions are constantly being made. Usually these inventions are the products of workmen themselves.

A few years ago an attempt was made to employ colored workingmen instead of foreigners because of the many costly accidents occurring where the men did not understand the language shouted by the bosses. When the boss cried "Look out!" the luckess Hunkies stood still, blinking stupidly and shrugging their shoulders, only to be caught by flying metal or switching cars. So a gang of fifty colored men was detailed to the furnaces shoving ore buggies. They pushed the empty little cars down the incline willingly enough but when the boss told them to take the loaded cars back, they stopped and the spokesman, a great giant in bronze, asked smiling quizzically:

"Where's the mule, boss?"

"Ain't got no mule!" howled the boss, "Get a hold there you fellers and push 'em along!"

"Well, boss, I see you's mistaken about mules. If I is hired to do mule work, I quits right heah. We alls goin' to balk, that's all."

So the fifty colored men filed out of the mill yards carrying their full dinner pails in their hand. Our colored brothers do not seem to make such willing wage slaves as might have been expected. The Steel Company seems to have taken a hint from the colored giant. In most steel mills ore-buggies have been replaced by automatic charging machines and the "mule" is a splendid electric motor. This innovation has thrown a thousand Hungarians out of work in a single plant, but anyone familiar with the inhuman conditions under which these poor fellows had to work, cannot but rejoice that the work is now done by machinery. On each alternate Sunday these Hungarians worked a twenty-four hour day.

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FRONT VIEW OF LADLE EMPTYING MOLTEN METAL INTO MOLDS,
PIG IRON MACHINE. PITTSBURG.

When they complained they were given the alternative of submitting or taking their "time."

The Coronor's report of men killed in mill accidents is very non-commital. The names of the witnesses are usually foreign and the jury

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"Do you mean to say that they break the laws and bury the dead without permits?"

"Why, after one of these big explosions, a man may be fairly engulfed in white-hot metal and then nothing is left to hold an inquest over. There is no question of a burial certificate, because there is nothing to bury. How can you hold an inquest over nothing? So the boss of the gang may say that he has immigrated and his fellows who escaped injury, keep still at peril of their lives or their jobs, which amounts to about the same thing. The men who really know about the accident are not called in as witnesses before the coronor's jury."

With a population of forty million people, England injures less than a hundred thousand and kills about a thousand a year. With a population of eighty million, the United States injures a million and we do not care to let the world know how many of these die.

There is a report among the men, that a few years ago three Austrian workmen disappeared in the mill yards in South Chicago, like the animals that went into the lions' den and never came out. It was said that the Austrian consul blustered and threatened to get indemnity. But the men say that the mills have a prescription for even severe cases of righteous indignation.

The most frequent accidents occur at the base of the blast furnaces. A workman told of an accident in which several men were killed. The foreman called into service a dump-cart. In this the dead were taken to the hospital. A passer-by, it is said, heard the groans of one of the victims. He noticed that the driver and his assistant were about the dump the mangled human bodies out as if they were scrap-iron. But the common citizen was not yet hardened to the ways of steel. He came forward and cried:

"You take those bodies out like humans, one by one, or by heavens, I'll shoot you down as dead as the deadest man in the load!"

They found the groaning man at the bottom of the pile.

Where a few years ago ore was shoveled by men, it is now taken from the hold of the ship by means of a great arm of steel. This arm takes fifteen tons of ore in an immense double handful, on the principle of ice tongs, and affords a saving of two thousand dollars on each shipload of ore. Of these grabs these are almost a score in the South Chicago plant. Sometimes a dozen grab hooks work at the unloading of a ship and this means a great saving of time for the services of the ship. The conveyors, great bridge-like carriers, then bear the ore to the blast furnaces.

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The Working Class Movement in Belgium

By Hendrik de Man.



ELGIUM may claim, equally with Italy, to be the birthplace of capitalism. Already in the middle ages, and especially in the 13th and 14th centuries, the Flemish cities were to all central Europe what the cities of Northern Italy were to the Mediterranean world: centers of intense industrial and cultural life.

Here, at this early period, a small but powerful class of capitalists, great merchant-manufacturers, trading in cloth and other goods, confronted a mass of workers almost dispossessed of property, who found strength for only intermittent struggles against the ever-growing physical and moral degradation that was forced upon them. In spite of long periods of economic stagnation, when the work of exploiting and degrading the proletariat passed, in part, from the hands of capitalism into the dead hand of the Catholic Church, this situation has continued, under various political and economic forms, up to our own day.

At present Belgium deserves more than ever the name Marx gave it long ago,—the "Paradise of Capitalists." Its exceptionally favorable situation for international commerce, its fertile soil, its mineral wealth and its age-long accumulation of capital, for which even its recently acquired Congo Colony fails to provide field for expansion,—all this makes it the most prosperous of European countries—for the capitalist class.

As a logical result of the law of surplus value it follows that this prosperity to the minority of the nation is only possible by the increasing physical and moral misery of the majority of the nation. Belgium is a most striking example of this law. It would not be a paradise for capitalists if it were not a hell for proletarians. Belgium is, in fact, that one of all capitalist countries where the material and intellectual condition of the working class, considered as a whole, is the most deplorable.

Belgium, as is shown by the comparative charts on the working day of the various conutries, shown at the St. Louis World's Fair, is the nation of the longest hours of work. The normal day, for more than half the industrial workers, averages over 10½ hours. Here too

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we find another confirmation of the Marxian theory of surplus value —the longer the workday the lower the wage. According to the last government census, out of 468,000 adult male laborers employed in manufacturing, about 30,000 earn less than 3.87 francs (75 cents) a day, and only 5,000 earn so much as 6.25 francs ($1.25). The daily wage of men employed on farms is 1.20 francs (24 cents) with board or 2 francs (40 cents) without board. The position of the women and children is worse still.

A simlar state of affairs is found when we consider intellectual poverty. Of all the countries of Western Europe, Belgium alone has no compulsory education laws, and it stands next to Russia and Italy in its proportion of illiterates.

Belgium shares with Spain the sad distinction of having a Clerical Party of Roman Ultra-montists in political control. The extraordinary persistence of clericalism as a political force in this conutry with so intense an industrial development is one of the most baffling problems in the materialist interpretation of history. Its solution through the interpretation of special economic and political conditons in Belgium since the Middle Ages and especially beginning with the sixteenth century, when the revolution of the Belgian provinces against Spanish Clericalism was drowned in blood, is too complicated for us to attempt here. We need only point out the power of Clericalism and its political manifestations to see the obstacles to socialism in Belgium. The Clerical government is always opposed to all social reforms and secular education. Belgium lags behind all the civilized states of Europe in the matter of legal protection for laborers. The only reform realized under the Clerical Government which has any meaning at all is the old age pension law, which grants to laborers 65 years of age, after their wages have been repeatedly cut through long years, in the event of their being able to prove their utter destitution, a pension of 18 centimes (less than 4 cents) a day.

At the expiration of a few years of Liberal Government, at the accession of the Clericals in 1884, the latter reduced the number of primary public schools from 4,787 to 4,004, of normal schools from 27 to 18 and of evening schools for adults from 2710 to 1560. After 25 years of steady increase in population, the number of schools existing before 1884 has not quite been reached again.

Side by side with the destruction of public education has proceeded the Romanization of the teaching force. The instruction itself is permeated with Catholicism. This is not without influence on the labor movement.

As an independent country, Belgium is merely the artificial pro-

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duct of certain combinations in international politics in the early part of the nineteenth century. It really comprises two nations, each with its language; 4,000,000 Flemings, in the northern provinces, who talk Dutch and are Germanic in race, and 3,000,000 Walloons, in the South, who talk French and who are linked by their whole civilization to France.

In both the north and south the capitalist class uses French almost universally. Flemish, or Dutch, while making progress as a literary language, remains the sole tongue of the proletariat, the peasants and the smaller capitalists. This implies, for the French-speaking population, a preponderant influence of French political ideas, with results often unfortunate. Scientific education comes to the Flemings in French and is not understood by the mass of the population. There is no Flemish university; no Flemish scientific books or reviews; only the dirty little "popular" papers in Flemish. Like the Flemish people, the Flemish language is an outcast. Thus all efforts to raise the Flemings out of their intellectual misery meet immense difficulties. The Flemish socialist movement is unable to avail itself of the advanced elements of the class of intellectuals who generally aid in spreading the leaven in the lump. Flanders is unique in the socialist world. The whole movement (if we except the editor of the Vooruit at Ghent, formerly a teacher in the primary schools) is made up of actual manual wage-workers, or former wage-workers. It is these men, whose education is rudimentary at best, who edit the party's newspapers and represent it in parliament.

CONFLICTING THEORIES AND TACTICS.

Thus it appears we cannot accurately speak of the Belgian labor movement, but rather, recognizing the variety of its elements, we should say the "labor movement in Belgium." It is true that the comradeship of the struggle against the same institutions has given to the different elements of the movement certain traits, and it is no less true that the diversity of the phenomena and tendencies of Belgian socialism cannot be understood if it be regarded (a mistake superficial writers usually make) as a national unity.

Belgium offers a striking picture of the two great tendencies that influence continental socialism, tendencies which we might call French and German.

In Flanders the socialist movement arose in the middle of the nineteenth century from a desire on the part of the wage-workers for an immediate improvement in their material conditions. It was started by the weavers of Ghent, who founded, in 1857, a union with the aim of improving working conditions, but with no consciousness

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of a higher political or revolutionary aim. That did not, however, prevent them, nor the unions established soon after at other places, from waging a heroic and bitter war against their employers in pursuit of their immediate aim. But, for lack of theoretical propagandists, it is this struggle of the unions which has educated the Flemish proletariat in socialism.

It is not by the light of socialist theory, of which it received only crumbs and morsels translated (and that for the most part into Dutch) from the German, but it is by the glaring light of the brutal, material class struggle, that its eyes opened to socialism. In spite of plenty of deviations caused by the lack of scientific socialist education, the socialist movement in Flanders remained purely working-class, inspired, if not by an enlightened class consciousness, at least by a class instinct absolutely proletarian.

The socialist movement in the Walloon or French part of the country developed in an altogether opposite direction. Thanks to the influence of France, the country of great political bourgeois revolutions and, up to these last years, the paradise of petit bourgeois democracy, a democratic and radical movement, more or less or strongly influenced by Fourierism, Blanquism and Proudhonism, existed within the ranks of the intellectual bourgeoisie before there was any thought of an independent organization or movement of the Walloon working-class. It was the ideas of this bourgeois democracy which were to awaken the working-class and which inspired its first acts. Nothing on this subject is more characteristic than the great labor movement of 1886, which culminated in a general strike of the miners of the Walloon country, which by the way, degenerated promptly into a bloody riot which was mercilessly repressed by a military dictatorship. This strike marks the begining of the socialist movement in Belgium as a political movement and it showed the Belgian capitalists, as a conservative politician said "for the first time the existence of the social question by the light of incendiary fires."

The immediate occasion of the strike was a terrible industrial crisis. But instead of demanding economic reforms or immediate benefits, the strikers, directly influenced by French radicalism, demanded a series of political reforms. Agitators lately arrived from France played a prominent part in this movement which culminated in the demand for a republic in place of the monarchy, something rather strange in view of the fact that the bourgeois constitutional monarchy of Belgium differs from the bourgeois republic of France only in certain points of etiquette. Moreover, the organizations which survived the movement in 1886 in the Walloon country were not trade unions but groups of a political character called "labor

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leagues," which concerned themselves particularly with the obtaining of universal suffrage in place of the restricted suffrage then existing.

It is this struggle for universal suffrage which brought about the union of the Flemish and Walloon groups into a single Parti Ouvrier (Workers' Party), organized in 1885 but which did not really take the field until about the year 1890. This union was not brought about without serious difficulties due to the diversity of the tendencies represented. The Flemish, representing the "Flemish Socialist Party," inspired by almost the same ideas as the German Social Democracy, did not even suceed in securing the adoption of the name socialist party, in place of which they adopted the name of Workers' Party. Cesar de Paepe, the most notable of the representatives of Belgian scientific socialism before 1890, was, himself, by his theoretical eclecticism, linking Marx with Proudhon and Louis Blanc wiih Bakunin, a symbol of the confusion which still dominates socialism in Belgium. He commented on this party name by saying that a workers' party meant the party of the working class, including all those who wish to struggle for its interests, whether they call themselves communists or collectivists, mutualists or anarchists, what matter?

These tactics were excellent to give the working class, who were feebly beginning to emerge from their absolute torpor and who needed to be united for the immediate task of conquering the right of suffrage, the start afforded only by a united organization. Unfortunately, its members rarely emerged from that indifference toward theoretical questions. In other words, they never gave enough attention to the education of the working class in the spirit of the international social democracy, which is the Marxian spirit.

The fault, moreover, is in great part that of the circumstances which made universal suffrage the most urgent aim of the workers' movement. This it had need of before everything else if it wished to prepare its path as a political movement. Thus the movement continued to be dominated, up to the conquest of plural suffrage in 1893, and even later, by confused democratic ideas which, as we have pointed out, were imported from France.

THE CO-OPERATIVES.

But before going on we must point out another consequence of the situation, namely, the weakness of the union movement and the extraordinary development of the co-operative movement.

The co-operative of consumption appeared a little after the first forms of organization already mentioned, the unions in Flanders and the labor leagues in the Walloon conutry. It was started at Ghent, where the Vooruit (Forward) set the example of the establishment

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of co-operatives (bakeries, stores, groceries, factories, etc.) throughout the country, which sprang up almost everywhere between 1884 and 1890. Very soon these co-operatives became the material foundation, the basis, of the whole labor movement and they are still the dominant form, this being the most distinctive characteristic of socialism in Belgium. Its whole complex organization would have been hard to realize without the preponderant part played by the co-operatives.

These have everywhere built the People's Palaces with halls for meetings or entertainments and offices for the gratuitous use of the other organizations, and they have turned over a large share of their profits to the work of propaganda and socialist education. In this way they have in large measure provided for the material needs of the struggle and the agitation, supporting the strikes, the electoral campaigns, etc.

Here is certainly reason for gratitude to the co-operatives for the support they have brought to the labor movement. But this medal has a reverse side. The development of the co-operatives has been much more rapid than that of the unions and the propaganda organizations and especially more rapid than the work of socialist organization, which has too often been left to the co-operatives themselves. Thus, it is undeniable that since the co-operatives furnished their pecuniary support in many great strikes carried on by workingmen with little or no organization, the latter failed to realize, as they would otherwise have done, the need of a strong union organization. This has been an obstacle to the growth of the unions.

Moreover this one-sided growth of the co-operative side of the Belgian labor movement has had a deplorable effect on the state of mind of its adherents. What induced the Belgian socialists to put so much energy into building up the co-operatives was the fact that this form of organization was the one best suited to enroll the greatest possible portion of the miserable and degraded Belgian proletariat in the shortest time. It promised, and gave them, cheap bread, cheap goods and dividends on their purchases. These were material advantages obtained without any such sacrifices as a union or a political party demands of its members.

That is one reason why the co-operative is not capable of developing the spirit of militant socialism as does the union or the Political Organization.

The experience of Belgium has shown that where co-operatives dominate, conservative tendencies appear in the working class and especially within the co-operatives themselves. These are often in danger of becoming mere business enterprises which are socialist only

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ism in politics and developing the socialist consciousness of the Belgian Labor movement. Naturally in view of the extreme poverty of the people and the lack of popular education, the intellectual level of the Belgian socialist movement could not be very high. Our press is especially weak; we have not one scientific review; our socialist literature is extremely poor and the Socialist Sunday School, lately started at Brussels for the young propagandists of the party, is as yet only an embryo. In a word the class consciousness of the Belgian proletariat, even the cream of the organized movement, is still badly in need of a more vigorous Marxian propaganda than is being carried on to-day. This explains the fact that the parliamentary policy of the Parti Ouvrier has not always kept clear of the tutelage of the bourgeois democracy, and often pursues reformist or revisionist tactics, in alliance with the Liberals, which do not accord with the principles of international socialism.

A few months ago certain reformist leaders of the party declared against the enforcement of the resolution of the International Congress at Amsterdam forbidding socialists to participate in a bourgeois administration. In anticipation of the Clerical Government being replaced by a Liberal Government, the Marxian comrades have entered on a lively campaign of criticism against the reformist follies of which the Parti Ouvrier is often the victim. The discussions, sometimes very brisk and very frank, but always friendly, which have ensued, have done much to awaken the interests of the masses in fundamental questions, and to fortify the Marxian tendency within the party.

On the success of this tendency depends, in my humble opinion at least, the safety of the socialist movement in Belgium. (Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

Tramping Through France and Italy

By Giovanni B. Civale.

PROMISED you letters of news, but since I saw you, the bread and butter problem has left me little time for writing. I landed in Havre, and tramped all over France for a month, stopping at the principal cities. My main point was to get an inside peep at the Chambres de Travail (Labor's Hall) and learn what is going on in the labor world there.

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Starting from "l'Osservatore Romano" (the official organ of the Vatican) to the most insignificant parishional sheet, the church has done nothing but malign Francisco Ferrer; who sacrificed his life for the sake of more truth.

A bitter fight is being waged between the Catholic Church and the Free-Thinkers of France. Nearly all the school teachers are deeply involved, not only because they insist upon bearing aloft the banner of free-thought, but because the church is fighting the anti-militaristic spirit with which the teachers are imbued.

The fight is on the text-books of the public schools. One of these speaks of "War and Brutal Butcheries of History." In Prof. Calvert's French history we read that Charlemagne (A. D. 768) was a "true barbarian, finding pleasure in nothing but fighting and killing." The same author instead of teaching patriotism, as the church desires, finds pleasure in advising the pupils to read "The Absurdity of War," by Voltaire, and the "Art of Killing" by Bruyere.

Professors Laclef and Bergeron, in a preface to a work on history, openly declare that history must not be considered a mere description of battles and wars, and Prof. Primaire in his volume of "Lectures" says: "War on War, which brings humanity to the level of savages!" And again: "War is a savage iniquity which changes man into a brute, into a being always thirsty for blood!"

And so it is that the Catholic Church is opposing the use of such text-books in the public schools. Evidently she has forgotten the old command: "Thou shalt not kill." But it is no new thing to find the "followers of Christ" denouncing those who advocate peace.

To write of Italy—I wish I had the pen of Jack London or Upton Sinclair that I might fitly describe the conditions of this lovely but unfortunate country!

If the church was a big Feudal Lord under Feudalism, under Capitalism, it is nothing more nor less than a colossal trust, a trust so well organized economically and politically that there are real grounds for fearing Italy may again fall under the dominion of the Popes. The sly policy of Merry del Val, and the timidity of those who have the reins of government in their hands, points that way.

The pen of Comrade Odon Por, and his vivid pictures of the situation in Italy in his articles published in the REVIEW, leave very little to be said upon the Socialist movement in Italy.

Much noise has been made over the recent election when the number of Socialist members of Parliament were increased from twenty-eight to more than twice that number. But—morally speaking—there seems to be no such thing as a Socialist Party in Italy.

A bunch of half-baked evolvers (clever intellectuals though they be),

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well fed, well groomed, who never tramped a mile looking for a job in their lives, a small set of reformers* advocating palliatives for 365 days out of the year, cannot call themselves the representatives of the revolutionary working class of this or any other country.

That a Socialist Party—viz., a political entity—has little to do with a Socialist revolution, which has an entirely economic spring, is the conclusion of many of the revolutionists of Italy. A Socialist representative can do little more than guard and defend the liberties thus far gained. Men elected by the votes of the working people forget entirely that they *are the representatives of the proletariat.* When a man like Ferri says:

"We must co-operate with the State," we are sure his conception of the state is not the conception of Marx, who said:

"The State is a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

An old veteran of revolutionary Socialism went on a propaganda tour through the classic region of Socialism last month, Emilia (Parma). At the close of a public meeting, which he held, one of the "leaders" immediately took the floor with these words:

"Friend Lazzari has said that there is and always will be Capital on one side and Labor on the other until a revolution will wipe out the present social system. That is the theory of thirty years ago. But the world moves. It is not the antagonism of these two classes which causes the present social disorder but the anarchy in production and distribution of industry and commerce."

The proletarians are being daily disappointed in their party leaders. They find they cannot rely upon them. They are learning to make their own plans. They are finding new strength every day in their industrial organizations where they need no help or suggestions or commands from any political authority. And this new strength which they find in their industrial organizations is instilling in the workers a confidence in their ability to work out, alone and unaided, their own material salvation.

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* To REFORM is synonymous with conservation, especially when it refers to existing legislative organization." (From Reform and Revolution," by Arturo Labriola.)

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I Have Seen and I Have Vowed

By Edwin Brenholz.

I have seen the face of my brother kicked by the peace-preserving police.

I heard the crash of the stroke, heard the sickening grind of splintering bone, heard (God of Men!) the unsuppressible shriek, heard the half stifled groans as my brother was led away. Heard the click of the handcuffs keeping his hands from holding the shattered jaw. I tried so hard to not behold his shrinking wife and child who watched him struck to earth. I saw them harmed when they were hastening to his side. Heard, seen! I saw and heard all that.

Dear brother, what was this your crime to warrant such abuse? What was your guilt that gave them such occasion against you? No, no, you cannot answer; I will ask those standersby who saw it all.

Dear brother, they have penned you far away. Thick walls and stouter bars prevent my words from reaching **you.** But I am not yet silenced nor are those who saw that scene, nor those who felt those brutal blows.

My brother has been kicked and bludgeoned by my paid police.

My brother has presumed to cry aloud upon the public streets the wanton wrongs I crushed him by.

My brother broke the law I had no right to make.

My brother looked at me as he was led away and voiceless said, **You are the man who made me suffer this.**

What have I done that he should me accuse?
What part have I in these foul acts which I deplore?
What can I do to set this matter right?

Oh, I have seen too much to let me stand in silence as these others do.
I saw great Love gaze searchingly at me when I protested not:
I saw great Love pass silently from me.

I am the State, the Nation and the paid police.
I am that crime accomplished in the name of law:
I am the foot and fist that blackened this man's face—
I saw my brother's shame for me in that last glance of his.

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Dear Brother, I give up the vain attempt: no longer will I shirk
the public shame of full complicity in all your wrongs. I stand
convicted in the court of my own soul that makes not light one
sentence it inflicts.
O world, that works its will upon earth's weak and poor, I give you
notice now:
This State, this Nation, these police, I do repudiate their deeds infring-
ing on the people's rights, and all with powers usurped or mis-
applied I seek to overthrow.
High in their stead the people I will place with ownership of all.

I am the people in their plentitude of power:
I am the conscience of a Class awakened to find their freedom gone—
I am the might of millions roused to deeds.
Dear Brother, I am close beside you through all future days—
In my name I have vowed, in yours, in all the earth's oppressed,
to end the cruel wrongs you could not speak about in peace—
Or wash the shame and guilt of failure out with this my life.

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Prospects of a Labor Party in the U. S.

By L. B. Boudin.



THE talk of a Labor Party would not down. Notwithstanding the assurances recently given us by persons presumably in a position to know that there is no Labor Party in sight, the discussion still continues both within without the party. And for very good reasons: it represents the general feeling of unrest now prevailing in the labor movement of this country. In my articles on the "Political Situation in the United States and the Socialist Party." (The New York Call, October 24 and 31, 1909.) I have shown that the political situation in this country has become so acute, owing to the ruthless war carried on by the capitalist class through the judicial department of our government against every manifestation of independence on the part of the working class and every measure of amelioration which it may wring from its masters, that the time has come for a strong revolutionary movement embracing the entire working class, or at least that portion thereof which is organized into trades-unions and who are directly and immediately affected by the intolerable tyranny of our courts. I have there also endeavored to point out wherein our methods of propaganda have failed until now, and that it is incumbent upon the Socialist Party to point the way and take the lead in this revolutionary movement, on pain of losing a great opportunity of becoming the leader of a united and revolutionary working class.

I must now add that the failure of the Socialist Party until now to rise to the occasion and develop the activity demanded by the situation is beginning to avenge itself, and that this talk of a labor party is one of the manifestations of our avenging Nemesis. It is highly significant in this connection that within a short month of the most solemn assurances given us by our most "practical statesmen" that there is no labor party in sight, a prominent Socialist offered a resolution in the New York Central Federated Union calling upon Gompers to organize such a party and that that eminently conservative body adopted this resolution unanimously. Also, that the immediate occasion which called forth the resolution was the quarter-million verdict rendered against the Hatters Union as a result of one of the very acts of judicial tyranny mentioned in my said articles.

It was under the leadership of these "practical statesmen" that our party has for years pursued this very "practical" policy, begun under De Leon, of ignoring the real needs of th eworking class of this country and

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the problems confronting the labor movement, as they shaped themselves under the actual political conditions of this country, which prescribe the conditions under which the economic struggle of the workers shall be carried on, until the party has become something apart from the labor movement. It is under their leadership that the party is now wasting its energies in small change or chasing after rainbows, attempting, in New York, to square the circle by formulating a workingmen's compensation act that will stand the test of "constitutionality," and elsewhere to pull society out of the quagmire by its own boot-straps by devising the clever scheme of nationalizing the railroads on the accumulated dividends of a few shares of stock which the nation will purchase from the capitalists. And it is under their guidance that we are now to eschew the discussion of the problems of a labor party on the specious ground that they are purely "academic." Such a course would have the advantage of saving some nerve-racking work, and the convenience of comfortably sitting on the fence as long as possible, which seemes to be the "practical" results some of our leaders are anxious to achieve. To those, however, who look with open eyes on what is going on around them, and are ready to assume responsibility and to do their duty in the work of educating and organizing the working class, the labor party presents a real and immediate, nay, a pressing problem. It should therefore receive careful attention at the hands of all thoughtful Socialists, and have a full and all-sided discussion.

It is with this in view that the following is here offered for the consideration of our readers. As the problem is many-sided and could not be adequately treated in its entirety within the limits of a short article, I shall only discuss here one phase of the question—that of the probabilities of the success of such a party in achieving the purpose for which it would be created; leaving untouched the question of the price to be paid for such success, as well as whether other and incidental good might result from its organization. These and other phases of the problem will have to be treated separately.

In order that the discussion may proceed intelligently we must first answer the question: What is a Labor Party? Every Socialist party is supposed to be a labor party. But what those who speak of the organization of a labor pary as distinguished from a Socialist party, have in mind is a party limited in its scope in two ways: First, by eliminating the ultimate Socialist ideal, the co-operative commonwealth, and confining its propaganda to present-day problems; and, second, by eliminating "general" questions and confining itself specifically to the special problems of the industrial proletariat and particularly that portion thereof which is organized into trade-unions. The prototype of such a party is the British Labor Party, as its "labor" members view it. Historically as well logically it is an attempt to carry out by means of a political party of their own

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the program and demands of the most enlightened trade-unions, unhampered by any entangling alliance with Socialist principles and tactics. Its aim is to unite in its organization the entire industrial proletariat irrespective of "political" or "social" belief, on a program of its own, "immediate demands;" and to carry that program through by the aid of bourgeois radicals who are "friendly disposed" towards the "reasonable demands of labor" and such bourgeois political parties as may need its aid in Parliament and are ready to pay its price in the way of "labor legislation."

It is of the very essence of such a party that it must not be "revolutionary." First, because its aim is not to overthrow any existing order, but to meet the needs of "labor" under the present system. Second, because it would then fail to reach the more conservative elements of the working class. And third, because it would thereby alienate the sympathies of the bourgeois radicals, and (and this is the most important consideration) it would make it impossible for any bourgeois political party to grant any of its demands. Its strength must lie wholly in its parliamentary position. Its chief effort must therefore be to unite so many voters as to place each of the other parties (in so-called two-party countries) or at least one of them in a parliamentary minority so as to throw it into an alliance with the labor party as the only means of obtaining power.

In order to succeed in such effort any "revolutionary" spirit which it may develop must be curbed at both ends: On the one hand no section of the electorate which could be appealed to with success should be neglected, and therefore only the most obvious and pressing demands, and such as would not offend the "inherent conservatism" of the masses, should be put forth before the electorate. On the other hand its demands and methods of agitation must be such that a respectable bourgeois party could enter into a parliamentary alliance with it without betraying the interests of its own constituents and without alienating its own more conservative voters by a compromising alliance with dangerous agitators. A failure to appreciate the latter circumstance might lead to a combination of the two bourgeois parties or, where only one is in a minority, even to the sacrifice by that one of its desire for power on the altar of its "principles," which comes to the same thing.

For the same reasons the demands of such a party must be strictly "economic." They must also be "practical," and under no circumstances may it permit itself to indulge in "theories" or "abstractions." In fact it must be so "practical" as to have no "abstract" principles, either social, political, or otherwise, so that it may unite on its practical program, both at the polls and Parliament, people of the most divergent "principles."

It would seem at first blush that this is just the party for this country.

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For where in the world are parties inclined to be more "practical" than in this country? Where are "theories" and "abstract" principles more readily set aside in order to serve some immediate necessity, whether political or otherwise? And yet, on second thought it will be found that there are insurmountable difficulties in the way of such a party. Difficulties which make its practical success, the achievement of the particular purposes which it sets before itself, an impossibility, and its failure a foregone conclusion.

In the first place the conditions of bourgeois party life in this country are unfavorable to such a party. The first condition of the success of such a party is the presence of a radical bourgeois party willing to ally itself with such a labor party, as is the case in England, for instance. This presupposes a real difference in the principles or policy of the old parties, the one being conservative and the other progressive, so that the progressive party, or at least a dominant radical element therein, feels itself more related in principle and policy to the labor party than to its bourgeois antagonist. But there is no such party in this country, and there is no prospect of there being one in the near future. The party-constellation in this country is in many ways peculiar, and puzzling to those unfamiliar with the history of parties in this country and with the real workings of our governmental machinery. And even the well-informed would find it a hard task to tell the real, present-day, difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. This is due to the fact that our parties are really not parties in the ordinary sense of the word, but composites or federations of parties necessitated by our electoral and governmental system. Notwithstanding this it is usually assumed by those favoring the organization of a labor party that such a party could carry through its program with the assistance of the Democratic Party. No particular reason can be assigned for this expectation except the fact that the Democratic Party is now in a minority and therefore an "opposition" party, and that it is believed not to be "trustified" quite as much as the Republican Party, a circumstance which in its turn is supposed to be due to the fact that the Democratic Party is opposed to the "protective tariff," the "mother of trusts." Such alleged radical movements within the Democratic Party as the Hearst movement also had something to do with fostering this belief.

And yet, such belief is quite unjustifled. If there is any difference between the Republican and Democratic parties it is surely not to the advantage of the Democratic Party. In fact, of the two, the Democratic Party is the more reactionary and the more unsuited to become the ally of any real labor party or to in any way further a progressive policy of social and labor legislation, as I have pointed out some time ago in a series

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the United States and the Democratic Party," Neue Zeit, 1906-7, Nos. 44, 45, 46).

I shall, therefore, not go into details here, but merely recapitulate the conclusions and cite some examples. The Democratic Party as it is at prsent constituted is unalterably opposed to all those demansd of labor which necessarily form the basis of a labor party. First, because its dominant group, the southern millionaires and other lesser dignitaries of capital, and their allies, the "small men" of capital in the middle-west and elsewhere, are among the worst exploiters of labor, still abiding in the more or less primitive stages of capitalistic exploitations of labor with all that that implies. They are the natural foes of all labor legislation, including any legal restriction of the work-day even for women and children, factory-laws, employers liability laws, etc., etc. Second, because the Democratic Party is by tradition and "on principle" opposed to any national system of labor legislation as violative of the "strict-constructionist" principle of interpreting our Constitution, "state-sovereignty," "home-rule," and other sacred articles of the Democratic creed handed down from Jefferson. But a national system of labor legislation is absolutely essential to the progress of the labor movement of this country and would have to be made the corner-stone of the program of any real labor party.

The most shameful exploitation of child labor is as much a "domestic institution" of the Democratic South now, as slavery used to be before the civil war. It can only be effectually put an end to through congressional legislation. But this is bitterly fought "on principle," by all Democrats, even the very "radical." The same is true of peonage, of railway employers' liability laws, of national mining inspection laws; etc., etc. Even the injunction as a weapon in the warfare against labor, particularly as used to prevent boycotting, and the extension of the Sherman Anti-Trust law against the unions for the same purpose, which are now being made the immediate occasion for the agitation in favor of the organization of a labor party, are needed more by the "small" and "middle" *men* (read, Capitalists) affiliated with the Democratic Party than by the trust-magnates of the Republican Party. It is the small and middle capitalist—manufacturers that are afraid of a boycott by the labor-unions. The steel trust isn't. Nor are the other big trusts.

It is therefore no mere chance that Hearst went out of his way to publicly approve the anti-boycotting decisions of the Supreme Court. He was merely seeing to it that the "Democratic faith" was "kept pure," and incidentally trying hard to square himself with those portons of the

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problematical. Both English and American precedent could be cited in favor of such conclusion. The contingency is, however, almost as remote that of the entire disappearance of the present parties and their complete reorganization on entirely new lines corresponding more closely to modern industrial divisions and currents of social and political thought, and is therefore out of the range of "practical politics."

This is not, however, the only, and not even the chief obstacle to the success of a labor party in the United States. That lies in the absence of democratic government in this country. The first pre-requisite of a labor party, as well as of Socialist ministerialism, is true parliamentary government, based on real democracy. The success of the British Labor Party was made possible by the fact that the Liberal Party needed, or expected to need, the assistance of the labor party to form that majority of the House of Commons which in Great Britain is absolutely necessary in order to carry on the government. It is of the essence of the government in old "monarchial England" that every *act* of the government should be approved of the people as represented by the majority of the men elected by the people to Parliament. The government must at all times enjoy the "confidence" of the people, and it is therefore at all times amenable to the will of the majority of the House of Commons. It can at any moment be turned out of office by a vote of lack of confidence on the part of a majority of the House of Commons; and every deliberate defeat of any ministerial legislative proposition, or any vote of censure or dissatisfaction with any executive act of the government by that House is considered proof of a lack of confidence on the part of the people, and must be followed by the resignation of the "government," that is of the ministry which carries on the government on behalf of the House of Commons, unless it wants to appeal from the representatives of the people to the people itself. The latter is not a "prerogative of the Crown," as it is sometimes represented to be by American writers who take advantage of the inheritated jargon of English politics to keep their countrymen in ignorance of the rapid strides of democracy abroad and of the defects of their own antiquated system of government. On the contrary it is a necessary complement of representative democracy, like the initiative and referendum under other circumstances.

The fact that "the government" must at all times have behind it a majority of the elected representatives of the people gives small parliamentary groups which have the "balance of power," immense parliamentary influence, for they can at any time "turn out the government" by refusing to vote for legislative proposals or to approve of its executive acts. This in turn gives to these groups great power even if they do not hold the balance of power absolutely, if the condition of parties is such, or is likely to become such, that a combination may be formed by small

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groups which would leave the government without the necessary majority.

Take the situation in England to-day, the labor party is in a position to obtain its demands or at least some of them, because it is in a position where its support is a matter of life and death to the present Liberal ministry and indispensable to the Liberal Party generally. Mr. Asquith cannot "carry on His Majesty's Government" without the support of the Irish Nationalists and the Laborites. He will therefore have to come to terms with both and grant their demands, unless their demands are so high for him that he would rather risk a new election with the chance of having to turn the govrnment over to the Conservatives. Of coure, he could enter into a pact with the Irish Nationalists only by which these would stand by him through thick and thin, and then he could defy the Laborites. But this would not be wise politics on his part. To begin with, his party, and particularly its most radical wing is committed to a friendly attitude towards the Labor Party by ante-election pledges made in anticipation of that party's present parliamentary position, which was by no means unexpected at that time. Secondly, the price of such a pact would be too high and extremely distasteful to him as well as a large portion of his following, and particularly the electorate, who are by no means ready to go the limit of the Irish demands, so that at the next election, with the active hostility of the Labor Party and the dissatisfaction with his Irish policy the results would probably be such that the Liberal Party could not retain power at any cost.

Sound and far-sighted policy therefore demands of him a parliamentary alliance with the Labor Party. And as the demands of the Labor Party are likely to be moderate, and the radical wing of his own party is in sympathy with some system at least of progressive labor legislation, the elements of and reasons for a compromise are present, and the Labor Party will get its most urgent demands. Mr. Asquith will have so much more reason for granting these demands, as this would in turn help him to arrive at a compromise with the Irish Nationalists who would under these circumstances, probably give him their support, or at least friendly neutrality, for a good deal less than the realization of their full program, rather than risk a dissolution from which they could gain absolutely nothing no matter how the new elections go. It is this that makes the Britsh Labor Party or at least made it until now, an efficient engine to carry out its own moderate demands.

Now take a similar situation in this country. Let us suppose that a labor party has been organized, and that it succeeded in electing some 25 or 30 men to the House of Representatives. Let us also suppose that the numerical strength of the other parties is such that the laborites have the absolute balance of power, (a position better than that of the British Labor Party to-day). What would happen then? Why, just nothing.

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Of course, the election of 25 or 30 men on a real independent labor party ticket might move both old parties to do something in order to prevent the growth of the class consciousness of the working class which would thus manifest itself. But this would not be the result of the parliamentary power of the group, nor of its "practical" or "moderate" demands. It would be the result of the awakening independence of the working class ,and the practical results would probably be in inverse ratio to the group's "practicalness" and moderation, and in direct proportion to the revolutionary spirit and determination which the party that elected them would exhibit. And that is, of course, another story. But an admittedly non-revolutionary labor party, would, by its mere parliamentary strength or skill, accomplish absolutely nothing or next to nothing.

And for very good reasons: Such a parliamentary group could offer nothing to the old parties as the price of carrying through its program; its alliance would not be sought by either of them, unless it could be had gratis. Such a group, as far as sheer parliamentary influence is concerned, could stay in the house for ever afterwards without making it worth anybody's while to pay it anything for its support, which is the basis of success of such a party. The party out of power, that is the one that would not have the President and the majority of the Senate, could, of course, pay nothing, even if it wanted to. And the party in power wouldn't pay anything, because it need not have its support in order to carry on the government. Our parties, even much more than the English and other European parties, are particularly anxious about "carrying on the government." For in Europe it simply means carrying on the business of the propertied classes, whereas here it means, in addition, the keeping of the great army of job holders in place, with an honest administration, and the utilization of the great sources of graft, with a corrupt one. But all this has nothing to do with our House. It is the President, with the assistance of the Senate, that does the "governing," and it is the presidency that is being fought for here at our great national elections, and that is the real prize coveted by the old political parties.

At a pinch they can get along without any legislation at all. In fact, the conservative parties would be glad to get along without legislation. An ideal condition for one of the old political parties in this country is to have the President and Senate without the House of Representatives; this would give it all the power it wants without the responsibility of carrying out some legislative program which every party must, of course, promise before election. The reason why they do not purposely work to effect such a state of affairs is that at present with only two parties in the field it is rather hard to obtain the presidency while losing the House. But being placed in minority by a labor party, which would under our electorial system not involve the loss of the presidency, would worry one

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of our old parties very little, if it would not, indeed, be welcome. There would be absolutely no motive compelling one of these parties to enter into an alliance with the labor party whereby it would be compelled to carry out the program of the latter or any appreciable part of it.

By reason of the separation of the "government" from the legislature, making as it does the "governor" absolutely independent of and irresponsible to the people or its representatives, our legislators have in general come to play a very miserable role in our political life. It is this that makes the "Administration" (that is practically the President), that great and dreaded engine of power before which every mere legislator bows in trembling. It is this which has made our Senate, contrary to the experience of all democratic countries, so much more powerful than the House of Representatives, in fact reduced the House to virtual impotence. Because of the share that it has in the executive government, the Senate was enabled to maintain some independent existence while the House bows submissively to the dictates of the "Administration," even under present conditions when a rupture might become dangerous to the party in power. It is this finally, that has reduced the individual member of the House to the most degrading insignificance and powerlessness, and created that much talked-of and wondered-at "House machine," which laughs at all the "revolts" of the so-called insurgents. In a real parliamentary government every member of Parliament wields a real power all the time. And a threat of revolt on the part of a considerable number of the majority party would bring to its knees the strongest "House Machine," because it would involve the loss of all power by the entire party.

It goes without saying that the presence of a small independent group in a House in which individual members are absolutely powerless, and in a governmental system in which that particular House plays so insignificant a part, cannot possibly accomplish that which a similar group could manage to accomplish in a House wherein every member counts, and in a government wherein their House is the *only one* that counts.

In this connection it is very significant that the British Labor Party, which always insisted on "economic" demands only, and refused to be drawn in to "political" issues has now suddenly changed its policy and put forth as its first demand the abolition of the power of the House of Lords, the "'curbing" of the Lords, a traditional "political" demand of the Liberal Party, which the Liberal Party is, however now presumably willing to shelve or compromise; and Chairman Barnes even went to the extent of threatening to break with the Liberal Party and perhaps force a dissolution on that account. The Labor Party evidently appreciates that its entire success depends on the undisputed supremacy of the House of Commons. It is therefore a matter of life and death to it that this supremacy be maintained and further assured, whereas the Liberal Party

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might be satisfied with some kind of a "reformed" House of Lords wherein it could hope to compete with the Conservative Party, but in which the Labor Party could gain no foothold.

Another circumstance to which attention must be called, and which is also the result of the lack of parliamentary government is this: The condition of our parties already alluded to is such that even if the leaders of one of the old parties should enter into an alliance with the Labor Party and should be sincerely desirous of carrying out their agreement, they would be unable to do so. As a counterpart to the powerlessness of the individual member of the House to accomplish anything, we have the powerlessness of the party leaders to compel obedience in their following, which is the necessary condition of every well-regulated parliamentary government. Lack of influence on the real course of events breeds in the members a sense of irresponsibility. To this must be added our peculiar electoral system (which is itself only possible in a country where there is no real parliamentary government) by which each member's tenure of office depends entirely on the good-will of the electors of the electoral district in which he resides. Ordinarily this makes him the mere retainer of the local political boss, who has his own private ends to serve and cares very little for party pledges, and even at best it makes him dependent on, and therefore subservient to the local business interests. The party chiefs, nay, not even the whole party outside of his district, can either reward him if his "constituency" goes back upon him, (except, of course, by giving him a job), nor punish him, if his "constituency" stands by him.

Hence the remarkable spectacle of party lines being "broken" even on the supposedly most sacred articles of party faith and most hotly contested party issues, of which our legislative history, particularly congressional history, is full. Hence also the many broken pledges of our parties, which must not always be ascribed to the corruption and faithlessness of our politicians. Or rather, this corruption and faithlessness are only possible because of these political conditions, and would disappear under real democratic parliamentary government.

The most formidable obstacle, however, to the success of a labor party in this country is the fact that a mere legislative success would be insufficient to carry its program into executon. As shown in my articles on the "Political Situation in the United States and the Socialist Party," the real legislative power is vested in this country not in Congress or the State legislatures, but in the courts, principally in the Supreme Court of the United States. In consequence, a success such as was achieved by the British Labor Party, that is the placing upon the statute books those of its proposals which it wants to become law, even if achieved through some miraculous combination of circumstances by an American Labor Party, would be barren of any real results. In fact it would leave the working

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class just where it was when it started out to organize the labor party, for the Supreme Court would undoubtedly declare each and every important measure which the labor party would succeed in forcing upon the statute books as "unconstitutional." Indeed, it has already declared most of them, and not only the most radical of them either, "unconstitutional" in advance.

That the mere presence of a group of laborites in Congress would not cause the Supreme Court to reverse itself and adopt in the future a different "interpretation" of the Constitution is quite clear to those who have carefully studied the history of that august judicial tribunal. Whether the Supreme Court will ever be brought to do that by fear of a revolt of the working class, or whether it will not sooner "end" than "mend," is hard to foretell. But one thing can be foretold with absolute confidence, and that is, that the Supreme Court will never "mend" unless the alternative "end" is placed before it in signs that it can not mistake.

It would therefore be absurd for a labor party in this country to waste any energy on getting any labor legislation passed unless it at the same time took steps to prevent these laws being declared "unconstitutional." It would have to start out by demanding the "curbing" of the Supreme Court, the abolition of its power to declare laws "unconstitutional." And it would have to back up this demand by such a show of determination to use the entire resources of the working class and all the weapons and ammunition at its command in an endeavor to enforce this demand, as to carry the conviction to the entire capitalist class, including the Supreme Court, that it must "end" or "mend."

In other words, in order to do something *practical* it would have to begin by being *revolutionary*. And there goes the dream of a "practical," "safe and sane," American Labor Party. . . .

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Class War in Pennsylvania. The storm center of working class revolt in the United States is now Pennsylvania. As we go to press, fierce battles are waging in Philadelphia, Bethlehem and New Castle, and the whole state is like a smoldering volcano. We give a large part of our space this month to the details of this great conflict and to a study of the special conditions out of which the conflict grows, in the Pittsburg steel district, where modern capitalism reaches its highest perfection. But no local or temporary causes explain the tremendous battle that has begun. The wage-workers of Pennsylvania are but a step ahead of the rest of the working class of America in beginning to realize what the workers of France and Germany have long known, namely, that they are forced into a war that can not stop until they have obtained control of the machinery of production and have abolished the capitalists. The old days of "community of interest" between employer and employed have passed away never to return. **The capitalists must go!** Their work is done. It has been a great work and they will receive due credit from the historians of the future. None the less their work is done. They have trained and educated a new class, the modern proletariat, to organize and carry on the production of all the useful things that men must have to live, and now the surviving capitalists linger superfluous on the stage, filching day by day, from the producers, vast quantities of goods they could not make and can not even use. They have become an obstacle to the work of the world and a menace to the lives of those who do the work. **The capitalists must go!**

Help the New Castle Comrades! We want to call the special attention of every Review reader to the article by Louis Duchez telling of the arrest and impending trial of Comrades Stirton, McCarty and other Socialists at New Castle. This is a fight which vitally concerns every member of the Socialist Party, every member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and all who sympathize with either or both of these organizations. At New Castle the two are working in complete harmony. Local New Castle of the Socialist Party, one of the livest and most active locals in the whole United States, owns and circulates a weekly paper called the Free Press, which has an adver-

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tising patronage that pays the cost of printing, and is such a power in the city that it has won the bitter enmity of the Steel Trust, whose wage-workers it has been stirring up to demand better wages and better working conditions. Solidarity, an I. W. W. weekly of national circulation, is also printed on the press belonging to the Socialist Local. As we go to press word comes that the editors and publishers of both papers have been convicted and sentenced to $600 fine. The Free Press comrades have asked for a new trial and are out on bail, while those on Solidarity have gone to jail. There is every reason to believe that the Steel Trust stands behind the prosecution, and the contest will doubtless be a long and expensive one. The New Castle comrades have plenty of courage and energy, but they must have financial help if they are to win. Contributions may be addressed to the Free Press Defense Fund, Box 622, New Castle, Pa. The best way to help Solidarity is to send C. H. McCarty, Secy., Box 622, New Castle, Pa., $1.00 for a year's subscription. You will get a good dollar's worth for your money, so if you want to feel as if you were contributing, you had better subscribe for more than one copy.

The Logic of Events. Those of us who have come to accept the theoretical principles of Socialism through reading and study are very apt, unless we keep in close touch with the real class struggle in the great industries, to vibrate between moods of eager enthusiasm for the speedy coming of the co-operative commonwealth and of pessimistic despair over the stupidity of the contented, conservative wage-slaves. We too often forget what our own theories tell us, that ideas do not make facts, but facts make ideas. The awakening of the working class can not be expected to come from accurate abstract reasoning in social economics by a majority of the wage-workers. It must and will come from changes in the mode of production which precipitate a struggle in which the workers find themselves forced to fight. These reflections are irresistibly suggested by the following address lately issued by W. D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, every word of which is worth reading.

> The general strike in Philadelphia is a new thing in the history of strikes in America. The response it has received on the part of not only organized labor, but of unorganized labor, has surpassed my wildest expectations. It was not called by a few leaders of labor, but labor leaders were forced to call it at the demand of the rank and file of the men and women who compose the labor movement. The Philadelphia strike, in behalf of the Amalgamated Asociation of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, was a spontaneous uprising of the working class, who refused to stand idly

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by while members of their class were being slaughtered and refused their constitutional rights by a few capitalists at the head of the Rapid Transit Company.

I don't believe the presence of every international officer in the American labor movement could have stayed the Philadelphia strike. Contracts and agreements with employers were held of no value in the presence of a desperate crisis in the affairs of labor that had been precipitated by the Philadelphia Transit Company. The refusal of the company to arbitrate was a direct blow aimed at the trade union movement. It was felt if the car men's union could be destroyed other labor organizations would be attacked and destroyed. In self-preservation, therefore, organized labor of Philadelphia forgot agreements and contracts and internal differences and united to repel the attack that had been made upon it.

The tremendous response unorganized labor made to the call to the strike is unprecedented and significant. It discloses a solidarity of labor which, no doubt, has sent a chill of consternation through the entire capitalistic world. I predict that at the conclusion of this strike Philadelphia, long regarded as the poorest organized industrial center in the United States, will be the best organized and most progressive.

Because of this general strike a new situation has been injected into the American labor movement. International unions are now confronted with a new policy—the sympathetic strike. Just how that policy will be received I am unable to say. But as capital organizes so labor must organize, and as capital adopts new methods of waging its war against labor so must labor adopt new methods of maintaining its rights against the aggressions of capital.

Whether the Philadelphia strike wins or loses, the cause of labor in general has tremendously gained. The education labor has received by reason of the awakening incident to the general strike will fit it to organize more effectively and march on to grander conquests until labor, the creator of all wealth, will have come into its own.

These words, from the official head of what yesterday we thought a hopelessly conservative union, indicate that a united working class in America is not far off. Unless all signs fail, the final struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist class is at hand. Whether the Socialist Party of America will be an important factor in that struggle or will be contemptuously brushed aside by the combatants on both sides will largely depend on our tactics in the near future. The Cossack's Club is an issue that will win more recruits than the most ingenious reforms that the mind of man can devise. The pledge that we as a party should make and carry out is to do all in our power to stop the use of the police and courts on the side of the employers against

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strikers. This is one way to make ourselves a vital part of the revolutionary movement that is swiftly taking shape before our eyes.

Delegates to International Congress. The Socialist Party of America has voted to send eight delegates to the International Congress to be held next August. They are to be elected by referendum, and nominations are now being made. As most of the discussions, both on the floor of the Congress and in the various committees, will be carried on by comrades who do not speak English, a knowledge of other languages is essential to the efficiency of a delegate, and this limits our range of choice. Without any disparagement to the claims of other comrades, the Review would suggest the nomination of two who seem to us admirably qualified in every way. These are Louis B. Boudin, of New York, whose article on tactics appears in this issue, and Robert Rives LaMonte, of Connecticut, one of our associate editors.

Socialist Party Congress. The Socialist Party of America is now voting on a referendum to do away with the party congresses provided for in the constitution, to be held in the even-numbered years in which no presidential election occurs. The result of this vote will not be known until April 6. In the event of its being defeated, a Party Congress will be held in Chicago on May 18, and delegates will have to be chosen at once. This year's Congress, if the referendum does not do away with it, will almost certainly mark a crisis in the affairs of the party. It may unite the comrades of opposing views upon new plans of action in which all can work in harmony, or it may result in driving from the party some of its most valuable members. Much depends on the selection of delegates. We trust that those who agree with the **Review** on questions of tactics will make every effort to secure adequate representation at the Congress, and that the delegates may be able to devise methods for keeping the party in closer touch with the revolutionary union movement which is assuming such vast proportions.

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Prussia in Revolt. The world is gradually awaking to the fact that something is happening in Prussia. The cable brings news of impressive street demonstrations and marvellously organized open-air meetings; the voice of a population rises in solemn steady protest.

To readers of the REVIEW there is, of course, nothing new in all this. For years the Social Democrats of Prussia have been waging war for electoral reform. So far as its electoral system is concerned Prussia is one of the most unreformed countries in the civilized world. It still has its old three-class, indirect system with open ballot, a system cunningly devised to divert the people without giving them a real voice in public affairs. The Social Democrats, with occasional support from other parties, have been making a campaign for equal, open and direct suffrage. In the address from the throne delivered on October 20th, 1908, electoral reform was definitely promised. And when the present Prime Minister, Herr Von Bethman-Holweg, entered upon the duties of his office he re-affirmed this promise.

On February 5th the outline of the government's proposal was at last given to the public. To the astonishment of everyone except those on the inside, the new measure is quite as bad as the old one. Its only new features seem to have been designed to secure the support of certain influential elements in the population. The three-class system and the public ballot were retained. The only radical change lay in the introduction of the direct, as opposed to the indirect, ballot. This is important as a matter of principle, but in itself would bring about no great change. And the other reforms provided for are merely specious. Under the old system one or two voters, if their taxes were high enough, might be placed alone in the first class and so weild one-third of the electoral power of their district. The new project provides that taxes above 5,000 marks a year paid by one voter are not to count in the make-up of the three classes. This will merely reduce the number of small capitalists condemned to vote in the third class. Besides this a special concession is made to the intellectual and official classes. Government employes and persons who

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have attained a certain degree of education are to be elevated from the third to the second class, or from the second to the first. It is easy to see that this provision will tend to win for the new law, and for capitalism in general, the support of writers, teachers and other intellectual classes.

At the present writing (March 15), the new electoral law has passed its second reading in the electoral commision of the Reichstag. The only important change made in it thus far has been brought about as the result of a compromise between the government and the clericals. As it now stands the measure provides for the continuation of the indirect system of voting, but—and this is the first real concession to the reformers—the ballot in the choice of electors is to be secret. Liberals and Socialists have protested with the utmost vigor during the sessions of the commission, but to no avail. The government seems stubbornly, stupidly bent on having its way.

Meantime the protest which has stirred the outside world has been gathering force with the passing of every day. On February 13 the police brutally attacked tens of thousands of persons who were peacefully, quietly marching through the streets of Frankfort, Halle and other cities. On the following Sunday meetings were held for the purpose of protesting against these atrocities. Finally, on March 6th, the police of Berlin carried their policy of repression *ad absurdum*. The Director of Police, Von Jagow, had formally forbidden any sort of organized demonstration. A committee of Social Democrats assured him that the party organization would pledge itself to maintain good order if it were permitted to arrange a procession or open-air meeting. It was all to no avail. As a last resort the Central Committee of the party suggested that all who wished to exhibit their disapproval of the government's electoral law take a stroll to Treptow Park at one o'clock in the afternoon, Sunday, March 6th. And at that hour the police were waiting, reinforced by the rural gendamerie, to prevent the stroll. The strollers gathered in great numbers; but, to the great discomfiture of the police department, it soon turned out that an immense demonstration was being carried on at the Tiergarten, near the heart of the city. Since the police were not in attendance to start a cause in any way that is wisest. The following passage from a speech fectly organized, wonderfully drilled, ready at any moment to act for their riot, this demonstration was conducted peacefully to its conclusion.

In the newspapers the Conservatives are wildly proclaiming that all protest is illegal. The government, now on the defensive, is trying hard to prove that Prussia is a civilized state like France or England.

In the Reichstag the Socialists have formally protested against the course of the government. There is in their speeches the old spirit of revolution. And they speak with a conviction, a sense of power, born of the fact that they have behind them a great army of revolutionists, per-

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by Comrade Ledebaur is a declaration to all the world of the purpose and sense of power which animate the German Social Democracy:

"The Socialists will continue street demonstrations and will possibly proceed to stronger measures. We will win universal suffrage for the Prussian people, despite the government and the parties supporting it. If violence is used against us, as is probable, then a revolution of the people will be jutifiable. The Stuarts and the Bourbons perished in attempting to use force against the victorious popular movements. Precisely so will any such attempt with us be crushed by the power of the people. If you let matters go so far, the people are ready."

Socialism and Syndicalism in Nimes. From February 6th to 8th there met at Nimes the seventh annual congress of the Socialist party of France. Its sessions were among the most significant ever held by a Socialist party of any country. By debate and ballot they crystallized the opposing tendencies of the French revolutionary movement. The deliberations were uniformly even and dignified, but the arguments were none the less vigorous, the differences of opinion none the less sharply defined.

The chief question at issue was the attitude of the party toward the old-age pension law now before the Senate. In order to understand the action taken it is necessary to know something of this measure. The subject of pensions for aged workingmen and women has long occupied the French public mind. In 1906 a law providing such pensions was indorsed by the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies and opposed by 90 per cent. of the Syndicalists in a referendum.

The measure at present under discussion is an interesting piece of bourgeois reform. The financial burden involved in providing pensions is to be borne by the workers, the employers and the state. Among the workers, men are to contribute 9 francs a year, women 6, and minors 4. They are to begin contributing immediately after the law goes into effect and to continue for thirty years, providing, of course, that they do not reach the pensionable age before that time has elapsed. The employers are to contribute an amount equal to that received from the workers, and the state a third again as much. It is estimated that at present this plan would annually raise 90,000,000 francs from the workers, 90,000,000 from the employers and 120,000,000 from the state.

The law provides that workers may receive pensions beginning with their sixty-fifth year. The number who would become beneficiaries has been variously estimated from 500,000 to 1,400,000, and the amount of the individual pension from 335 fr. to 1,080. Permission is given the administrators of the law to invest as they see fit the sums in their trust.

Long before the assembling of the Congress of Nimes this measure was the subject of a prolonged controversy. The Socialist members of

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the Chamber of Deputies have favored it from the first. It has ben understood that when it returned from the Senate they would give it their support. For assuming this attitude they have been attacked by the Syndicalist leaders, especially the Comrades Lafargue and Bracks. The defense was carried on by Jaurés and Vaillant.

At Nimes the whole matter was gone over and the attitude of the party determined for the present. The Syndicalists let it be understood from the start that they are not opposed to immediate reforms. Marius André declared: "The working-class is not opossed to pensions, but it is opposed to paying for them under this law; for if they must pay for them there is no need of a law, its own mutual aid associations will suffice." In a country where wages average 1,120 francs in the city and 700 in the country, the burden imposed by the law seemed to him more than the workers could bear. He objected also to the loan of money from the pension fund for capitalist enterprises. It appeared to him that this was merely an additional means of utilizing the savings of the worker for the benefit of the capitalist. Lafargue declared that the working-class, as represented by the Syndicat, was opposed to the law, therefore, the Socialist deputies, as representatives of the working-class should feel bound to vote against it. Comrade Luquet, in opposing the law, made one remark which throws a flood of light on the position of the Syndicalists: "It is said that the Confederation General du Travail does not concern itself with political matters. But the question of old age pensions is not entirely political; it is of immediate importance to the working-class and therefore, it is the duty of the Confederation to take some action with regard to it." Comrade Herve expressed the extreme view of the opposition. After explaining that reforms can safely be left to the bourgeois parties, he went on: "The revolution can not be brought about except by the general strike; but you cannot start a revolution with the disillusioned; I did not laugh at the failure of radicalism and I will not laugh at the failure of parliamentary Socialism."

The defense was partly on the basis of theory—each side accused the other of misunderstanding the theory of surplus value. But the chief plea of the parliamentarians was on the basis of tactical policy. They did attempt to show by the reading of no end of statistics that the law was not so bad as it had been painted, but at most they claimed little for it in its present form. Their cry was: "Pass the law; then amend it." Toward the end of the discussion Jaurés replied to those who had maintained that the party had no right to fly in the face of syndicalist opinion: "We have been told that in matters which affect the internal life of the Syndicats the party has but to register the decisions of those organizations. Yes! But we have never had the intention of subordinating the activity of the party to that of the Confederation, no more than we think

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the Confederation would subordinate itself to the party. We have proclaimed the necessity of maintaining the autonomy of these two organizations, an autonomy based on the respect we have for those two great forces; both together they furnish the outline of the collectivist society that is to be."

After three days of discussion the parliamentarians were supported by a vote of 193 to 155. The motion adopted read in part as follows: "No matter how imperfect the old-age pension law elaborated in the Senate, it bears witness, nevertheless, to the fact that Parliament has recognized the aged proletarian's right to lige. Consequently this congress directs the parliamentary representatives of our party to support the law. It charges them, moreover, to announce the fixed purpose of the party to lead the working-class in an energetic compaign designed to force Parliament to strengthen the weak points in the law and remove as far as possible its short-comings. The party and its representatives will immediately devote all their efforts to make this law a provision for working-class insurance against illness and unemployment."

Contrary to the reports in the capitalist press despatches there was absolutely no sign of disunion in the discussions of the Congress. After it was all over the leaders of both groups expressed in *L'Humanite* their mutual respect and their common pleasure at the feeling of solidarity which prevailed from first to last. Our French comrades seem to have got beyond the stage of sectarianism.

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WORLD
OF
LABOR
BY MAX S. HAYES

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That the effort to sandbag the hatters out of $222,000 is bound to produce a grist of damage suits can be depended upon, judging from the action that is now being taken at various points on American soil. Besides the fact that the machinists and plumbers at Winnipeg must run the gauntlet, as noted above the paper mill workers (who have gone on strike against trust oppression) are sued at Glen Falls, N. Y., for $100,000 damages. The cloakmakers of Cleveland, who are battling against the open shoppers at Cleveland, are asked to pay $25,000 damages. The molders on strike at St. Joseph, Mo., are proceeded against for $10,000, and brewery workers in New York have a $10,000 action hanging over them, with a number of other cases for smaller sums filed in various places.

Gompers says that under the hatters' decision every union in the country can be mulcted. The remedy? Oh, choose between Republican and Democratic politicians as "friends"—between Liberals and Tories, which the British workers didn't do. That's all. Isn't it enough!

The iron, steel and tinplate workers continue to battle tenaciously against the United States Steel Corporation. It is now almost a year since the struggle began and it has been a hard contest. There doesn't seem to be any sign of a possible settlement on the industrial horizon. The banner lodge of the Amalgamated Association seems to be located at Martins Ferry, O., where the men drove the trust and its strike-breakers and spies out of town despite the fact that the Ohio militia was rushed to the assistance of the trust by Gov. Harman, who has a Presidential bee buzzing in his bonnet. While the mill workers succeeded in forcing the trust to close its plant, they are being harassed on the political field—that is many of the strikers have been indicted by a grand jury upon various charges and an effort will be made to send them to jail. The men have sent out an appeal for funds to defend themselves. Many of them are Socialists and the party locals and members ought to assist.

Pretty much the same condition exists at New Castle, Pa., except that a score or more men have been thrown into jail and others are threatened with imprisonment. Desperate efforts are being made by the ruling class to destroy the Free Press, and Solidarity the Socialist papers that have done yeoman service for the strikers, but the scheme will hardly prove successful. The New Castle plant is running in a way and the trust must be sinking a barrel of money in keeping up the bluff.

In Indiana heroic sacrifices are being made by the tinplate workers to save themselves from sinking into the open shop slavery, and it is satisfactory to note that the Socialists are supporting them to a man, which is in fact true everywhere.

I understand that this department of the Review is extensively quoted in the Socialist press of Italy, Austro-Hungary and other European countries. If so, the Socialist and labor press in the old countries can do no greater service to the workers in Europe than to warn them constantly of their peril in coming to "free" Amreica. Absolutely and unqualifiedly the plutocrats in the United States are more merciless in the game of labor-skinning, more brutal in their treatment of labor and more greedly for profits, than is capitalism in any other section of the world, not excepting Russia, Spain or the Congo.

Navigation on the Great Lakes is opening again and last year's battle between the United States Steel Corporation and the seamen is to be continued in all its fury. The Lake Carriers' Association, which is dominated by the steel trust, as everybody knows, has again hoisted the black flag of the open shop, and its interpretation of the open shop is that no union man will be employed. This was the policy pursued last year, although the sanctimonious hypocrites of the L. C. A. denied it.

The sailor men are great fighters. One of their officers told me a few days ago that in the season of 1909 their 8,000 men on the firing line took 65,000 strike-breakers off the boats, or on an average one unionist won over eight non-unionists. This year the organized men expect to do as well or better if necessary.

It's a pity that the longshoremen did not join hands with the seamen last year, as the former are pretty well shot to pieces anyway, except in a few places. Maybe a clarion note will be sounded alongshore this year.

It looks like the next big street railway strike will be precipitated in New York and New Jersey, where the men have been forbidden to join unions, but have been organizing secretly for some time. Now it is proposed when 50 per cent of the men are organized to make a bold stand and demand recognition of

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the union and improved working conditions.

It will be recalled that several years ago the New York street and elevated car men went on strike, but were soon defeated by an army of hirelings under command of the notorious Farley, who has since retired as a millionaire to spend the rest of his worthless life operating a stable of race horses.

However, while Farley was the tool to encompass the defeat of the street railway men, the real general in that battle was August Belmont, president of the National Civic Federation, American representative of the Rothschilds and one of the most successful public franchise manipulators in the world.

Because he has plenty of filthy lucre Belmont is, of course, regarded with awe and reverence by those who bend the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning. He is a class-conscious plutocrat who discourages "that evil thing" called class-consciousness among the workers, and, as Robert Hunter has proven, Belmont is on to his job in having raised the funds to send a famous commission of great labor leaders, professors and the like to Europe to study municipal ownership, and later collected $50,000 for the purpose of smashing socialism once more.

Now that a crisis is again approaching in New York street railway affairs, some people are wondering whether Belmont, who poses as a workingman's friend as the head of the National Civic Federation, will smash the union into smithereens when it prepares to formulate demands for improved conditions for those he pretends to be attempting to benefit.

Ten to one, when the ball does begin, some of our resolutionary leaders will adopt numerous whereases and appeals to fat men to kindly get off our backs, which will bake the f. m. laugh and characterize us as a droll bunch of clowns.

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History of the Great American Fortunes, vol. II., by Gustavus Myers. Chas. H. Kerr and Company, Chicago. Cloth, $1.50.

In this volume Comrade Myers continues his narrative of the rise of great fortunes in America, his painstaking researches being as evident here as in the first volume. The seizure of the public domain through land steals in Congress, Voting of subsidies by that body, by cities and by states, and enactment of laws which enabled "enterprising men" to secure great tracts of land for almost nothing,—these practices form the basis of most of the great fortunes from railroads. This swindling and fraud became chronic immediately following the adoption of the constitution and the in auguration of Washington as President. In fact the Ohio Company, which the author shows pushing a big "land job" through Congress in 1792, was busily engaged in similar transactions before Washington became President. He, by the way, was an influential member of this corporation and while he was presiding at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, in 1787, this corpora tion was "steering" a big land steal through the old Continental Congress in New York.

One can scarcely repress a feeling of admiration for the methods employed by the land grabbers in seizing what they wanted, methods that have included extensive bribing, purchase of votes, and eviction of settlers, all performed with a cunning and skill that is close akin to genius. This wholesale theft of public lands has continued down to the present and another chapter is being written to the story by the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy that is disturbing the dull routine of the present Congress. An amusing phase of these steals is the frequent appointment by Congress of committees to investigate itself. Except for some rare instances when some subordinate official without a "pull" was made the "goat" in these investigations, nothing was done and the steals continued.

The formidable array of testimony cited by Myers shows that the railroads of America were built by the federal and state governments who gave the land or allowed it to be stolen, and who also generously voted subsidies for building them.

In accord with the general plan of the work the author interupts his story of land conquests with a chapter showing the attitude of the ruling classes toward the working class.

Needless to say that all the powers of the time were employed to suppress their aspirations for better living conditions while the educated police,—preachers, editors, lawyers, statesmen were zealous in cultivating and teaching the ethics of submsision for the workers. When this treatment failed there was the all powerful argument of force employed by courts, jailors, and soldiers, an argument that was certainly effective if not convincing to the rebellious.

Having given the necessary contrast, the process by which the fortunes of Vanderbilt and Gould were acquired is reviewed. Both were types of their day, the difference between them and the smaller fry was their skill in all the arts of the swindler. For the facts we will have to refer the reader to the work itself for here, as usual, the author cites government reports and official testimony which cannot be impeached. He is to be commended for the great mass of material he has sifted and used in his narrative. The work is not of the usual "muck-raking" kind that ends with ineffectual denunciation of individuals. Viewing the transactions as an historical process in which men are creatures of their environment, he does not spend his force in useless wails. Neither does he excuse. He simply strips them of the heroic qualities ascribed to them by historians and bio-

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graphers and presents them as types of an age of exploitation. And that is an important service to the workers of today. J. O.

Social Solutions.—We have to thank Comrade Thomas C. Hall for one of the most valuable additions to the literature of time. Dr. Hall is not only a thorough Marxian but he is a scholar as well and his Social Solutions will do much toward presenting the socialist philosophy to the progressive church contingent. The book is published by Eaton & Mains, New York City, and will reach a new field of readers.

Many socialists are very apt in meeting religious men and women with a host of differences, thus heaping barriers where a little understanding might unite the divergent forces—often seeking like ends.

Anybody who reads Social Solutions will realize that Dr. Hall is best fitted to bridge the differences between the Church progressive and Socialism. He has accomplished a good work for us both. He has shown us the weaknesses of our ignorance and intolerance and paved the way for a stronger movement toward the great Social Solution—the common ownership of the means of production and distribution.

After you have read Social Solutions, put it in your Lending Library and see that it reaches our friends in the church.

Published in cloth by Eaton and Mains, New York city, N. Y.

The Poverty of Philosophy, by Karl Marx, translated by H. Quelch. Chas. H. Kerr and Co., 118 W. Kinzie htreet, Chicago. Cloth, $1.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon was born of humble parents in Besancon, France, July 15, 1809. He became the "father of philosophical anarchy," and by his followers is known as the "immortal Proudhon." His chief claim to distinction is his two works "What is Property?" and his "Philosophy of Misery." In the first work he answered the question suggested by its title by asserting that "property is theft" and "property-holders are thieves." The answer shocked the wealthy rulers of France and there was some talk of withdrawing the pension of 1,500 francs a year for three years which the Academy of Besancon had bestowed on the young student in 1838. In 1846 the second work appeared in which he delighted in startling contradictions and endeavored to reconcile them with Hegelian logic with which he was imperfectly acquainted.

Marx had in the meantime made the acquaintance of Proudhon in Paris and they became fast friends. Shortly before the publication of Proudhon's "Philosophie de la Misere," he wrote Marx a long letter regarding it and said: "I await the blow ot your critical rod." The rod soon fell when Marx published his "Misere de la Philosophie," t'e title, by the way, being a delicious paraphrase of the title of Proudhon's work. Proudhon never forgave Marx for the "blow." Marx's view of Proudhon, the man who scared the ruling class of France with bombastic phrases, is well summed up in his preface: "M. Proudhon," he writes, "has the misfortune of being singularly misunderstood in Europe. In France he has the right to be a bad economist, because he passes for a good German philosopher. In Germany he has the right to be a bad philosopher, because he passes for one of the greatest of the French economists. We, as both German and economist at the same time, protest against the double error."

While conceding to Proudhon a certain brilliance of style and commending the freshness and boldness of his manner of putting everything, Marx subjects his statements to a pitiless analysis and shows that assumptions and declamation form the substance of his work. The fact that the French bourgeoisie took fright at Proudhon's anarchist paradoxes may be explained by the turbulent conditions in France at that time, but certainly not because of any logical presentation of acts or intelligent analysis of history. "He wished to soar as man of science above the bourgeoisie and the proletarians; he is only the petty bourgeois, tossed about constantly between capital and labor." And this judgment may be applied to many others today, especially middle class politicians who disavow any class sympathies and in the end render themselves ridiculous.

The "immortal" Proudhon, like some of his "eternal truths," is almost forgotten today. But Marx's answer is still of service to working men and always will be so long as men live who accept clever phrases and abstract reasoning for logic and science. Incidentally, also, it shows how far apart Anarchism and Socialism are and may be commended to the consideration of those who hold a contrary belief. J. O.

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The Substance of Socialism, by John Spargo, (B. W. Huebsch, New York, $1) is a collection of two lectures and one article reprinted from the North American Review. Comrade Spargo has endeavored to answer some charges made against Socialism which appeal to some timid souls who fear for "our Republic." The articles are couched in vigorous English but in his attempt to quell the fears of the enemy it seems to us that he concedes too much. In the address on "The Moral Value of Class Consciousness,' he intimates that some ill-informed Socialists have given a wrong impression of it, but considering the wide sources of information today there is no excuse for misunderstanding among "cultured" people if they really want to know the truth. Neither do we believe that the workman who becomes class conscious "can no longer entertain bitter hatred toward the capitalist." Even though the worker realizes that the class antagonissm is a product of history and that capitalists act in response to their class interests, he would be more than human if, in spite of his philosophical perspective, he did not feel hatred and resentment toward those masters who evade laws and bring on disasters like that at Cherry a few weeks ago. The class conscious worker will feel this hatred but his knowledge of the society in which he lives will restrain him from impotent acts of revenge. J. O.

From the Bottom Up, by Alexander Irvine. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. Cloth, $1.50.

Those who know Comrade Irvine, the "lay-minister" of the Church of the Ascension of New York, know him and caught his jovial and buoyant spirit, or who have marked his tremendous earnestness on the platform, would scarcely suspect a tragic background in his life; one that at one time was so clouded with despair that suicide in a burning building, while saving another, seemed a welcome solution to the problems which life pressed upon him. We are thankful after reading the story of his life that he was not reduced to ashes and has found a place in the world where he can wage battle in behalf of those who toil. His autobiography is a plain, forceful recital of the tragic struggle, sometimes humorous in spite of the shadows, of a human being born in the ditch. suffering chronic hunger, deprived of education, lacking opportunities, and yet climbing his way upward, becoming a ditch-digger, soldier, miner, Socialist, and preacher. His awakening in "a world of hungry people"; his struggle for an education; association with Bowery outcasts; fighting for the workers in New Haven and exposing peonage in the South; his hopeless struggle as pastor of a church where wealth ruled and hypocrisy was fashionable, all this reads more like a tale of adventure than the life strugle of a man who erred in being born poor. Every Socialist will enjoy it and not a few will find something in Irvine's experiences that will remind them of some incident in their own.

Social Service and the Art of Healing, by Richard C. Cabot, M. D. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. Cloth, $1 net.

One gets the impression after reading this book that here is a man with broad human sympathy for the unfortunate. It is easy enough for one of this type to become a mere sentimentalist, but Dr. Cabot never forgets his function of healer,—both physical and social. And the healer cannot allow sentiment to sway his judgment, though lack of it is a decided handicap. What the author pleads for is "team-work,"—a closer co-operation between social workers and physicians in relieving social and physical ills. Lack of such co-operation means inefficiency of both doctor and social worker. He pursues his subject into every phase of the work of both, citing incidents from his experience to emphasize the need of team-work. Practical suggestions are offered to increase efficiency and co-operation in these fields which make it invaluable for practitioners in both.

The German Element in the United States, by Albert Bernhardt Faust. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 2 vols. Ilustrated, $7.50 net.

The German element in the United States has played a more important part in our history than is generally recognized. Prof. Faust has sifted a vast amount of material and presented a work that is admirable in painstaking research, narrative, and scholarship, and revealing the importance of the Germans in the development of every phase of American life. Beginning with the colonial era an excellent review of the causes that led to the large German emigration to America is given. The wars following the reformation devas-

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tated Germany and reduced thousands to starvation. Emigration agents, ship captains, and land speculators took advantage of the distress to induce thousands to emigrate to America. Thousands left the Old World for the new, only to be robbed and swindled by the agents, speculators, and shipowners, and sold into temporary slavery in American colonies. The horrors of this white-slave traffic have been all but suppressed by historians, but Prof. Faust gives us a glimpse of them. One pastor writing in 1773 mentions a shipload of 1,500 German emigrants of whom only 400 lived to see America! The overcrowding developed starvation and disease and the dead were thrown into the sea. This was by no means an unusual occurrence.

If the Germans constituted a large share of the servile population they were also active in support of popular liberties. It was a German, Jacob Leisler, who, in the closing years of the seventeenth century, led a popular revolt against the great land kings and wealthy aristocracy of New York. It was also a German, John Peter Yenger, proprietor of the New York Journal who, in 1734-1735, won the first struggle for freedom of the press.

The author's account of the part played by Germans in the labor and Socialist movements is also very sympathetic, and we are glad to note that he does not join the chorus of respectables in glorifying the hanging of the Haymarket anarchists. The work is comprehensive and in the course of the narrative many keen observations are made on important events in American History. It is a distinct and valuable contribution to American historical writing and will no doubt find a permanent place in our literature. J. O.

Outlines of Lessons for Socialist Schools for Children, by Bertha Matthews Fraser, issued by the Children's Socialist Schools Committee, Local Kings Conuty, S. P.

We wish to congratulate Mrs. Fraser and the Kings County Local upon the good work they have done in publishing this excellent little book. Teachers of socialist Sunday Schools have not yet been able to find any concise literature to help them in the difficult ask of organizing classes for the little folks. This new book by Mrs. Fraser will prove of lasting benefit to every teacher. The book is not for the children but a sketch or outline for the instructors themselves. And these Outlines are an excellent foundation upon which to build. Mrs. Fraser does not start out with a lot of ready made ideas which the teachers are expected to pour whole into the ears of the children. The suggested Course is evolutionary, and a teacher following the outlines will present to her pupils the varying stages in the development of society, showing how each was the logical outcome of the other, and the relation that the tool, or methods of production bore to each advance. No man or woman should attempt to teach a Socialist School Class without preparation. A haphazard method will do more harm than good. Outlines of Lessons by Mrs. Fraser will prove a great help to the busy man or woman who is asked to aid in Socialist School work. (Price, paper cover 15 cents.)

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NEWS & VIEWS

The Defeat of the Labor Party.—The complete figures of the recent British elections are just at hand. In order to make no mistake, we quote from the official Report of the Newport Conference of the Labor Party.

The Laborites elected, as is known, forty members in place of the previous forty six. Of these only a minority claimed to be Socialists. The majority were run purely as Labor Party candidates, and the Labor Party has refused either to put Socialism in its Constitution or to tack the words "and Socialist" to its title.

Of the forty Labor members in the present House of Parliament, thirty were elected without any opposition on the part of the Liberals—that is to say, the Liberals voted for all of these candidates, and it is probable that not one of them could possibly have been elected without these Liberal votes!

Ten candidates were run in districts where two members of Parliament were to be elected. In seven of these districts the Liberals and Laborites each nominated one candidate against the two candidates of the Conservatives; the Liberals voted for the Laborites and the Laborites voted for the Liberals!

This leaves three double-member constituencies to be accounted for. In two of these the official Liberal party ran only one candidate, allowing the members of the Liberals to vote, if they pleased, for the Laborite for one seat and for the Socialists for the other! The fact that there were Independent candidates also in these two districts, one of them calling himself a Liberal, is of secondary importance, as the official Liberal party can claim to have done its best for the Laborites.

This leaves only one member of the present Parliament who ran against official Liberal opposition! All of these figures are taken from the report of the Executive at the Newport Conference and cannot be denied.

As an illustration of the exact situation in these constituencies, let us take the case of Leicester. In this district, says Mr. Hyndman, where J. R. Macdonald received sixteen thousand votes, election statistics show that there are only four thousand Socialists. Macdonald, then, was elected by twelve thousand non-Socialists and four thousand Socialists. At this calculation Mr. Macdonald, in order to satisfy his pledge to his own constituents, could only be one-fourth of a Socialist. But even this does not represent the whole truth, for the Independent Labor Party, of which Macdonald is a member, would not be accepted as a Socialist body in any country of the continent of Europe, nor in the United States. The International recognizes the I. L. P. as a Socialist body in England, but neither the French, Germans, Austrians, etc., would tolerate an organization in those countries which refused to recognize either the class struggle or the materialist conception of history.

The Independent Labor Party has started out with a bastard Socialism and diluted it with three parts of pure and simple Trade Unionism.

The Labor Party of Great Britain is less independent and farther from Socialism than the so-called Labor Party of San Francisco or a hundred other abortive attempts of the kind we have had in the United States—attempts which have been indignantly cast aside by the good sense of the American working people.

Spokane Passes Street Speaking Ordinance.—As the date for reopening the fight to regain the use of the streets of Spokane for propaganda purposes drew near the city authorities were loud in their interviews as to how they would take care of the "Bums."

In the afternoon of the 1st. detectives and deputy sheriffs raided the office at Hillyard and arrested Chas. Brown on the usual charge of conspiracy.

The day passed. No demonstration being made, the authorities and their

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the I. W. W. was whipped again.

The arrest of one of the chief sluggers, Captain Burns, of the detective force for perjury in the Heslewood Habeas Corpus proceedings at Couer d'Alene, Idaho, and the probable arrest of some 10 of his co-sluggers and some prominent "business" men who were imported to Couer d'Alene to help Burns out by committing more perjury, and the fact that the city had enough of the fight and was looking for a chance to back down as gracefully as it could caused a hurry up call from the Mayor and chief for a conference.

The conference resulted in the following settlement:

1. The city to enact the Seattle street speaking ordinance.
2. All prisoners to be released as soon as possible.
3. The I. W. W. Hall to be reopened without interference.
4. Publication of the Industrial Worker not to be interfered with.
5. All cases against the city officials to be dropped.
6. Perjury charges against Burns to be dropped.
7. The I. W. W. will not speak on the street pending the passage of the ordinance.

The following clipping from the Spokane Press of March 9 announces the introduction of a street speaking ordinance in the council:

> **To Repeal Speaking Ordinance**—Tired of the everlasting trouble and undesirable advertising for the city that has come from Spokane's notorious street speaking ordinance, members of the city council are today considering how best to get rid of it and not make too big a change all at once.

Woman: Four Centuries of Progress, by Susan H. Wixon, 10c; A Plea for the New Woman, by May Collins, 10c; The Modern School, by Francisco Ferrer, 5c. Stamps taken.
THE LIBERTY CO.
Sta. D, Box 4 - - Cleveland, Ohio

PAINE'S AGE OF REASON.....20c
The Myth of the Great Deluge.....15c
Ingersoll's Lecture on Paine.....10c
Might is Right, Ragnar Redbeard..50c
60,000 volumes in stock, catalog free.
GEO. ENGELKE, Antiquarian Bookseller
857 N. Clark St., Chicago

NEW SOCIALIST GAME
"The Class Struggle" Good fun, good propaganda. The whole family can play it. Mailed for 25c in stamps; agents wanted.

An Eleven-Year Old Hustler.—Little Comrade Warren D. Miller, the 11-year-old Socialist literature hustler of Rochester, Pa., is putting some of our bigger and older comrades to shame. Every month Comrade Warren sends in a cash order for copies of the Review and sells them to anybody who is interested in Socialism. And this month we hear that he is enlarging the field of his activities and hopes to dispose of a double order of Reviews. Comrade Miller is getting the Review into the hands of new readers. He is also able to earn a little pin- money in this way. We hope our other young friends will follow his example.

A Chinese View.—Comrade D. Bond. of Sawtelle, Calif., recently wrote a short article for the Industrial Worker in which he showed that there were only two nations to-day in the world. He showed that the workers of the entire world made up one country of exploited wage-slaves, while the capitalists, czars, emperors and presidents were brothers and countrymen in exploitation. A Chinese worker who heard Comrade Bond's article read at a meeting of the I. W. W. Local in Brawley, Calif., explained it thus:

"Fellel Wolkel Bond's daddy, him say 'jissy two nation' alle samee wolkman; alle samee lichman! Lich Melican, lich Chinaman, lich Niggle-allee samee one nation. Wolk Melican, wolk Niggle,

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samee other nation. Allee time fight. Bineby wolkee man sabe this. Then wolkman allee samee brother. Allee samee cousin. Allee fight lich nation. Conkel lich nation. Then alle one nation. ALL WOLKMAN." Verily this Chinese "sabes." So may every workingman in the world.

A Rousing Protest against that $220,000 fine imposed upon the United Hatters Union of Connecticut by the Courts is being sent out by the Cleveland Local of the S. P. We regret that space will not permit us to reprint their Resolutions here. The working class must not be silent in the face of this unprecedented piece of class legislation. We expect the Courts to favor the trusts and the millionaires but we do not propose to yield the few rights and privileges we still possess. Agitate! Educate! Organize! A united working class can accomplish all things.

Political Action.—A recent writer in the Review thinks that a good industrial organization is all that is necessary in order to introduce Socialism, and that a politcal party is a negligible quanitity. His tremendous mistake is that he takes it for granted that while we were building up an impregnable industrial organization the capitalist class would be idle. In truth, however, the capitalist class would make use of its political power and put our industrial organization out of business long before we could bring it to the stage where we could take possession. Political action alone can prevent that catastrophe. The ballot is the strategic weapon.

The Spokane heroes have thrown away their best weapon. The Socialist party has won its free speech fights by threatening the politcal offices of the oppressors. The fight in Spokane could have been won with a fraction of the energy and sacrifice by using the same tactics.

The workingmen of Philadelphia could elect a Socialist city administration whenever they like. If they had, they would have had a walk away in winning the street car strike, instead of the strenuous and bloody time they have had.

The election laws are unjust. But, the fact remains that in every election that takes place the vast majority of the votes are cast by workingmen. Therefore, the workingmen can carry any election they choose, in spite of the disfranchisement of a few of them.

JOHN M. WORK.



"I am greatly pleased with the knife, and I am sure it will be a useful pocket companion to me. It is gotten up in fine style and expresses at a glance in the embellishment of the handle just what its politics are and what propaganda it is desired to advance. I earnestly hope that you may send forth many of the knives to announce the happy day coming when knives will be used in strife no more, and when men shall be comrades and the world free.

Yours fraternally, EUGENE V. DEBS.

Comrades—When I think of the howl made by McRosie, Nebraska & Co. just after the election of 1908, I know there are five million Socialists in the U. S. now, and twenty million more and they don't know it. Now I have designed the above knife with **photos of Comrades Debs and Warren** and the **Socialist Party emblem.** Now clasp hands with me, and buy one or more of these knives.

They are as good as a knife can be made: Two blades, $1.50; three blades, $1.75; four blades, $1.85. Print your name and address like I do mine and mail P. O. order for knife wanted. I will send your knife by registered mail.

F. M. JOSLIN, - OZONA, TEXAS

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ETTOR AND SCHMIT—I. W. W. ORGANIZERS.

Joseph J. Ettor and Joseph Schmit have been carrying on an active campaign for industrial organization, along revolutionary lines, in the Pittsburg district during the past several months.

McKees Rocks, Woods Run, Allegheny and Butler have started organizations along the above lines and are carrying on a vigorous day and night propaganda.

The Steel Trust has awakened to this fact and is now spending its hard-earned increment in trying to put the revolutionary press in the steel district out of business—the Free Press, S. P., and Solidarity, I. W. W., published at New Castle, Pa.

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Sydney Mines, N. S. Canada. The miners of Glace Bay are still out after six months fighting with the Dominion Coal Co. officials, the Canadian militia and over 100 thugs brought in from Montreal and other places. All kinds of lawful and unlawful tactics have been put into force to get the men back to work. Up to date there have been about 1,780 families evicted from company houses, but they have all been supplied with houses by the U. M. W. of A., who are looking after the interests of the striking miners. The interests of the working miners are being looked after by the P. W. A., better known as the company union. The latter has locals in full working order inside some of the fences. According to reports all men taken inside the fences are initiated into said union.

Among others evicted January 21 Harry Lyons and family played a star part. While the sheriff was throwing the furniture into the streets one of Lyons' boarders played "Home, Sweet Home," on the mandolin. The striking miners are showing magnificent courage and no number of evictions will break their spirits.

Most of the evictions are planned for days when snow or rain is falling.—WM. ALLEN.

Socialism in the High Schools. A new spectre looms up on the horizon of capitalism! The latter trembles as it observes its very foundation, the school, grasped from its power and imbued with new doctrines, new ideals and with hopes for a better world. The Inter-collegiate Socialist Society has worked along these lines and now the Inter High School Socialist League has entered the lists to work among the high schools.

After a year of existence the Inter High School Socialist League has a membership of fifty and includes boys and girls of twelve of the nineteen high schools in New York City. Each member works his utmost to keep Socialism ever in the minds of his fellow students and the results speak for themselves. Clubs for the study of social science, socialist speakers, political campaigns, all within school, stand evidence of their activity.

But their sphere of activity is not limited by the boundaries of New York City. They wish to organize the high school students in other towns and cities. So far their efforts are rewarded by the organization of a branch in Philadelphia. They wish—and it is not impossible—to organize a chain of clubs throughout the nation that will, so to speak, drive another nail into Capitalism's coffin and that will be a potent factor in the Social Revolution.

These are their aspirations and their work thus far tends to justify them. But since they are unable to send organizers through the country they desire the co-operation of the socialists in different parts of the nation and outside of it. High school students and other persons in a position to aid in this respect should communicate with the officers of the league. The Inter High School Socialist League meets every Saturday at the Rand School of Social Science, 112 East 19th street, New York City, and its president is Alexander Gittes and secretary, Louis Lenzer.

All hands on deck, comrades! Foil the attempts of capitalized text books and of subsidized teachers to poison the young mind; and prepare the younger generation for the inevitable revolution!—ALEXANDER GITTES.

ADOBE HEADQUARTERS, I. W. W. THROUGHOUT THE SOUTHWEST.

WORKING STIFFS ALWAYS WELCOME.

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Men Wanted

All signs indicate that the Socialist movement in America is entering on a period of growth far more rapid than ever before known in this or any other country. Certainly the field is ripe for it, and if the growth does not come the failure will be due to the inefficiency of the Socialists.

Of all the methods thus far used, just one has always brought large returns proportionate to the efforts required. That one method is the sale of literature.

Socialist party locals that sell literature are live, growing locals, with members that understand the class struggle and can be depended upon to stick. Those that depend on visits of traveling speakers usually die between the speakers' visits and have to be revived each time, so that they never grow.

Isolated Socialists who get their neighbors to buy literature do not remain lonesome long; the books educate new comrades for them.

To sell literature is far more effective than to give it away. A wage-worker can stint himself year after year buying papers to give away, with less results than he could get from the sale of a hundred ten-cent books or magazines. For literature that is bought is usually read; that which is given away is usually thrown away.

The demand for Socialist books is growing by leaps and bounds. Comrades in different cities are already earning good wages from the sale of our books and magazines near home, and others in smaller towns are traveling month after month and supporting themselves in this way. and the field has scarcely been touched. There is room for hundreds more more to do the same thing this year, and we have the books they need. Our sales last month broke all records, but we still have on hand books that at retail prices amount to over $60,000.

Our co-operative publishing house is owned by over 2,000 Socialists who expect no dividends, and we do not need to make profits. We publish our books at retail prices far lower than is usual for sociological or scientifiec works, and then we give the profit to those who go out and find the buyers.

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$15.00 Worth of Literature for $5.00.

We want to start new men at once in this work of selling the Review and our books, and we are in a position to make an offer for a short time that we can not duplicate later on. For reasons that would require too many words to explain, we have on hand several thousand copies of various issues of the Review for 1909 and 1910. In many cases these will sell as readily as books. While these last we offer fifty of them free, postpaid, along with an order for $10.00 worth of paper covered books at $5.00. This offer gives the salesman wages amounting to $10.00 in return for his labor in selling books and magazines that cost him $5.00. We believe the best plan for a beginner is to carry only a few titles and make himself thoroughly familiar with the contents of each book he sells, so as to be able to make a convincing talk on it. We suggest the following as our

Hustlers' April Combination

25 copies Connolly's Socialism Made Easy	$ 2.50
25 copies Spargo's The Socialists	2.50
25 copies Marx's Value, Price and Profit	2.50
25 copies Darrow's The Open Shop	2.50
25 copies Review containing Darrow's The Hold Up Man	2.50
25 copies Review containing Cohen's Socialist Statesmanship	2.50
Total	$15.00

We will send all the books in this list to any address in the United States by mail or express prepaid for $5.00. Extra postage to Canada 50c; to other countries $1.00.

How to Start a Socialist Bookstore

A Socialist bookstore can be made a success in every large city and in some of the smaller ones. The Socialist Literature Company is making a big success of its store at 15 Spruce street, New York City.

Local Philadelphia of the Socialist Party is making another big success of a book room maintained at Socialist headquarters, 1305 Arch street. Others are doing the same thing in other cities, and a hundred such bookstores could be opened within a month and be made to pay expenses, with a fair living to the man or woman in charge. We have in preparation a new 32-page catalog which will be ready for delivery about the first of May, and we will furnish any reasonable number of these free of charge to any Socialist starting a bookstore and paying cash for a stock of books. The amount of capital required is not large. We do not advise renting a whole store at the start. There are plenty of storekeepers who would be glad to rent a little

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space for a few dollars each month. A hundred dollars will pay for a full stock of all the books we publish, with extra copies of those most likely to sell rapidly. For this amount we will send an assorted lot of books that will retail for $250.00, and will also supply catalogs free. The purchaser will have to pay freight on the books, and will also have some outlay to make for shelves, signs, etc. In many cases it will be advisable to arrange to carry a stock of new magazines, since this will help bring people in. But a capital of $150 will probably be enough to make a start. And to save needless correspondence, let us state definitely that we can not sell books on credit. It is only by requiring cash with each order that we can give you practically all the profit, and still keep on extending our work.

Our Record for February

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
Cash balance, February 1	$ 358.07	Manufacture of books	$1,367.72
Book sales	2,696.09	Printing February Review	583.16
Review subscriptions and sales	697.04	Review articles	50.00
Review advertising	121,62	Books purchased	34.78
Sales of stock	3,551.60	Wages of office clerks	313.70
Loans from stockholders	147.00	Mary E. Marcy, on salary	60.00
		Charles H. Kerr, on salary	105.00
		Postage and expressage	591.46
		Interest	17.07
		Rent	70.00
		Miscellaneoucs expense	53.75
		Advertising	642.85
		Copyrights	51.00
		Loans repaid	3,501.75
		Cash balance, February 28	129.18
Total	$7,571.42	Total	$7,571.42

It will be seen that last month we broke all records for the sale of books. The Review receipts were unusually light for the reason that the March Review came out just too late for us to get the usual check from the wholesale news company before the end of February. The large book sales enabled us to pay some book manufacturing bills that were due, and to save the cash discount on others. The sales for the first part of March have been even better than the corresponding days for February, and we should be in excellent shape but for the fact that a number of stockholders who have lent money to the publishing house have given thirty days' notice that they will need to withdraw it. Our total loans from stockholders now outstanding are less than $7,000, and our other obligations are less than $3,000. Our capital stock paid up on the first of March was $34,810. It will thus be seen that our debts are very small compared with the extent of our business; nevertheless they are troublesome and we want to get rid of them at once.

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We have books on hand that amount at retail prices to over $60,000, and fifteen hundred shares of stock still remain to be sold at $10.00 each. We have advanced the price of shares sold on monthly installments to $11.00, and we are not urging any one to subscribe on that plan, since it involves extra labor. But we want to sell the remaining shares of stock at once. To do so will pay off our debt and will give us the capital we need to enlarge the work of the publishing house.

A $10.00 Share and $15 Worth of Books Prepaid for $15.00.

A share draws no dividends, but it gives the holder the right to order any of our books, postpaid, at a discount of 40 per cent. And if you buy a share you become joint owner of the strongest Socialist book publishing house in the world, with a vote in the election of its directors. For $15.00 cash with order we will send you a fully-paid certificate for a share, and any books published by us, express prepaid, to the amount of $15.00 at retail prices. If you are not familiar with our books we suggest the following as the nucleus of a library:

Socialism for Students, Cohen	$ 0.50
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels	.50
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels	.50
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels	1.00
Socialism, Morris and Bax	.50
History of the Great American Fortunes, 3 vols	4.50
Capital, Karl Marx, 3 vols	6.00
Ancient Society, Morgan	1.50
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On March 25 we shall publish a new translation by William E. Bohn of Karl Kautsky's great propaganda work known to our German comrades as the ERFURT PROGRAM. We are giving the American edition the name THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

This book was written to support the position taken by the socialists of Germany in a platform which still stands practically unaltered as a statement of their principles and aims. Moreover, Kautsky is generally recognized as the ablest living writer among Marxian socialists. This book, therefore, comes as near being an authoritative statement of the socialist position as any one book can be. Until now it has been known to American socialists only in fragments, a number of pamphlets having been carved out of it at different times. These are now out of print, except in an edition controlled by the S. L. P., and we are now publishing in a very attractive shape the first edition of the entire work. It is nearly complete, a few passages more interesting to Germans than to Americans having been omitted to keep within a size that could be sold cheaply.

The following table of contents will give some idea of the immense field covered:

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THE INTERNATIONAL
Socialist Review

Vol. X. MAY 1910 No. 11

The Bethlehem Strike.

By Robert J. Wheeler.

A STRIKERS' MEETING IN THE MUNICIPAL HALL.

months have passed and the strike continues. Part he men are still holding out, hoping for a favorable lement. But starvation is slowly forcing them k to work.

What a bitter mockery is all talk about freedom nd opportunity in this land. Here are the workers, the wealth producers, forced to strike and pit their feeble power to endure starvation against the patience of the capitalist. And if they win the right to evenings at home with their family; Sunday a day of rest; increase of wages sufficient to meet the high price of food; protection against injury and death in the mills; relief from compulsory dues-paying to the church; what great gain have they? All these things were the birthright of the chattel slave.

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It has been a heroic struggle. These workers have given an exhibition of solidarity that will not be forgotten, nor will its influence be lost in the Lehigh valley. For more than ten weeks they have maintained the fight. Without financial support, they can hold out no longer. Unless something turns up to aid them within a week, the strike is over.

When a large body of men, actuated by a single purpose, moves toward the accomplishment of a certain end, whether they succeed or fail in their effort, there are valuable lessons to be drawn. But first it were well to relate some of the incidents which have happened since last month. It will serve well to illustrate the process by which capitalism easily defeats the best efforts of an obsolete labor organization.

Early in the fight Schwab saw that the workers were in a strong position as long as they could hold mass meetings in the Municipal Hall. This hall was only one block from the steel plant. Chairman Williams, with characteristic shrewdness, obtained a lease on the hall from the city council. The room had a capacity of over 3,000. The accompanying picture shows the hall crowded to its capacity, during the inspiring address of Comrade Gertrude Hunt. Schwab planned to oust the men from the hall. Said the Cossack captain to Organiser Lehner: "We would have broken the strike long ago if it were not for your damn meetings." Pressure was put upon the business men who sat in the city council. They were ordered by Schwab to revoke the lease. Frightened business men are abject in their desire to obey when threatened with harm by a big capitalist. Then too, they knew that the men were without money. So finally, they, craven like, eager to placate Schwab, voted 9 to 6 to drive the men out of the hall.

Meanwhile, Chairman Williams and Organizer Tazelaar planned a government investigation. Ugly stories were being told by the men about defective work being doctored up at night when government inspectors were not present. The charges were presented to the Department of Commerce and Labor by Congressman Palmer. The Department sent agents Stewart and Sullivan to Bethlehem. Directed by Chairman Williams, who had been a foreman, they made a thorough investigation and returned to Washington. Then circulars were printed by the strikers and mailed to every member of both houses of Congress. Contained in the circular was a detailed statement of conditions and charges against the Steel Co. Congress was urged to withhold contracts from the Bethlehem Co. until the strike was settled.

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Schwab then ordered the business men to send a delegation to Washington to see President Taft and urge him to intervene in behalf of the Bethlehem Co. President Taft's reply to the delegation contains his most brutal utterance against the working-class and shows him up as a typical capitalistic ruler. Said he: "If the Bethlehem work is up to contract, then the contracts ought to go to the Bethlehem Co., regardless of controversies that Bethlehem may have with third persons." It makes no difference to Bro. Taft of the Steam shoveler's Union, that men are working at Bethlehem on government work from 12 to 18 hours daily, for wages so small that many are forced to send their wives to work in cigar factories to help feed the children. The government knows no third persons, nor is it concerned about labor conditions.

Chairman Williams and Jake Tazelaar, with Councilman John

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the newspaper turned against the strikers. The newspaper turned. The Allentown Democrat defended the men from the first. The support of this paper was no small factor in the early days of the strike. All Schwab's efforts to muzzle the Democrat failed until finally, the owner was threatened with the loss of his license. He is a brewer. This would ruin his business. Needless to state, he sold the paper. Thus does capitalism destroy the freedom of the press.

The church has a great influence over the workers in this valley. With the exception of two Catholic congregations, the institution stands squarely with Schwab. How true it is the church never changes. Guizot says, in his History of Civilization: "Whenever the church had to choose between the cause of liberty on the one hand and despotism on the other, it invariably choose the side of despotism." So here in Bethlehem it stands with the rich oppressor and against the men who are fighting for a little more life and liberty. One pastor, who has collected dues through the office since the strike of 1883, and who is a wealthy stockholder in the company, attended a banquet in the office of the company last week. This modern Judas said: "Years ago these men were obedient and satisfied. They loved their employers and obeyed their pastor. But now these agitators have gotten in among them and sowed the seeds of discontent. Where it will lead to, no one can tell."

So now the strikers, shut out of every hall in the town, are meeting out of doors. No news of their struggle is permitted to reach the outside world. They are harrassed by business men daily and worried by the retainers of Schwab in the churches on Sunday. Their money is gone, their credit exhausted; their fighting spirit subdued by starvation. Still a large number is holding out and hoping that the

THE MASS ON PICKET DUTY.

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government, the capitalist's government, will aid them to make a settlement that will give them more human conditions.

The A. F. of L. has had every chance to win this strike. Pres. Gompers sent the most able organizer he had to manage it. Jake Tazelaar is a strong, resourceful fighter. He has let no chance pass to strengthen the position of the men. The men themselves have done everything possible. They joined the unions and faithfully obeyed the leaders. They were told that when they had done this, the A. F. of L. would support them until the strike was won. They did their part, but now they are losing the battle because the A. F. of L. has failed to support them with money. If the A. F. of L. cannot win a strike which began as a revolt of unorganized men, under what conditions can it win? If one of the minor steel companies can defeat the best fighters in the organization, what can the A. F. of L. do against the steel trust? Though Pres. Gompers and his Executive Council may close their eyes to facts and refuse to recognize that the tactics of the A. F. of L. have been out of date since the employers began to combine, yet those of the rank and file through these conflicts, now realize that we must change our methods.

It is useless to leave the job and starve while waiting for the capitalist to give in.

It is a vain hope to expect financial support from the working-class, sufficient to enable a large body of strikers to win against capitalism. The workers cannot stand the demands of the multiplying strikes and meet the increased cost of living.

The A. F. of L. cannot command enough money to support the strikes now on. With its present tactics it cannot win a great strike. As strikes multiply, its troubles increase and its power declines. Out of their necessity the workers will evolve an organization to meet their needs.

The workers may lose this strike, but the loss is but a temporary defeat. At the most, this fight was but a skirmish. It will break out again and find the workers better prepared. They have learned solidarity, they have gotten out from under the blighting and enslaving influence of the church. Their fighting spirit is aroused. They are learning by experience that the A. F. of L. is a dying institution. They look for something to help them in the future.

These then are some lessons learned in the Bethlehem strike.

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Prussia in Revolt.

Being Chapter I in the History of a Political Revolution.

By Dr. Anton Pannekoek.

TEN COSSACKS ARRESTING ONE "RIOTER".
From the Literary Digest.

political struggle now going on in Germany is the art of the whole European situation. Since the volution tumbled Russia from her predominance, rmany is not only the strongest military power on : continent but the greatest force in the European ction. And it is in Germany, likewise, that the socialist-labor movement is strongest. Here the forces of revolution and reaction stand facing each other armed to the teeth; here will take place the first fateful battles of the revolution.

I. Landed Nobility and Bourgeoisie.

What distinguishes Germany from America and Western Europe is control by titled land-holders, the lack of civil liberty and free institutions, and the cowardliness of the middle class. The bourgeoisie endures without protest the humiliating tyranny of the police. It goes without saying that one moment of determination on the part of this class would smash the whole regime of police and land-holders. But this is the last thing it desires. Police and land-holders are a

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barrier against the rising tide of the proletariat. In form the land-holders enjoy unrestricted mastery over Prussia, and through Prussia over Germany. They occupy all the important positions in the government, the army and the courts. In form they constitute the ruling class. But in fact they are in the service of the bourgeoisie. They are like mercenary soldiers kept in pay to fight a foreign foe. The foe, of course, is the working-class.

The present German Empire was founded at the command of rising industry. Before 1871 some three dozen paltry states, each with its own laws, taxes and trade regulations, rendered capitalist expansion increasingly difficult. Capitalism demanded a new state, and a new state sprang into being. The Prussian land-holders, despite their business thrift, had only with difficulty been able to maintain themselves. Now they had such an opportunity as has been offered to few other holders of hereditary privilege. With infinite skill they managed to keep the government in their hands and so make themselves necessary to the rising bourgeoisie. All that was necessary was to serve the purposes of the rising class as well as any government could. This it has done consistently and energetically: it has persecuted the socialists and done its best to prevent the organization of labor.

II. Economic and Political Development.

The founding of the German Empire in 1871 determined the further development of the nation. It was a strange creation, this empire; constitutionally nothing but a pitiful patchwork. The tiny states did not disappear; they remained, each with its own sovereign and its own laws. But over them was the empire. This was not arranged without design. By means of this device it was possible to serve the purposes of capitalism and still keep many important phases of political and social life in a medieval state of backwardness. The functions of government were divided: schools, police, local administration, etc., went on in the old way under the separate little states. But whatever had to be modernized for the sake of capitalist development was turned over to the empire. This included foreign relations, army, navy, tariff regulations, post-office, transportation and coinage of money. Naturally the constitution of the empire was drawn up on modern lines. As parliament it was given a legislative body, elected by universal male suffrage. No doubt, Bismarck, in granting this suffrage right, had in mind the possibility of playing off the mass of the people against the bourgeoisie.

But whatever may have been the motive for granting it, the

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imperial suffrage has been of immense value. In a capitalist state universal suffrage gives the only chance of securing representation for conflicting class interests. Every class, every group, can lawfully enter parliament and bring pressure to bear in proportion to its influence with the masses of the people. Thus discontent finds a voice: every change in the structure of society is immediately recorded in the law-giving body. And since the proletariat is now the rising class, it is not strange that universal male suffrage has been more useful to it than to any other class.

To the proletariat the imperial suffrage has been a mighty weapon in its battle for emancipation. It has given them the consciousness of power and inspired them to organization. Parliamentary power was the more necessary in Germany because the German bourgeois class has bequeathed to the rising proletariat no tradition of revolutionary courage. Here the working-class must needs begin modestly, feel its way, and gradually gather courage for the conflict. At times, under the Anti-Socialist law, the ballot was the only proletarian weapon, and with it the law was finally defeated and Bismarck, its author, brought to his fall. With these events began a new chapter in German history. Externally, Germany turns more and more to world politics and the development of its colonies; internally, the law-making power must continually give way before the growing power of the Social Democracy, while the bourgeois parties combine more and more closely in a reactionary coalition. Both of these facts result from the tremendous development of great industry within the boundaries of the German empire.

From 1882 to 1907 the agrarian population of Germany sank from 42.5% to 28.6%. During that period the number engaged in commerce and industry increased from 45.5% to 56.2%. The number of persons employed by small industrial concerns actually decreased between 1882 and 1907, while the number of those in the employ of large concerns leaped from 1,554,131 to 4,937,927.

A steady growth of the Social Democracy has been the result of this tremendous economic development. Beginning at a couple of hundred thousand, the socialist vote increased in 1890 to more than a million, in 1903 to more than three millions, and in 1907, under unfavorable conditions, to three and a quarter millions. This means that one third of the ballots cast are for socialism.

Another result of this economic development has been the unparalelled growth of the German labor unions. After the political struggle had destroyed the Anti-Socialist law, labor was at liberty to organize openly. At first the crisis of the early 90's prevented rapid

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development and, moreover, there was a sharp internal division in regard to the form of organization. But since 1895, when industrial conditions became favorable, the growth of the movement has been tremendous. From 1891 to 1907 the number organized in the free unions (Gewerkschaften) increased from 277,659 to 1,865,506, and the total income grew from less than $300,000 to $13,000,000.

In part this development has been the result of favorable industrial conditions, but in part, also, of energetic struggles and excellent internal organization. Although formally independent of the Social-Democratic party, the unions are filled with the socialist fighting spirit. This is shown by the fact that of the $36,000,000 expended during the past eighteen years $16,000,000 went to the support of strikes. Forced on by industrial development the craft organizations of the early days have more and more joined themselves into great industrial unions. Thus the metal workers, the brewery workers, the wood-workers and the building trades are now industrially organized. It may be said with truth that the craft spirit has entirely died out of them. Through unceasing struggle they have noticeably improved the condition of the workers; they have become a power with which the capitalists must reckon. In fact they have often dictated the terms of labor contracts. The capitalists, of course, have met the organizations of labor with larger and larger employers' associations. Every strike is answered with a greater lock-out. So the conflict has become constantly more bitter.

Naturally there were not lacking in the German union movement, the bourgeois and conservative tendencies which still control the old-fashioned English and American trade unions. The concessions forced from the capitalists gave rise to the notion that there would be no limit to conquests of this sort. Hence it was thought that the union movement alone was sufficient to make the position of the worker tolerable even under capitalism. From this sprang naturally the opinion that the unions would be able gradually to wrest from the capitalists their control within the factory and so usher in an industrial democracy without a political revolution. The most distinguished leaders of the German labor movement became revisionistic. When the Marxian theorists pointed out the limitations of the union movement, they were attacked as the enemies of unionism. In addition to all this it came about that in the 90's most of the groups in the Social Democracy underestimated the importance of the union movement. Only a few Marxians, like Kautsky, opposed this tendency. All this united to bring about a misunderstanding between the socialist and labor movements. This misunderstanding reached its most open ex-

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pression when, in 1905, the congresses of the two movements adopted contradictory resolutions on the subject of the general strike. An echo of it can be found in the defense of Samuel Gompers by various union leaders on the occasion of his recent visit to Europe.

But this Revisionist tendency was too strikingly at variance with the facts of German industrial life to endure long. The government persecuted the labor unions as vigorously as it did the political party. For the great trust magnates of the metal and coal industries further development of the unions meant defeat, revolution. By means of the black-list they drove the most active unionists from town to town; by the importation of hordes of Poles they sought to force down wages; and lately they have invented a compulsory system of labor exchanges which robs the laborer of all freedom of movement. The master-builders have the impudence to demand recognition of their labor exchange in the wages contracts. These contracts, which were formerly regarded as a means of maintaining the peace, are more and more a bone of contention. The courts are, of course, on the side of capital. The rates fixed by the contracts are now regarded merely as maximum rates, while if the men fail to live up to their part of the agreement, the employer has the privilege of raiding the union treasury.

In addition, the law-making power is brought directly into play against the working-class. The "finance reform" of last summer laid one and a quarter millions of dollars of taxation on the shoulders of the masses and let the rich go free. These taxes and the rise of prices in the world market have reduced to nothing the advantage won by the unions in the matter of wage-scales. The new police code contains provisions which will render the upward struggle of labor infinitely more difficult. The new insurance law is designed to take from the workers the administration of their own funds for sick benefits. Political reaction is gathering force: it threatens the worker at every point. Everywhere it creates increasing bitterness. Gradually the old, peaceful Revisionist spirit is disappearing from the unions, and the bond which unites them with Social Democracy gains strength with each new development. And it is constantly becoming clearer what a tremendous power these labor organizations wield in the struggle for the political state now entered on by the German working-class.

III. The Struggle for Suffrage Reform.

The Russian revolution created the conditions for a revolutionary movement in Germany. So long as the Czar stood on the eastern

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frontier as a mighty power, he was ready at any moment to help suppress a revolution in Germany, as his predecessor suppressed one in Hungary in 1844. But the Japanese war and the revolution destroyed the military power of Russia. The Russian proletariat, moreover, has taught the German people the use of a new weapon, the general strike. The awakening of various Asiatic peoples and especially the revolutions in Turkey and Persia have upset international relations and roused the international proletariat. All the external conditions call to a revolution.

And within the structure of German society the economic foundations of a revolutionary movement have long been preparing. Germany is now an entirely different land from what it was thirty years ago. The gulf between political forms and the economic structure has slowly but surely grown wider. The resulting social strain has been given a revolutionary turn by various occurrences of the last few years. A conflict for a division of political power representing the actual strength of the different classes has become inevitable. And the first object to form the center of this struggle turns out to be the Prussian electoral system.

The analysis of German political development, given above, makes it clear that this electoral system should form the object of the first revolutionary efforts of the German proletariat. Universal suffrage for Prussia was the demand with which German socialism began. That was under the leadership of Lassalle in 1863. When universal male suffrage was granted to the empire, the proletariat neglected the Prussian Landtag for a while; it had another field in which it could develope unhindered. But now that it has developed into a great power, it returns to its former demand. For, in proportion as it gains influence in the empire, it feels itself more and more restricted and hindered by a legislature in which it has no representation. The decisions of the Reichstag can be made of no effect by the Bundesrat. And the Bundesrat is controlled by the Prussian government. The Prussian is, in reality, the only German government. When the working-class makes a demand in the Reichstag, the ministers refer it to the individual states. That means Prussia. For example, after the great disaster in Radbod mine, the miners demanded an imperial law for their protection. The matter was left to Prussia and it is easy to guess what sort of a law was devised by a Landtag, elected under the three-class system. Instead of a protection for miners, it was made a protection for mine-owners.

Under these conditions the labor movement encounters at every point the administrations of the separate states. Instead of being

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checked by an imperial anti-socialist law, it is constantly embarrassed by police regulations. And the police is not German, but Prussian or Saxon. The education of the working-class is opposed with all the apparatus of the school laws. As the motive power of a great educational movement which seeks to lead the enslaved masses on to civilization, to art, to science, to unhampered development, the labor movement feels that the heavy hand of the most shameful of reactions has become un-endurable. So all the hate, all the scorn of the working-class is poured out on the Prussian system of government. They feel that it is a disgrace to an enlightened, progressive people. And political insight is teaching the workers that the Prussian parliament is the wall that stands across the path of every advance. Every energy must be called into play to secure universal suffrage for the elections to this body.

The Prussian three-class electoral system was foisted upon the country in 1850. Its chief provisions are as follows: in each electoral district the voters are divided into three classes according to the amount of their taxes; the first class is made up of the wealthiest, enough of them to pay the first third of the taxes (sometimes one or two millionaires will suffice); the second is made up of the moderately wealthy, who pay the second third of the taxes; and the third is made up of all the other adult males, who together pay the last third. Each class chooses an elector, and the three electors from each district choose the representative of that district. Under these conditions the mass of the people, who, of course, are crowded together in the third class, can always be voted down by a comparatively small number voting in the other two classes. Moreover, the elections are held publicly and each elector indicates his choice by word of mouth. This makes the support of a socialist dangerous to anyone economically dependent. On this account the Social-Democracy refused for a long time to participate in the Prussian elections. Not until the movement became strong enough so that great numbers of working-men could publicly vote for socialists without fear of being disciplined did it ask for recognition at the Prussian polls. It is true that in the last election the Social-Democrats captured a number of seats. But this happened because of a curious feature of this electoral system. The electoral districts are small; and a comical result of this fact is that, while a minister of state living in a wealthy district may be forced to vote in the third class of his district, his coachman may have the privilege of voting in the second class of his. Naturally in some poor sections the better situated proletarians and small business men make up the second class. And it is because of this circumstance that seven Social-Democrats could be elected to the Landtag.

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In 1907 the Social-Democrats decided in their annual congress to make an energetic campaign for universal suffrage. On Jan. 12, 1908, mass-meetings and street demonstrations in the interest of suffrage reform took place in all the larger cities. The working-class swarmed out in great numbers. In spite of the fact that the Police Commissioner of Berlin had forbidden street demonstrations, it was with the greatest difficulty that he kept the demonstrants from the immediate neighborhood of the royal palace. "The Conquest of the Streets" was the headline which appeared the following day in **Vorwaerts.** In truth the police had found themselves entirely unable to cow into submission the army of working-men and women. From that moment a new sense of power inspired the masses; they had found a new right, a new weapon. And when, some months later, this new spirit of the masses forced a small group of Social-Democrats into the Landtag, the Prussian government finally announced that it would modernize its electoral system.

But unfortunately the attack was not continued with the same energy. The executive committee of the party itself was startled by the magnitude of the demonstration of January 12th and hardly dared repeat it for fear of collisions with the police. There was no definite plan of campaign. The general strike was mentioned now and then and among the workers and the notion of trying it was constantly getting a stronger hold. But the General Commission of the unions was oppossed. It held that the prevailing industrial crisis made it inadvisable just then. It was unsafe to give the employers an excuse for a lockout that might exhaust the union treasuries. Here we had a case to show how a revolutionary political movement may be temporarily hindered by the carefully calculated workaday methods of the labor movement.

The next party congress failed to call the masses into line for new attacks, the movement lost momentum, and the reactionary forces gained courage. But, as usual, the reaction over-reached itself and so roused the people more than ever. Feeling sure of its power, the government last summer loaded a tremendous burden of indirect taxes upon the shoulders of the people. The popular opposition to this measure was everywhere evident. Every new election that was held gave the Social-Democrats increased majorities. In an election to the Saxon parliament the socialists polled a clean majority of the popular vote.

The new suffrage bill introduced into the Landtag in January last is but another proof of the feeling of security which actuates the reactionary government. It was a satire on reform. In all essentials it left the structure of the old system intact. The three-class system

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and the indirect election were to remain and only the choice of the electors was to be kept secret. In the rural districts, where the landlords control, a free election will be impossible as long as the second electors are forced to vote openly.

As soon as this patchwork was made public the suffrage reform movement flamed up again. Heated demonstrations took place in all the cities of Prussia. On the 13th of February 200,000 people marched through the streets of Berlin. Almost everywhere the police had the good sense to stand aside and give the people the right-of-way, but in some cities they fell upon demonstrants and innocent by-standers with

MARCH OF THE TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND.
From Current Literature.

terrible effect. Sunday after Sunday the demonstrations continued. In Berlin the working-class recently turned the whole police department into a huge joke by holding a great demonstration in the Tiergarten while police and soldiers were looking for one in Treptow Park.

Such occurrences have brought over to the support of the suffrage movement various groups of the bourgeoisie. And in various places spontaneous strikes broke out. But all this had no effect on the course of legislation. The clericals and landed proprietors (Junker) forced the "reform" measure through the lower house with all speed, and whether it is accepted by the upper house and the government is a matter of little importance. In any case the electoral system of Prussia will remain practically unchanged.

But one thing has been changed; and that thing is the spirit of the people. The continued struggles and demonstrations have brought thousands upon thousands into the movement; they have redoubled

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the fighting spirit of the people; they have given to the masses a feeling of power, have shown them that their organization is mightier than the brutal weapons of the government. From now on every new eruption of discontent will be more tremendous than the last.

These events indicate the beginning of the German revolution. It is true that it is but a small and uncertain beginning, and it has opposed to it a mighty military power. But it has behind it a wonderfully disciplined proletarian force. This force moves slowly just at present, for its methods are adapted to former conditions, are designed solely for elections and wage-conflicts. It is difficult to alter the purposes and methods of such a mighty organization. The new beginning must be made slowly, carefully. A revolutionary struggle must be centrally controlled, but the executive committee of the Social-Democratic party is not suited to leadership in a revolution. Herein lies the difficulty: revolutions, in the nature of the case, cannot be prearranged according to the decision of an organization, but, on the other hand, they must be brought about by organizations, and by organizations highly developed and well disciplined. Such an organization can be developed but slowly, especially in Germany. "Even German thunder," wrote Heine, "is German; it comes rolling up but slowly, once arrived, however, it does its work with relentless thoroughness."

Yes, with thoroughness, for it has a greater purpose than to clear the heavy atmosphere of Germany. The German proletariat is just now the champion of the working-class of the world. Its fight and its triumph will awaken an echo in the farthest quarters of the world. Nowhere do exploiters and exploited stand face to face so determined, so powerful, so well-armed. Here will be fought the first decisive battle in the world war between capital and labor. If the proletariat wins here, a new impulse will be given to the revolution in all lands. It is on this account the movement which is slowly getting under way in Germany is of the highest importance to all mankind.

(Translated by **Wm. E. Bohn.**)

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"When the Sleeper Wakes"

The Car Strike and the General Strike in Philadelphia.

By Joseph E. Cohen

TYPICAL STREET CORNER SCENE.

THE general strike was, first of all, a political strike.

It came apparently because the city authorities were in league with the officials of the company to break the strike, and had trampled upon the political liberties of the people in pursuance of that intention.

The car men early learned that their strike had political complications and their leaders set themselves, with the general strike committee, to squeeze all they could out of the situation. One of the consequences, naturally, was that the trades unionists of the city turned to political action as never before.

At its inception the general strike had no other purpose in view than to compel the company to deal with the men, or submit the differences between them to fair arbitration. But that was true only superficially. It may fairly be said that, however the matter appeared

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to the various organizations participating and to the numbers of men and women who were unorganized, it resolved itself into a simple proposition indicated in the formula: A strike of labor against capital.

Still deeper down was the unrest of the people, the dissatisfaction due to the high cost of living, following so closely after the hard times. More than that, it was Philadelphia's expression of a feeling that is nation wide. Here the atmosphere happened to be surcharged with inflammable gases, requiring only a flame of class consciousness to fire the whole with a spirit of revolt that would take this shape.

The management of the general strike was left in the hands of the committee of ten. It is no exaggeration to say that the strike was properly handled to the extent that it leaned for guidance to the Socialists. There were two avowed Socialists on the committee. Of the two it was Harry Parker who had first broached the idea of calling a general strike, having proposed in November, 1909, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the members cease from labor for two weeks in the event of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison being sent to jail.

Socialist philosophy tinctured the whole movement. For the United German Trades Socialists penned a ringing appeal, that was printed in German and English, printed by the tens of thousands and carried right off the press out to the large non-union establishments such as Baldwin's Locomotive Works. Little wonder that the Philadelphia North American remarked editorially:

"Out of this street-car situation, with its almost inevitable general strike, comes a new and acute class consciousness fanned into a dangerous class antagonism.... And it is this antagonism, this class war, intangible and immeasurable, that constitutes the largest and the most lamentable hurt to the city. It is, moreover, felt beyond the city and throughout the entire nation."

Baldwin's was carried by storm. The superintendents were quick to canvass the sentiment and try to head off a walkout. The shop leaders were called in for a conference. An offer was made to restore the wages of the men to the scale obtaining before the last cut on condition that the men remain at work. The offer was declined. It was made plain that only the car men's interests were to be considered at that time.

Three thousand men came out from this shop, better known as "the little hell on earth." Many other large non-union plants fell into line. The men at Baldwin's were promptly organized into a shop federated union, and afterwards advised also to join the unions of their crafts.

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Another splendid showing was that made by the textile workers, of whom about 45,000 are said to have turned out, a large percentage being women. Along with the toilers of Baldwin's they had borne the brunt of the hard times, after having had their resources drained in the important strikes of 1903, 1905 and 1908, aside from numerous smaller difficulties. The textile industry of the city was practically at a standstill.

The building trades department walked out to a man. Many of them had but recently returned to work after being out for some weeks on a sympathetic strike of their own. Every line of business was more or less seriously affected. Many employers permitted their employes to go out, paying them during the continuance of the strike.

The organized workers of only two industries refrained from taking part, that of printing and beer brewing. Both were encased in tightly nailed and rivetted contracts. Their sympathy was entirely with the car men and they contributed liberally to their treasury. The only element of irony in the situation was that due to the fact that the men at the power houses were not organized and could not be induced to come out. Had they been organized, the general strike might have been unnecessary.

According to the estimate of the committee of ten, 150,000 wage-earners, organized and unorganized, were involved in the strike. That is to say, the bread of half a million people in the city was touched. The plans of the committee very naturally revolved around the idea of keeping the army together and letting the members feel the strength of their numbers. Quite as naturally, the police authorities endeavored, by entirely arbitrary methods, to divide and scatter that army.

For the first day of the general strike the committee of ten arranged a mass meeting to be held at Independence Square. The mayor and director of public safety forbade it. The committee of ten then modified their plan to the extent of advising the hosts of labor to march past Independence Hall, wherein the Declaration of Independence had once upon a time been adopted. The police tried to break up the parade, going so far as to run their clubs through the American flag. Nevertheless thousands of people gathered beside the cradle of liberty and they will doubtless remember, in the years to come, that on Saturday afternoon, March 5, 1910, the officials of the city of Philadelphia prohibited its citizens from peacefully assembling in the shade of Independence Hall to discuss questions of public moment.

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black with people. Debs was at his best. That afternoon unionism and socialism clasped hands as never before. The incident taught, better than can tomes of theory, the wisdom of working in harmony with the trades unions to the very utmost.

Throughout the length of the strike and following in its wake, trades unions swelled their membership by hundreds and thousands. So unexpected was the influx that the machinists began by ordering a few hundred application blanks but increased the order to three thousand in a few days. Twenty thousand men and women are said to have affiliated themselves within organized labor in two weeks. Philadelphia's reputation for unionism had previously been very poor. To-day there is no epithet so abhorred as that of "scab."

The women did their part in the strike. It does not in the least smack of gallantry to say that they bore their hardships as uncomplainingly as did the men, and made a better showing as walkers and wagon riders. It was no unusual sight to see a car go by with half a dozen men (one or two of whom might be the company's agents in plain clothes) but not a woman in it. When the general strike was over, they organized the car men's women folk into an auxiliary, of which Luella Twining was elected president.

But labor's position, strategic however it was, rested on the edge of a sharp knife. When after two weeks, the general strike rolled into the crest of its popularity, a conference was arranged between the representatives of the company and the car men. The conference came to naught, but was instrumental in creating the impression that the trouble would soon be settled and so prompted the public to patronize the cars. With that the general strike fell to pieces. After another week it was officially declared over. Its only regrettable aftermath was the washing aside in all directions of hundreds of wage-earners victimized for having quit work.

Both the car strike and the general strike were a series of surprises. At the first conference held with the car men the company admitted its defeat. Yet it tried by all the devices at its command to deprive the men of the fruits of their victory. It realized that more than its dignity was at stake.

A victory it really was. Its echo was heard in nearby cities where the transit companies voluntarily increased the wages of their employes; it was heard in the Trenton strike which was a complete success; it was heard in the voluntary increase of wages by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and other large corporations. Even at Eddystone, the country annex of the Baldwin works, the men obtained an improvement of their working

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conditions. The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company suffered a tremendous pecuniary loss. Yet in the end it jockeyed the car men out of their victory.

The general strike was the most unexpected affair Philadelphia has ever witnessed. It exemplified a spirit of resistance against social wrong that not even the most sanguine of Socialists believed to lurk in the city. Entirely unprepared for such a thing, the wonder of it is, not that it was poorly managed, not that mistakes were made, but that it came out so well. Whatever criticism may be made of the strike is purely incidental. Taken as a whole it was the most magnificent performance ever achieved by the labor of the city. But while the spontaneity of the affair was its most gratifying feature, it was also, under the circumstances, its principal redeeming feature, as well as the source of its weakness. The desire to campaign was very strong; unfortunately too many of the recruits were raw, the line of march strange and the battlefield unexplored. As in all strikes the masters can afford to play the waiting game and tire the workers into submission. Furthermore, when confined to one city a general strike is too largely spectacular. And, more important than all, it cannot spring far above the class-consciousness of the population. That, in the final analysis, determines the immediate aims of the strike and the possibility of their attainment.

We may hazard a guess that, on another occasion, with a like spirit of resistance, supplemented by a more widespread solidarity and a well-defined program, a general strike may be the means of maintaining political rights and securing economic concessions, thereby instilling into the workers that reliance upon their united action which promises so much for them in the future.

But, to use a paradox, the best feature of a general strike is the possibility of not having to resort to it. Rather ludicrous, if not tragic, it appears to ask a whole city of workers to make abundant sacrifice in order to win some slight advantages for a few thousand men and their families. The most satisfactory test of its justification, of course, is the fact that it came to be. Speaking theoretically, nevertheless, it is hoped that in the future labor will be so well organized and disciplined that, while in no wise hampered from displaying its full power when necessary, its whole force will not be hurled into a narrow pass against the enemy when a handful of sharp shooters could do as well or better. We look to see the general strike very rarely called into requisition.

Philadelphia's experience with the general strike seems to con-

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firm the Socialist contention that labor cannot hope to gain substantial victories by superficial methods. While it must ever be on the alert to make the most of all circumstances, it may as well place its dependence first as last in the development of the intelligence of the whole working class; in short, in the spread of class-consciousness. To the extent that the class-consciousness is acute will the mass of the people press forward.

The sleeper has awakened. But his first movements are awkward; he stumbles and falls. Yet he renews his exertions; he strives on step by step; his eyes become accustomed to the light. It cannot be long before he will stand erect and snap his chains!

Carrying Water 250 Miles.

By J. O. Phillips.

DRILLING

IF NEW YORK CITY should suddenly say: "We must bring our water supply from Lake Ontario," or Chicago should discover the need of bathing her 2,000,000 inhabitants, washing their clothes and quenching their thirst from the waters of the Missouri River, these problems would resemble the gigantic task Los Angeles, Cal., has set herself to perform in bringing

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Los Angeles is a city of 315,000 population, growing at the rate of 36,000 a year, and situated in a country where, when water is not attainable, the land becomes a desert in a wilderness of drought. The rainy season endures from November till April. During the remainder of the year the rain never falls.

Not very long ago the far-seeing people discovered that the growth of their city would depend very largely on whether or not they would be able to secure water for her needs.

In 1905, Frederick Eaton, a civil engineer, afterward Mayor of Los Angeles, brought forth a proposal to bring the waters of Owens River across the Mojave desert, and under the Coast Range to the city's gates.

The Owens River of California, with its source and tributaries fed by the snows of the Sierra Nevada mountains, to-day finds its way

MUCK CAR.

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Los Angeles and a score of neighboring cities, supplying the needs of at least 1,000,000 people; 75,000 acres of totally unproductive land will blossom as the semi-tropics with the coming of the new water supply.

Before the construction of the Los Angeles aqueduct was begun less than 2,000 people dwelt within the 240 miles through which the survey ran. The chief reason was the fact that the survey lay from twenty to eighty miles from a railroad and the land was as desolate as Death Valley.

The city will take its water supply from the eastern slope of the Sierras, with Mt. Whitney as the highest point in the United States, and twenty-three other peaks with elevations of more than 13,000 feet.

During the hottest summers the snow is never absent on the higher ridges, but sends down a copious stream of water into the Owens River. For a length of seven miles the old river bed will be converted into a reservoir by a dam 1,200 feet long and 70 feet high.

The aqueduct is designed to have a daily capacity of 280,000,000 gallons, but the San Fernando Valley and the coastal plain can be supplied six months with a daily flow of more than 320,000,000 gallons. The aqueduct intake is at an elevation of 3,800 feet; Los Angeles is at an elevation of 276 feet, so that no pumping will be required. The force of gravity will carry the water from the mountains directly to the consumers.

The present total electric power consumption in Los Angeles and vicinity is now approximately 60,000 horse power. The horse power attainable from the aqueduct is 65,000 horse power. The force of men now at work upon the new aqueduct numbers 3,800 men, with plans to increase the number to 5,000 before many months.

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The British Labor Party.

By J. Keir Hardie, M. P.



IT MUST be exceedingly difficult for American Socialists to get a grip of the facts about the British Labor Party. It is of some importance however, that they should know the facts whether they agree or disagree with our policy. In the March issue of the International Socialist Review William E. Bohn, writing more in sorrow than in anger says, "The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the mere chance of securing a mess of pottage." I do not know upon what Comrade Bohn is relying when he makes this statement, but that he has been misled admits of no doubt. In the February issue of the International Socialist Review an article appeared from the pen of H. M. Hyndman in which he holds up the British Labor Party "as an object lesson to our comrades in the United States who are inclined to venture on the same slippery path." It is the fact that a Labor Party is being seriously discussed by Socialists and Trades Unionists in the United States which leads me to beg the favor of your columns to put the actual facts against Mr. Hyndman's statements.

In the opening paragraph of his article Mr. Hyndman asserts that "in order to make sure of retaining their seats in the House of Commons at the General Election both the Labor Party and the I. L. P. have come to terms with the Liberals in a manner which must check all confidence in them in future." Were I simply to deny the truth of this assertion it would only be a case of one man's statement against another's, and would lead your readers "no forrader." But here are the facts. At the time of the dissolution, the period to which the statement refers, there were thirty-three members of the Labor Party in the House of Commons. At the election seventy-eight candidates went to the polls under the auspices of the party. All the leading members of the party in the House, Socialists and Trade Unionists alike went, as far as circumstances permitted, to the support of the new candidates and in nearly every case our new candidates were fighting three-cornered contests, that is, were being opposed by Liberal and Conservative nominees. I myself had a Liberal

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opponent as I have always had in every contest I have fought. Surely then in these facts and figures we have ample proof of the absence of any agreement or understanding with the Liberals, and, apart from the statement appearing in the capitalist yellow press put forward to damage our prospects, there is no foundation whatever for Mr. Hyndman's statement. It cannot be too often repeated that the Labor Party has its own political organization, raises its own funds by a levy on the members of affiliated Trades Unions and Socialist organizations, and enters into no agreement whatever either about candidates, constituencies or policy with either Liberals or Conservatives. Readers who do not know Mr. Hyndman may be surprised to learn that I myself went out of my way to support him in his candidature for Burnley, where he was fighting a Liberal. As a matter of fact the only attempts which were made at a compromise with the Liberals were those put forward by Social Democratic candidates. If this statement be denied I shall forward you the Press reports of meetings in Northampton where Mr. H. Quelch, one of Mr. Hyndman's colleagues, openly touted for an agreement with the Liberals whereby they were to give him one of their votes and his Socialist friends in return would give the Liberal their second vote, and it was only when the Liberals refused this arrangement and put up a second Liberal candidate that the Social Democrats returned to their assumed attitude of impeccable purity.

Mr. Hyndman's second point referred to the support we gave the Budget. Of course he carefully refrained from informing your readers that in the House of Commons and in the country we supported only the Land Taxes and supertax proposals of the Budget, and opposed both by speech and vote those taxes, like the tea duties, which fall directly on the working class. The position was this. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had to raise some £18,000,000 for schemes of social reform to which the government stood pledged and he proposed to raise a large part of this sum by the imposition of three new taxes: first, a supertax of 6d in the pound Sterling on all incomes exceeding 5000 pounds Sterling a year; second, an addition of 2d in the pound Sterling on all unearned incomes, thus differentiating between those who work for their living and those who merely loaf upon their fellows; and third, the taxation of land values. With all deference to Mr. Hyndman's years and experience I respectfully submit that each of these three taxes was Socialist in its bearing and application and sought to recover for the good of the community a part of the wealth which it was creating and which now passes into the pockets of private owners. But further, what was the alternative to these taxes? The Conservative party put forward as an alterntative

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that the revenue of the country should be raised by a tax upon imports including food. We had therefore to choose between taxing the surplus wealth of the rich and taxing the necessities of the community and especially of the working class. It is all very well for Mr. Hyndman to assume a hostile attitude to the budget in the irresponsible pages of your magazine, but had he found himself in the House of Commons, as we were, with these alternatives to choose from he could not and would not have done other that we did. The Labour Party would have betrayed every principle of Socialism had it not supported those portions of the budget to which I refer, and as a matter of fact, Hyndman, during his campaign pledged himself to support the Budget if elected to parliament.

And now perhaps I may be allowed to refer to the excellent and temperate letter from the pen of Ernest Untermann which appears in the same (February) issue of your Review. Referring to the possibility of some form of political co-operation being secured between the Socialist Party and the Trades Union movement of America he adds, "but even then I should insist on the independent and unimpaired organization of the Socialist party as a consciously revolutionary body." To that statement I give my most unqualified adhesion. That is what we have in this country. The Independent Labor party is a Socialist organization affiliated with the Labor Party. The fact of its being so affiliated does not in any way interfere with its unimpaired freedom to continue its propagation of Socialist principles. Two years ago the Social Democratic party at its annual conference discussed whether it should join the Labor Party, and on that occasion by the way Mr. Hyndman cordially supported the proposition. Had the motion been carried the Social Democratic Party could have affiliated with the Labor Party and yet retained full liberty of action in its organization and propaganda. I have frequently observed that Socialist comrades in the United States who oppose an alliance with the Trades Unionists to form a Labor Party base their opposition on the assumption that they would require to merge the identity of the Socialist organization in that of the Labor Party. This ssumption is baseless. The Labor Party here is a federation of organizations. A Trades Union can join, a Socialist organization can join, the co-operative movement could join, but in each case these organizations continue to retain their separate identity and organization and to carry on their work exactly as before. They pay a certain affiliation fee based upon their membership to the Labor Party. They are free to nominate candidates to go on the Labor Party list. These candidates together with all officials of the party

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come under obligation not to appear upon the platform or support in any way whatever candidates nominated by any other party. The Labor men are under the further obligation, if they succeed in securing election, to be members of the party in the House of Commons, which I repeat has its own separate organization and is clearly marked off from either Liberal or Conservative. I do not say that it is possible in the United States to have an organization modelled on the lines which have proved so successful here. The only point I am trying to make at present is that there could be a working political agreement between Socialist and Trades Unionist organizations without either merging its identity or having its own special work interfered with in any way whatever. Comrade Untermann conceives the possibility of there being a Labor Party and a Socialist Party working on separate lines but co-operating in the legislatures when they succeed in returning members to these. The inevitable danger here is that the two sections would sooner or later come into conflict and spend their strength fighting each other to the great gratification of the capitalistic parties and the mortification of the friends of progress. If, however, on the other hand they could agree on some form of organization which would include both sections then the nomination of candidates would be done jointly and the danger of friction be reduced to a minimum.

I ask Comrades Untermann and Bohn to note well these facts:

1st. The British Labor Party has never had any agreement or understanding with the Liberal Party;

2nd. A Socialist organization which affiliates to the Labor Party retains its own separate organization intact, and continues its work for Socialism unimpaired;

3rd. The British Labor Party has made it impossible for Trade Union officials or Labor Leaders to go on the stump on behalf of either Liberal or Conservative candidates or parties. This of itself is a great gain to the working class movement.

A Labor Party does not give us everything at once which we Socialists want, but it is at least a genuine working class movement, and as such merits the support and goodwill of all who believe in Social Democracy. Its faults and failures are but a reflex of the faults and failures of the class which has called it into being and it, like its creators, will grow in wisdom as it gains experience.

I ask then that the Labor Party here shall be judged according to the evidences, and not be condemned on the ex-parte statements of its enemies and opponents.

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Wall Street at a Glance.

By John D.



ALL STREET, which embraces about three acres of land has the biggest things, next to the actual production of commodites, etc., in the United States to-day.

Here are a few of them in tabloid form.

J. P. Morgan, Master of about 80 per cent. of the total corporate wealth of the nation.

Judge Robert S. Lovett, (Harriman's successor), in control of the railway system of the land, aggregating about two thirds of the total mileage of the entire country. Can leave his office at No. 120 Broadway, and go by train from New York to 'Frisco, and thence via boat to Japan, all on lines owned and controlled by interests which he represents.

One building No. 71 Broadway, the home of the U. S. Steel Corporation has within its confines about $2,000,000,000 worth of railway and industrial corporations.

All of the Exchanges responsible to no one, the Cotton, Produce, Metal, Coffee, etc., which every day establish quotations for the securities and commodities they deal in, for the entire country, are in the Wall Street district. So are the Banks, Trust Companies, U. S. Sub-Treasury and Assay Office and other financial institutions which control and have in their vaults and safes securities representing about three-fourths of the entire wealth of the country.

The Standard Oil Co., one of the most remarkable Industrial machines in the World, has its headquarters in the financial district. and J. D. Rockefeller, Wm. Rockefeller and the other Standard Oil magnates have offices in the Trust Building, at No. 26 Broadway. Here also is the headquarters of the "Charity Trust" and College subsidizing and Church "Smoothing" and all other things which the "Pioneer Oil Pirate" has for his hobbies.

Then again we have in the District the founder of the "Pawnshop Trust" the Provident Loan Society, Jas. Speyer, head of the banking firm of Speyer & Co., International Bankers. Jacob H. Schiff, the well known Jewish Charity worker, has his offices about a block away from Mr. Speyer's which are located on Pine Street.

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The Midday Club, where a great many details of the Steel Combine were worked out over the lunch tables, are in the Broadway Exchange Building, and where many of the most important deals affecting the Industrial and Economic life of America were put through. All of the retired Judges from the highest to the lowest Courts, make their headquarters there, all working to conserve the best interests of the Nation's Trusts, etc.

All of the Newspapers have offices in the financial centre and while ten years ago the reporters had to "cover" about one hundred different places for News, to-day, when the reporters visit the institutions controlled by Morgan, they have practically finished their day's work.

Sum it all up Wall Street is absolute Master of these United States of America, and J. P. Morgan is the "MacGregor" of the District. In other words a new King has arrived in America, with far greater powers than ever wielded by King George, a man who believes that the American people are not able to manage their own affairs, and who thinks it is up to him to do it for them.

The time has about arrived in this country's history when the population can march over to No. 23 Wall Street, New York City, and there take off the shoulders of this seventy-two-year old man, the economic and political power which he is in control of to-day.

At some future time I intend writing at great length upon the wonderful work the Wall Street district is doing, but there is just one thing I want to remind readers of the International Socialist Review, and that is J. P. Morgan can not be scared away from his control of things by the ballot alone, something more is needed and that in my opinion is an Industrial Union, that will embrace every worker in the land. Only that will do the work.

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The Milwaukee Victory.

By Mary E. Marcy.

IT IS very evident to the most casual observer that the recent spring election has put Milwaukee very prominently upon the newspaper map of the whole country.

The twelfth largest city in the United States has elected a socialist mayor, a socialist city council, in fact, has placed the entire city administration in the hands of members of the Socialist Party.

Comrade Emil Seidel, the mayor-elect, is a product of the Pennsylvania German schools, the Milwaukee public schools and the workshops of Prussia. As a young man he spent several years in Europe learning his trade. There, in a Berlin shop, he saw fellow workmen imprisoned for saying things that seemed to him harmless; saw boys, in his own words, "hounded by Bismarck's Prussian soldiers" for distributing booklets on economic questions. It was at this time that he became interested in socialism.

Mr. Seidel lives in a frame cottage on one of Milwaukee's unfashionable streets. The comrades claim he is as good a Marxian as he is a pattern-maker. And the people of Milwaukee believe he will be an even better mayor.

Perhaps the most talked-of subject in the United States for the past week has been the Milwaukee election. Socialists and anti-socialists discussed the phases of the results—and are still discussing them.

Revolutionists care not for the manner of their emancipation from wage-slavery. They want results. They are ever ready and eager to seize every opportunity to entrench themselves in any position that will further the great cause of this emancipation.

It is true that one city alone cannot abolish capitalism. But a strong and controlling political organization can back up the economic

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the time for the revolutionary unionists to get busy in Milwaukee. Now is the time for them to organize the women and girls who are employed in the famous Milwaukee breweries.

It is true that the socialists are in control of the city administration; it is also true that the capitalist class is still in control of the factories, the mills and the breweries. But the workers stand a much better chance of improving their conditions to-day under a socialist political regime than they ever did under a Republican or Democratic administration. For the police are under the control of the new administration and, we believe, the days when the policeman's club shall be used to beat striking workingmen into submission, in Milwaukee, are a thing of the past.

Intelligent men prefer to work for better living conditions for themselves and their wives and families to-day rather than for a paradise on earth for future generations. And this is as it should be. Martyrs have never lived very long to carry out their plans and execute their aims. The days when a workingman shall rest content in promises for the future, be it an economic, industrial or heavenly future, are dead and gone. If it be in the realms of human possibility to attain, he wants higher wages, shorter hours and better living conditions right now.

The revolutionary industrial union can do much to help him gain these things, but the revolutionary union, without the help and backing of a political organization will find itself checked, beaten and denied on every side.

The capitalist government is but a committee to transact the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. But a socialist city administration can refuse to execute a part of these affairs.

The aim of all revolutionists is identical. Socialists differ only in their beliefs in the various methods used to attain the common goal. Most of us differ only in a point of emphasis, whether the industrial union or the political organization be more important. Fortunately both wings of the revolutionary movement are at work without ceasing. Every struggle teaches them how best to unite their forces in a steadfast march toward the abolition of wage-slavery.

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By Eliot White.

TATISTICS of accidents to railroad employees stunned my comprehension.

Such numbers were too monstrous to grasp, and such portentous slaughter was concealed by its very magnitude and massive vagueness.

Then on a day I was called to a hospital in haste to visit a freight-brakeman who had been blown from the top of a gasoline-car.

This tank had been placarded "Dangerous", but not removed from the yard, and was ignited through a leak, from the man's lantern as he clambered over it in the night.

The explosion was so violent as even to rip the buttons from his jacket, yet he retained sense to tear the burning clothing from his body with his gloved hands, when hurled in flames to the ground.

Of his fellow-workers who ran to his help none recognized the living firebrand, though his own brothern-in-law was among them.

At the hospital, the nurse shows me the sufferer's door, then leaves me struggling to hold together enough strands of courage to carry me into the room, as a sailor on a towed craft in a storm might grip with his bare hands the cable that was fast wearing through, to stay it from further fraying.

At last I enter to find on the bed what seems less a man than a thing!

On a pillow soaked with blood, and ointment like running butter, rests a bandaged head with five holes through the face-mask revealing eyes miraculously safe in their burnt sockets, black nostrils, and black-crusted lips.

Raising himself on his elbow, the groaning and tormented being

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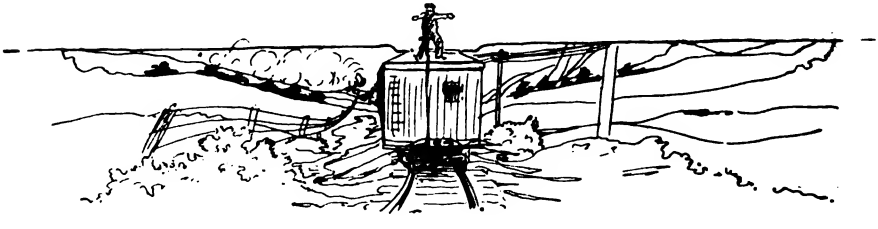
crusted lips, as though issuing from the crater-pit of a soul's inferno!

Now he implores me to ask the doctor for more opiate, as one who pleads the sending of a Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water and cool his tongue; the doctor consents, though he declares the man has already taken "enough to kill you or me".

A few weeks later I find the brakeman at his home, nearly recovered, though it seems impossible to identify this smiling, blond-bearded young fellow, whose tender new skin is pink as a dove's foot, with the hospital's charred and hooded horror like a specter of delirium.

It may be that not until such specters knock at the door of our times in their ghastly regiments; and theorizers are led like Dante through Hell-circles of the workers' myriad tortures, face-to-face, will the great Arousal banish such shame of carnage from the nation's pale.

And yet in but one cinder like to this may lurk the spark sufficient to explode a magazine!



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So the work is often put off until an explosion makes rebuilding a necessity.

William Hard, says in "Making Steel and Killing Men," an article appearing in Everybody's Magazine, November, 1907:—"The only deathdealing force that exceeded the railroad last year in the Illinois Steel Company's plant, was the blast furnace.... on the ninth of last October at about ten o'clock in the evening, Walter Steinmaszyk, a sample boy, went to one of the blast furnaces to get a sample of iron to take to the laboratory. He stood at one of the entrances to the platform. The bright liquid iron was running out of its tapping hole, and flowing in a sparkling snarling stream along its sandy bed to the big twenty ton ladle that stood beside the platform on a flat-car. Walter Steinmaszyk stood still for a moment and gazed at this scene. It was well for him that he hesitated. Suddenly, there came a flash, a roar, and a drizzle of molten metal. Milak Lazich, Andrew Vrkic, Anton Pietszak and Louis Fuerlant lay charred and dead on the casting floor.

"What was the cause of the accident?

"The expert witnesses employed around the blast-furnace, all agreed that the hot metal had come in contact with water.

"And how did it come in contact with water?

"Here, again, the expert witnesses were in agreement.

"About two months before the accident, the keeper of the furnace had called the attention of the foreman to a little trickling of water around the tapping hole. An examination was made and it was found that some of the fire-brick at one side of the tapping hole had fallen out. The foreman reported this fact to his immediate superior. But the fire-brick was not replaced. Patches of fire-clay were substituted for it. These patches were renewed from time to time. They wore out very rapidly.

"On the night of the 9th of October according to all the experts at the trial, the fierce molten iron ate its way through the fire-clay and came in contact with the water coil. The union of the hot iron with the water resulted in the explosion and in the sacrifice of four human lives.... If the company were offered a prize of a million dollars for getting through a year without one single fatal accident, would it then allow patches of fire-clay around the tapping hole of any furnace in its plant? Would it not find a way to prevent such make-shifts methods effectually and finally?"

The Iroquois Blast Furnace, owned and operated by a small company outside of the trust, producing pig-iron for the open market, is never speeded to the point of lowering the very high grade of iron that it turns out and because there is no speeding the "slips" which

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are so common at the steel mills because of over-charging, never occur. The blast-furnace therefore is not dangerous under normal conditions.

Every man killed at those furnaces, is simply murdered by the Steel Trust, for profit.

The metal from each "heat" or furnace full of coke, limestone and iron ore, is tested and then sent in open ladles to be converted into steel. These ladles are carried on trucks attached to little "dinky" engines. This pig-iron must be decarbonized, i. e. freed from carbon, sulphur phosphorus and other impurities, to become steel. There are two processes. At the Besemer converter plant compressed air is

BOTTLE BLOWING—PITTSBURG.

blown through the molten metal; the combustion, which follows, brings the heat up to 3200 degrees. In three minutes, thirty thousand pounds of iron becomes steel by this Bessemer process, reducing the cost of making steel, from seven cents to less than one cent per pound.

In the Chicago plant there are three of these great brick-lined, pivotted vessels about thirty feet high. Each converter has a capacity of from eight to ten heats an hour, fifteen tons to the heat. The men working at the base of the converter, are in constant danger of losing life and limb; if by some mistake the fire-clay perforated bottom

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through which the air is pumped is not quite dry; if by any chance there be water in the bottom of a box of scrap which is sometimes mixed in with the iron ore, then an explosion results engulfing the men at the base of the converter in metal. These slag men are usually Hungarians who do not know enough English to run for their lives if the foreman has time to shout danger.

From the great converters, the metal is poured into a ladle and at the same time a little ladle runs out on a higher track in a saucy, mysterious way pouring a smaller stream of tempering mixture of manganese etc. into the great ladle below; this decides the hardness of the steel.

At the Homestead plant, the primitive method of tempering mixture is used "dry" and shoveled into the indescribably hot depths below by a workman who stands a few feet from the great converter as it is tipped to pour the stream of steel into the ladle below. From eight to ten times an hour this man works hard shoveling chemicals face to face with heat so intense as to beggar description.

For northern climates, the rails must be much softer than those used in the south, where there is no frost to crack them under the heavy weight of trains.

After the metal is tempered, it is ready to be poured into moulds. A great hydraulic lift, moves it around smoothly to the other side of the building, where the moulds are filled with the metal. There are seven of these moulds on each truck car; each mould will hold steel enough to make four steel rails. These moulds are inspected before they enter the building, and yet accidents occur. A few years ago one of these moulds was half full of water when the hot metal was poured, and sixteen men fell victim to the frightful explosion.

"It was like the very crack of doom," a witness related. "We are used to danger and yet that sight haunts my dreams to this day. Men lay around here thick, all charred and scorched and most of us were too bewildered to get to work with the dead and the dying for a while."

It is amid scenes of such hideous danger, that the steel corporation, in order to get labor cheaply, employs men who do not understand what is being said and done.

When the seven moulds have been filled they are taken out by the little engine and left to cool under the "stripper". Here water runs over the outside of the moulds which cools and contracts the metal within. In a few moments iron hands from above lift the moulds from the bright red ingots of steel and they are ready to be run into the rail-mill, or girder mill or plate mill, etc., as the case may be.

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PENNSYLVANIA COAL MINERS.

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a ladle man in the North Open Hearth Mill of the Illinois Steel Company in South Chicago. On the fifteenth he was a corpse in the company's private hospital. On the seventeenth his remains were viewed by six good and lawful men at Griesel & Sons undertaking shop. The first witness, Newton Allen, told the gist of the story. On the twelfth of last December Newton Allen was operating overhead crane No. 3 in the North Open Hearth Mill of the Illinois Steel Company. Seated aloft in the cage of the crane, he dropped his chains and hooks to the man beneath and carried pots and ladles up and down the length of the pouring floor.

That floor was eleven hundred feet long and it looked longer because of the dim murkiness of the air. It was edged all along one side by a row of open hearth furnaces, fourteen of them, and in each one there were sixty-four tons of white hot iron, boiling into steel. From these furnaces the white hot metal, now steel, was withdrawn and poured into big ten-ton moulds, standing on flat cars. When the moulds were removed, the steel stood up by itself on the cars in the shape of ingots. These obelisks of steel, cool to solidity on their outsides, still soft and liquid within, were hauled away by locomotives to other parts of the plant.

"It was a scene in which a human being looks smaller than perhaps anywhere else in the world. You must understand that fact in order to comprehend the psychological aspect in steel mills.

"On the twelfth of last December, Newton Allen, up in the cage of his hundred-ton electric crane, was requested by a ladleman from below to pick up a pot and carry it to another part of the floor. This pot was filled with the hot slag that is the refuse left over when the pure steel has been run off. Newton Allen let down the hooks of his crane. The ladleman attached those hooks to the pot. Newton Allen started down the floor. Just as he started, one of the hooks slipped. There was no shock or jar. Newton Allen was warned of danger only by the fumes that rose toward him. He at once reversed his lever and when his crane had carried him to a place of safety, he descended and hurried back to the scene of the accident. He saw a man lying on his face. He heard him screaming. He saw that he was being roasted by the slag that had poured out of the pot. He ran up to him and turned him over.

"At that time," said Newton Allen in his testimony, "I did not know it was my brother. It was not till I turned him over that I recognized him. Then I saw it was my brother Ora. I asked him if he was burned bad. He said no, not to be afraid, that he was not burned so bad as I thought."

"Three days later Ora Allen died in the hospital.

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"Why did the hook on that slag pot slip?

"Because it was attached merely to the rim of the pot and not to the lugs. Lugs are pieces of metal that project from the rim of the pot like ears. They are put there for the purpose of providing a proper and secure hold for the hooks but they had been broken off in some previous accident and had not been replaced.

The company will tell you, very straightforwardly and very honestly that it is impossible to prevent the men from being reckless; that it is beyond human power to prevent the men from hooking up slag-pots by their flanges. The men get in a hurry and become careless.... But suppose, just suppose, that instead of being relieved from all money liability by the carelessness of a ladleman toward a fellow ladleman, suppose, just suppose, that the company had to pay a flat fine of twenty thousand dollars every time a ladleman was killed. Do you think that any slag-pot would ever be raised by its flanges? That is the real question, and the answer is "No."

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MAISON DU PEUPLE, BRUSSELS. HEADQUARTERS THE BELGIAN LABOR PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

DELIVERY CAR OF COOPERATIVE BAKERY, AT GHENT.

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Capitalism in Japan.

By S. Katayama.

TOKIO TELEPHONE EXCHANGE.

Popular Mechanics.

JAPAN has made remarkable progress during the past forty years. During the feudal rule of the Tokugawa Dynesty, she had a long sleep of three hundred years.

Under the Tokugawa feudalism our peasants were the most oppressed class in Japan. They were exploited by feudal lords. Farmers then had to give 50 to 70 per cent of the yield of the field. They were the only class to support the families of the hereditary military classes called Samurai, who did nothing but fight. They were like the standing armies of the present day, plus their families.

At the beginning of the Meiji era, 1868, when the feudal Tokugawa fell, there were no industrial classes to speak of. The merchant class was clustered around the feudal castles numbering about thirty-six principal ones, and many more of the chiefs scattered throughout the land.

But with the revolution of 1866-67, Japan started a new life. The destruction of the feudal system removed all the old social status and there arose new classes of trade and industrial workers.

The cannons of Commodore Peary in Tokyo Bay, in the 60's awakened Japan from her long sleep to a realization of the powers of the Western civilization. And Japan has been ever since adopting

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everything Western: She copied laws from France; patterned her army after Germany; her navy after England; and appropriated the educational methods of America.

Slowly and steadily Japan has been taking everything good and evil from the Western countries. Now she is an industrial country with a proletariat under a capitalism more intolerable than the capitalism of Europe.

I shall give some figures in yens that will show you the progress of Japan and her industries during the past forty years:

	1877	1887	1897	1907
Capital Invested	25,451	163,273	532,522	1,069,706
Foreign Trade	50,769	95,711	382,435	926,880

(The yen is a Japanese money unit equal to 80 cents).

The national income was estimated in 1905 at 2,812,747,530 yen and now it is calculated at four and half billion yen a year. Out of this income the people pay national taxes amounting to 540,000 yen and about an equal sum for various local taxes. Thus it may be seen that the Japanese are making their miserable living under the most deplorable conditions.

We have yet no clear labor statistics but a table based on the income tax payers shows that 50% of the people have an income of from 300 to 500 yens a year, while only 5 or 6% of the entire tax payers have an income of 2,000 yen and more, a year. Thus the distribution of wealth in Japan is already very unequal.

How is our wealth produced? There are about 800,000 factory workers. A considerable number of these are women and girls. There are 2,500,000 workers, excluding the official classes, farmers and farm laborers.

About 1,000,000 men are engaged in governmental work, teachers in various schools, doctors, journalists, authors, lawyers, etc.

The farmers and farm laborers number six or seven millions.

With the present session of the Imperial Diet the civil and military officers will get an increase of salary of 25%. This increase has been greatly opposed by the people, because Japan has been kept up with the war taxes which are the heaviest in the world. However, the present government is a military government and has its root in the army and navy together with the civil officers who monopolize every interest of the country.

Now the government with its employes of 300,000 persons in the various government offices, with the military officers, has the power to spend five or six hundred million yen a year. Therefore there has been a great deal of graft and boodle in vogue with the government.

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limited franchise makes Japan an ideal country for a greedy capitalism.

There is not a single law to hinder the capitalists in exploiting the workers in any manner. The employer may wilfully murder, by defective machinery or an unhealthy factory, or kill his workers with dangerous poisonous chemicals. There is no law to protect workers. So the capitalists are free to make profits by the worst sacrifice of labor!

To pacify the public, the government introduced a factory bill to the present Diet, but it is said that it will be laid on the table at a committee. This is all. It took fifteen years to prepare the bill, which is now almost killed by the capitalist M. P's in a day.

It is true, the government must get a two million and a half budget in some way. So it buys the biggest political party—the Seiyukai, with a rich booty, and the biggest party sells its power for gold and various protections that will yield large profits!

Always these M. P's are representatives of the big capitalists and the rich. They look after the interests of one and a half millions and their families, at the expense of the rest of the population.

The people who support the government are left wholly unprotected. The past twenty years of parliamentary history shows, that every tax and every law passed, has been in favor of the big capitalists. For instance, our budget is raised by indirect taxation on sugar, tobacco, salt and sake (rice wine) and even on rice, while the large property holders pay very little and sometimes no taxes at all. The capitalists and their government are well organized to exploit the rest of the people.

As a result of the late Russo-Jap War, Japan got hold of Korea and a part of Manchuria. Now the capitalists and their government are trying to exploit ten million Koreans, and the people along the Manchurian railroad. This will not in the least benefit the Japanese people. They have to pay the expenses of war and are even now supporting a vast number of soldiers with enormous sums as pensions.

The workers of Japan have a very difficult life. But will they suffer such oppression for long? No, they will awaken to the necessity of the times and will eventually organize themselves into a union. The hope for union lies in the fact that Japanese industry is rapidly becoming organized and under the modern system of industry, the workers are forced to organize themselves. The Japanese workers will learn this soon.

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Strike Situation in Eastern Canada

By Roscoe A. Fillmore.

NO. 3 COLLIERY, GLACE BAY, CAPE BRETON, CANADA.

INCE writing my last article for the Review I have visited Springhill and spent a week there, becoming acquainted with many of the strikers and their families. Comrade Miss Mushkat of Moneton (now of New York) accompanied me and we addressed a meeting of about 1200 people in the Grand Opera House February 24th. The strikers are a fine, well organized body of workers and although they have been out about eight months yet there is no sign of yielding. There is no friction in the union and only four members have deserted so far.

I met several members of the strike committtee, several of them being comrades, and learned somthing of the conditions leading to the strike. The men had been steadily victimized by a system of docks and fines. The following table will perhaps make this clear:

1906		1907		1908	
Docks	Fines	Docks	Fines	Docks	Fines

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Note the enormous increase in docks and fines between 1906 and 1908. A dock means that the entire box of coal is taken from the miner if 60 pounds of stone is found. A fine means twenty cents off the price if 40 pounds of stone is found. Docks and fines for 1908 represent approximately 21,000 tons of coal, and, after making liberal allowance for the actual weight of stone found in the boxes, the company has appropriated some 20,000 tons of coal which, if paid for, would represent at least $8,500.00 additional wages to the miners.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the burdens of the men were steadily increased until the climax came just before the strike, when the company tried to enforce a general reduction of fifteen per cent. The Lennieux conciliation act, (which serves the purpose of warning the masters of an impending strike and is therefore a very useful list of labor(?) legislation—for the masters) was called into use. But all attempts at hoodwinking the men were vain, as they were thoroughly aroused. After several boards of conciliation had droned for weeks (at $10 per day) over quibbles and the crocked bookkeeping of the company the decisions were against the men And quite naturally. Then came the strike.

The U. M. W. A. has paid strike benefits since the beginning of the struggle. It has also bought wood land and the men are thus supplied with fuel free of charge. At almost any hour of the day or night strikers may be seen hauling wood home, many of them using hand-sleds

Lately an effort has been made to scab the mines, numbers of men having been brought in from Montreal, Cape Bulow, Halifax and other places, but the scabs leave as fast as others arrive. Only about 100 are at present at work and very few of these are experienced miners. The company claims it raised 3500 tons of coal during February, but probably one half this amount would be more nearly correct. The men claim that cars of coal have been hauled back and forth over the railroad so many times (in order to lead the public to the belief that they are raising an enormous quantity) that the coal begins to look gray and weather-beaten. Whether this is true or not, the fact remains that Springhill coal has become conspicuous by its absence in the coal markets of the country.

Pinkerton and Thiel thugs are as plentiful as pretty girls at a husking. On the evening of February 26th one of the Thiel spies succeeded in raising a row and he and his pals got soundly mauled at the hands (and feet) of a body of strikers. The detective fired a revolver and was then passed over to the town police. He was fined $10. Had he been a striker he would doubtless have received a year in jail. The police force of Springhill during the strike, it should be

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

By I. M. Robbins.

THE SOLUTION: A PROPHECY AND A REMEDY.

AS IST der langen Rede kurzer Sinn?

This is to be the last installment of the long and drawn out series of my studies of the Negro problem. I can almost hear both the editor and the patient reader of the entire series (if there be any such person) drawing deep sighs of relief. I sometimes feel as if I had played a successful confidence game upon both the editor and the reader. For surely Comrade Kerr would never had agreed to accept a series of fifteen articles about the forsaken negro, for whom we have until now shown so very little concern.

Ah, but there is the rub. Has the socialist done his duty by the Negro in this country? And what may perhaps appeal more strongly to the class-conscious socialist, has he done his duty by the American working class and by the socialist movement in thus neglecting the negro? And even if my articles have accomplished nothing more than to continually remind the American socialists of this tremendous social and economic problem, a problem of exploitation of labor, I still cannot help flattering myself that my efforts were worth while. For it is unfortunately true that in the North the vast majority of the socialists are entirely oblivious to the existence of the problem, while in the South the socialist's attitude often characterizes him as a Southerner rather than a socialist.

But surely the socialist attitude on this problem cannot be a purely academic one. To him, as to every thinking American for that matter, it must not only be an interesting problem but one of tremendous vital importance. The question is not only: "What will the Southerner do to solve that problem?" or "what will the negro do to solve the problem?" or "What will happen to solve the problem?" but "What will we do to help solve it?" And what will the problem bring to the struggle of the American working class for his emancipation? What will the effect of the ten million negroes be upon the social evolution of the country? In short, what will be the solution of the Negro Problem? And what can and ought the socialist contribute to this solution?

It was for the very object of formulating an answer to these

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questions that I have planned my series of studies, but now that I have reached the final stage, I confess that I face the duty of giving a solution with a good deal of apprehension. It is an accepted maxim of medical science that when a long list of remedies is recommended for a disease, the disease is probably an incurable one, or at least that the real remedy has not yet been discovered. For the real remedy is usually found, when discovered, to be a simple and specific one.

What is a solution to a social problem, anyway? And to go back one step further, what is a social problem? In the entire vernacular of the publicist there is scarcely a more useful, more convenient and more abused word.

A social problem, we take it, is a condition of social maladjustment. Its manifestations are discomfort and pain, finding outward expression in dissatisfaction and complaints. A problem is therefore a truly objective social fact, in so far as the subjective impressions of pain or discomfort find objective expression. To some white southern gentlemen the position of the negro in the South may present no problem at all, for they may feel that they "have got the negro just where they want him." But even if all the millions of white persons inhabiting the South, thought so (which they don't) the problem would still persist, as long as the ten millions of negroes still remain dissatisfied, still suffer discomfort and pain.

From this point of view there never will cease to be problems in social life, and efforts at their solution will forever agitate the minds and hearts of sentient beings, for only in death would there be complete adjustment and absence of all friction, Nevertheless, individual problems must some day be solved, for, in the words of the immortal Spencer, unstable equilibrium constantly tends to become a stable equilibrium. For life (social as well as individual) is a continuous process of adjustment of internal relations to external relations, and the adjustment is not perfect, as long as some pain persist.

As my previous articles have to some extent indicated, an enormous literature on the negro question exists in this country, and seldom a book or even an article is written, without containing a "solution" of the problem carefully outlined, and a very long list of such "solutions" may easily be quoted. That the problem still exists, that the pain and discomfort still exist, may be claimed by these physicians of the ills of the body politic to be due to the fact that in its blindness society has not yet resolved to apply this or that solution. But the difficulty of applying this or that "remedy", and the vast difference between the "remedies" lie in the fact, that not only the "remedies" but also the results to be accomplished vastly differ as between one selfappointed doctor and another. And just here lies the great

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difference between bodily and social ills. Physicians may differ in their remedies, but the object which they strive to accomplish is presumable a definite one—to bring the suffering patient to health and vigor. But the aims of the many solutions of the negro problem are different and contradictory.

When a discussion of an important social problem is led up to the final "solution"—one of the three methods may be pursued:

1. We may simply picture things as they ought to be, in contrast to things as they are, we may picture the social ideal and stop at that. This method is used more frequently than the reading public is conscious of, and when clothed in sufficiently eloquent phraseology, often receives a cordial welcome, especially when the wishes of the writer agree with those of the reader. Socialists and other honest social idealists have more frequently sinned in that direction than practical politicians. "Some time, when I do not know, or how, or where, but some time, there will be perfect equality upon the earth," concludes C. S. Darrow his article on "the Problem of the Negro" (International Socialist Review, Nov, 1907.)

2. A specific plan of action for the solution of the negro problem may be offered. Obviously this plan will depend upon what is considered the desirable solution of the problem. And in actual practice these plans are so strongly influenced by what appears to be desireable from an individual or class point of view that all considerations of probability or feasability are forgotten. Thus a big volume of nearly 600 pages recently appeared (The Negro Problem. Abraham Lincoln's Solution. By William P. Pickett) which carefully elaborates in all its minutest details the plan of forcible deportation of the negroes—a plan economically unthinkable, legally impossible, ethically monstrous in the twentieth century.

It is the only scientific solution, but unfortunately it is impossible—quoth a student in biology. What a fruitful conception of sociological science, that permits the impossible to be scientific!

3. An effort may be made to throw a glance into the future, to give a forecast as to the probable development of the social relation under the influence of conditions and forces studied. To one who accepts the doctrine of economic interpretation of history, or at least believes in the applicability of the law of causation to social as well as to physical phenomena—such a glimpse promises some results, though the virtue of accuracy may not be claimed for it. It is true that often "the wish is father to the thought", but on the other hand, prophecies are not always necessarily hopeful ones. Spencer, after fighting the doctrines of Socialism for many years nevertheless finished by writing a book on the "Coming slavery" ad-

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mitting thus that the Cooperative Commonwealth was coming, though to him it was slavery nevertheless.

Thus a solution of a social problem as usually given, is either an ideal, a remedy or a prophecy, but a true solution should be all these things together. It should draw an ideal that is practical, present a remedy that should be useful, and make a prophecy that should be acceptable to our sense of justice as well as satisfy our curiosity as to the future, for unless it does satisfy our sence of justice, the prophecy may be a true prophecy, yet it fails to be a solution.

Before we start at the constructive part of our conclusions, however, it is necessary to pass the solutions offered in a rapid review.

What are the ideals offered concerning the future of the race relations in this country and the future of the negro race?

Three, and only three solutions, may offer themselves as final, i. e. such solutions as will do away with the negro problem. Of course, I am fully conscious of the fact, that such a complete solution, no matter what it is, will not be for a great many years or decades. But theoretically this is immaterial. We must have the final ideal not because we can immediately strike out for it, but so that we may know what to do, in order to keep getting nearer to it, and not away from it. This—in our opinion—is equally true of socialism itself.

The future of the negro may be imagined to assume one of the three following ideal forms: 1) A definite relegation of the negro to the position of an inferior, and acquiescence in that situation by everybody concerned; 2) the elimination of the negro from the life of the American people either by removal or by territorial segregation, and finally, 3) the absolute destruction of all discrimination against the negro, and the achievement by the negro of full civic political and social rights.

The faithful may be surprised at the failure to mention socialism. But, formally at least, logically, these two problems are unrelated. Their connection, if any, is not logical, but historical and must be established. It is easy to conceive of a solved negro problem in a capitalist society, or at least the absence of all racial friction in such society; it is also possible to conceive, though perhaps somewhat less easily, of a negro problem, or some race discrimination surviving after the introduction of a cooperative commonwealth, as for instance the relegation of all negro citizens to the worst paying occupations. This is all hypothetical of course, but it is purposely stated here to underscore the fact that the connection between race justice and socialism is not selfevident. It is not enough to assert, "Socialism is the only remedy", as did Charles H. Vail in his article in the Intern.

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Soc. Review for Feb, 1901—the historical and economic connection of it exists, must be established.

Let us therefore meet the solutions offered in a fair spirit, forgetting for the time our Socialist hopes and asperations, and see which one of the three is at all feasable and offers the promised solution.

1) Recognition of and acquiscence in inferiority. That, according to the practically unanimous Southern opinion, is the only acceptable solution. Acceptable to whom? Why, to the white Southerner, of course. Do the negroes like it? Some do, and some don't. The old antebellum darkeys, or the ignorant, illiterate, brutal plantation hands are willing to accept this, perhaps. But the new, "impudent" negro, the college negro, the professional negro, the business negro and the industrial negro worker do not accept it, and their number is growing all the time, while the antebellum negro and even the next generation will have died out in another 30-50 years. Education and economic growth in their mutual interaction, will rapidly increase the number of dissatisfied and rebellious negroes. And even if it was possible to repress the rebellious 10,000,000 negroes by armed force, can that be considered a "solution"?

Can that result ever, if possible, be considered desirable from any point of view of human progress? Can repression by brutal force of the desires and aspirations of millions of human beings, be thinkable in a democratic society? Human beings, to whom, as we have conclusively shown, nothing human is foreign, who have shown themselves fully fit to partake of all the fruits of our culture and civilization? Even among the Southerners, or at least the most intelligent of them, the consciousness is growing that this effort to hold half of their citizenship in suppression, is no less destructive of their moral and mental growth, than was slavery up to fifty years ago. The recognition-of-inferiority theory may be claimed to be a true prophecy, and it certainly is that, if only the immediate future is considered, but it is utterly devoid of all elements of a social ideal. It is not a thing worth striving for.

2) The elimination of the negro. In a purely abstract way, this has the elements of a true solution. That is, were it possible to actually remove all the persons of African descent to some other country, this would bring about a complete solution of the negro problem in this country. In the same way, the killing off all these 10,000,000 negroes would be a true solution. Spain once solved its Jewish problem by forcibly ejecting all its Jews. Russia tried to solve its Jewish problem by killing off its Jews. I suppose this is what my friend the biologist meant by his statement that the elimina-

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tion of the negro would be the only true scientific solution if it were possible. Of course, from the point of Justice, we might as well propose to kill them, as to eject them forcibly from a land, in which they have acquired a proprietary interest by a longer residence than the majority of the white persons inhabiting it.

If it were possible! Is it possible? In a democratic country, whose entire social and political philosophy is based upon the recognition of certain inalienable rights of the individual? For to all the propósals for voluntary emigration the simple reply is sufficient that such emigration is not contemplated, is not given even a serious thought to.

But even supposing that all the organic, constitutional difficulties in the way of such plan were removed, could this solution be accomplished? Spain removed the Jews because it feared their economic power. Russia, (barring the demagogic reasons for Jew baiting) has the same fear of the commercial abilities of the Jews. But what is the greatest objection to the negro now? Not only in this country, but in the African colonies as well? That he does not want to eliminate himself? No, just the opposite, that he does not stay on one place, that he does not always prove himself a patient and reliable source of exploitation! Not only forcible removal, but even a peaceful propaganda among the Southern negroes for voluntary emigration to Africa would not be tolerated by the vast majority of the Southerners.

The proposals of elimination is neither an ideal nor a prophecy, though it is remedy,—it is only a quack remedy.

3) Territorial Segregation. Most of these arguments are applicable against the proposed segrigation of the negroes within some of the states within this Union, a solution, which the famous English critic William Archer has recently advocated with a great deal of enthusiasm and conviction characteristic of a very superficial knowledge of the problem. Because of the weight of Archer's name and the eloquence of his plea, a popular monthly has readily published and probably handsomely paid for this contribution. But neither the South nor the North, neither the negro nor the white have shown any enthusiasm or even any interest for the plan. And for a very good reason—for it is a remedy that has neither the qualities of an ideal for any considerable element of the population, nor is there the slightest indication that historical tendencies are moving in that direction. It is an invented prescription, and no such prescriptions have been worth the paper they were written on in sociological problems. It was shown in one of the preceding installments of the series that the tendencies were exactly in the opposite direction, towards a scattering of the negro population. Not only does it contain

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more open to attack, for even abstractly does it not produce the desired "solution," but by concentrating the negro power, would give stronger expression to their dissatisfaction. And as for constitutional difficulties—only a foreign mind, utterly oblivious of the legal foundations of the structure of this nation, could suggest the introduction of the Russian "Pale of Settlement" doctrine, brought down from the Middle Ages to a twentieth century democratic republic,—a "pale of settlement" doctrine with the concomital feature—the denial of personal right of free travel, perhaps a passport system, and local police boards for rendering ethnographic decisions as to racial status of doubtful individuals.

4) Equalization of the negro status with that of the white man, is evidently the only solution that can be classed as such—that will really solve the problem, i. e. receive this one problem as a source of social friction. It is the only solution that meets the requirements of a social ideal. It is the only solution, of which ten million negroes are dreaming, to which all their leaders are leading, no matter what different roads they chose, no matter how carefully they disguise their ultimate hopes.

But if satisfactory to the oppressed racial element, is it, or can it ever be satisfactory to the oppressing Caucasian Race? Is it, can it ever become the ideal of both sides to the controversy? That is, of course, the crucial point upon which our ideals must depend. Not that our opinions or wishes are really decisive of historical and sociological processes. But surely they are not without some influence, either of a stimulating or of a retarding nature. And in any case, disregarding blind elemental social forces, we are now discussing the ideal.

Enough has been said in the preceeding chapter about the Southern attitude on this problem. and the facts of the negro's growth during the fifty years of freedom in this country were rapidly pictured. To avoid repetition we must assume as true all those deductions which in the previous chapters we tried to establish. It has been demonstrated that the American negro is capable to absorb all the fruits of Caucasian culture and civilization. This being so, how can the negro's emancipation from his present status interfere with social progress? How can it injure the interests of his white neighbor?

Let us make this question quite clear to the reader. That it is to the interest of the white employer to "keep the negro down" and

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his legitimate demands for civic rights exist, all this is recognized Thus there is a real economic interpretation for the negro's plights both in the economic relations of the present, and the psychologic aftermath of the economic relations of the past. But neither of these is evidently a basic, organic, unsurmountable difficutly. Economic relations of the present must change, the psychologic effects of past economic relations must wear off. If economically, and biologically the white race cannot be injured by the emancipation of the negro, then it surely will not succumb to the psychological effects of the shock.

For what does the civic emancipation of the negro race mean, when reduced to its component elements? It means opportunity, economic, educational, cultural, social. It means the chance to rise intellectually, morally, economically, politically, socially. Why should the rise, the growth of any of my neighbors hurt me, unless I want to profit by his ignorance and weakness?

Ah, but this means social equality, and that is something the South will never agree to, many a southerner exclaims (Socialists, unfortunately, not excluded. But of this later). Yes, social equality, of course. That is really a splendid, telling phrase, when confined to its proper meaning. That is something the negro lacks, the negro, like every free citizen, must have.

Now, what is "social equality?" What do you understand by it, my southern friend? Is it the right to enter your parlor against your wishes, to marry your daughter against her wishes? Those are decidedly individual and not social acts. Your home is your castle, you frequently repeat. Even the officer of the law dare not enter it without a special warrant. Why, all that means that the home is the least social of our existing institutions. It is primarily the retreat of the individual, and personal fancies and caprices, prejudices and favoritism frequently rule there supreme. It is because in the swift current of socializing influences we nevertheless remain individuals, and therefore of necessity, individualists, that we appreciate our home just because it is the place for the expression of caprices, fancies, moods and irrational or supra-rational manifestations of life.

Evidently, with this institution social equality has absolutely nothing to do. No sensible, cultured negro wants to force his way into a private parlor, by whose owner he is hated and despised; and no law on earth can force the negro upon this unwilling parlor. The Jews in this country never suffered from discriminating legislation, and in most European coutries they have been free from it for many decades. But in this country as well as in Europe, an overwhelming majority of the parlors is by a silent understanding closed to the

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Define this peculiar and narrow field as "parlor equality", and then perhaps we will be able to keep the problem within its legitimate limits.

No, this is not social equality, and, moreover, I strongly suspect that even the bigotted Southerner understands this distinction. He is for Jim Crow cars, and Disfranchisement acts, and for vagrancy laws, and against negro schools, not because he is afraid of the negro's intrusion in his parlor, but for other much more material, much more sordid reasons.

It is social equality that a negro has a right to demand, and to expect, and that he must have before we may claim to have solved the negro problem, i. e. equality at the hand of organized society, equality in all social institutions, equality before the election officers, equality in the civil service, equality in a library, built at public expense, to which at present he is not admitted, equality in the jury, when one of their race is on trial, equality in representation and the making of laws, under which he must live, equality at the hands of the school board, when money is appropriated for schools, equality in railroads, street cars, steamers, theatres and stores, which are truly public even if owned by private capital. Give the negro these, and he will not make any effort to force his way into your parlor, any more than the Jew forces or can force his way.

Now, I don't want to be misunderstood for a moment, as trying to justify Caucasian snubbishness concerning the African or Yellow races. Personally, I think it silly, though I can understand its origin. There are other things, logically silly, but historically inevitable, whether we mention long skirts, boiled shirts, or excessive sexual modesty. In a limited way I practice social, or rather "parlor" equality, and I do it in no spirit of bravado, but because I found a few highly intelligent negroes whom I enjoy meeting. To tell the truth, I found it much easier to force my way into an intellegent negro's house, than to get him into mine, possibly because there always lingers in the minds of the negro a suspicion as to the motives of the exceptionally cordial white man.

But I also know that it will be a long time before all the white folks will get rid of this prejudice as well as of many other prejudices and superstitions, and I also know that an organized effort to overcome this prejudice forcibly would be the surest way to give it new life. Only slowly, unconsciously do these large changes in mass psychology take place, but they are inevitable when the logic of events destroys

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The final argument against the full emancipation of the negro remains: the fear of miscegenation, the necessity to fight for racial purity. In a previous chapter I have shown, how frequently, as in the work of Professor Smith of Tulane University, this was made the justification and explanation for the entire policy of negro repression, with absolute disregard of the actual facts of life. Of all the different aspects of the negro problem, that known as amalgamation has caused the greatest amount of hysteria, and it has become a topic of greatest difficulties for calm and rational consideration by a Southerner. But here hysteria must be discarded, and the problem must be approached calmly, and without prejudices, if we are to arrive at reasonable results.

The charge of the negro's desire to carry on a forcible amalgamation through rape is too silly to deserve more than a possible mention, even if it did move John Temple Graves to advocate the wholesale castration of all bad negroes as a preventative measure. The question of amalgamation is therefore a question of voluntary miscegenation.

What are the facts? First, that forcible miscegenation was for centuries practiced by the white man and he is therefor primarily responsible for the degree of amalgamation accomplished thus far, and no small degree it is, to be sure.

These results were achieved without any "parlor" equality of which the South is so fearful, in fact were accomplished while the negro, as slave, was at the bottom of the social ladder. There is one important factor to be taken into consideration. The charge is often been made by Southern writers, Tillinghast for instance, that it was really the immorality of the negro woman and not the voluptuousness of the Southern man that was responsible for this miscegenation. Supposing that this were true—then evidently the rise of the negro would decrease rather than increase this cause of amalgamation. For it must not be forgotten, that "amalgamation" of the races proceeded almost exclusively through illicit intercourse.

It is often claimed by Southerners that all this is a thing of a past. In the nature of things no statistics of illicit sexual intercourse is possible. But a series of articles in Pearson's Magazine recently published, urging the Southern white youth to limit itself to white prostitutes, so as to avoid further amalgamation (this is no exaggerated misstatement, but the actual advice given by that author) seems to indicate that with all the supposedly natural, biological antagonism between the races, the southern gentlemen is not averse to concoursing with a negro prostitute, and continues to practice miscegenation, social equality or no social equality. And it is quite

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natural to suppose that in the simple psychology of a negro prostitute or semiprostitute a white client represents the more affluent and therefore more desirable class.

In the opinion of Prof. Smith, however, there are two different kinds of amalgamation vastly differing as to their Social effects. The woman, he insists, is the carrier of racial purity. The illicit relations of white men with negro women bring white blood to the negro race. The reverse relations, between negro men and white women, would contaminate the white race.

Granting this difference, miscegenation has not interfered with the purity of the Caucasion race, but has infused a good deal of Caucasian blood into the African race, and from the Southern point of view, could but improve the latter. To use a crude colloquialism, "Where is the kick coming?"

But, says Prof. Smith, if social equality (in his sence of "parlor" equality) is granted, it will be followed by mixed marriages of both types, and the American people will become a mongrel people.

Is the danger of such marriages real? And if they should really take place, would they represent a serious danger to the racial evolution of the white race in the United States?

I might as well admit it: To me, individually, a mixed marriage between a caucasian and a real negro, seems monstrous, biologically as well as esthetically. I'd much rather eat at the same table with a negro woman than marry her. Southern practice seems to take the diametrically opposite view. But socially, I see no danger in such marriages. The Southerner objects to them from a social point of view, while conniving at them individually. I refuse to admit the social danger, first because I assume that my esthetic objections are shared by the vast majority of men and especially women, when a marriage relation is contemplated. As a result the mixed marriages are extremely rare. When they do occur, unless in the very bottom of social structure, the negro has usually more white than African blood, and is a negro constructively only.

(Concluded next month.)

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Marxian vs. Nietzschean.

By Marcus Hitch.



THE recent volume, **Men vs. The Man,** published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, is an epistolary debate between two well-equipped champions, consisting of six letters by Robert Rives La Monte, Marxian, and six replies thereto by H. L. Mencken, who is called by his opponent a Nietzschean.

In his first letter La Monte takes special pains to warn his correspondent that the socialism which he advocates is not a scheme for human amelioration which society is free to adopt or reject as it will. This warning, right at the beginning, is important because we shall afterwards find that it is disregarded by his opponent. The first letter then proceeds to state the position of socialists from the economic standpoint, and lays particular stress upon the great volume of surplus wealth that is actually created and cannot be disposed of except through the medium of foreign markets, wars, earthquakes, or other calamities. This phase of the subject is so familiar to readers of the **International Socialist Review** that we do not need to go into details.

In his first reply, and in fact in his very first sentence, Mencken characterizes himself and his false view of socialism by saying that he and the Marxian both agree that the world is by no means perfect, but that when they come to discuss the precise method of bettering it and to define the goal which lies ahead, the divergence between them is abysmal. La Monte is needlessly cautioned that schemes for human amelioration are wasted. He then proceeds to show that the immense surplus referred to by La Monte does not in fact exist; that there is no danger whatever of clogging the channels of commerce with surplus wealth; that the laborer gets in wages all that he earns; that nearly all the rest of the product is earned by the employer, and that the balance remaining, which goes to the idle capitalist, is insignificant, though he admits there is a small balance; that the possibility of explaiting the workingman is the one thing that justifies and optimistic view of human progress.

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In his second letter La Monte justly calls attention to the fact that when you measure progress, as Mencken does, by the increase of accurate knowledge, and thus apotheosize human reason, you put yourself back on the standpoint of the French Rationalists of the eighteenth century. He then returns to the discussion of the economic basis of socialism and the rate of exploitation which the wage-workers suffer, giving statistics to show that an average income per family of $5,000 per annum would be possible if the waste of the competitive system were eliminated.

In his second reply Mencken disputes this statement, principally for the reason that no allowance has been made for shirking, for laziness, for drunkenness, for illness. The workingman has before him two methods for satisfying his "will to power"—first by entering into a conspiracy with other workingmen, which has for its object an artificial bulling of the market wherein their skill is sold, without offering any corresponding improvement in its quality; second, by seeking to improve his own skill so that it shall bring more than the average price. A vast majority, instead of seeking to increase their efficiency, try to do as little as they can for their wages, which is only an attempt to penalize society. As to the profits made by the rich, they pay back their debt to humanity by the establishment of libraries, museums, hospitals, the erection of monuments, etc.

In his third letter La Monte endeavors to convict Mencken of inconsistency, in that, on the one hand, he fears the world will be over-populated, and on the other hand he praises the rich for establishing hospitals and institutes, which have a tendency to preserve life and thus intensify the over-population. As for the laziness of the wage-worker, what inducement has he to be anything but lazy and drunken? What gives me, says La Monte, my firm and unshakable belief in his potentialities as an efficient worker in the future, is the very fact that he has sense and manhood enough to be discontended with the conditions under which he works now.

Mencken in his third reply rebuts the charge of inconsistency. What he meant was that the hospitals and institutes founded by wealthy men to preserve life are really for the benefit of high-caste people who are temporarily in need of assistance and that such institutions do not principally aid the vast mass of the population who are described by him as "low-caste." We do not vaccinate negroes to preserve their useless lives, but because we do not want them to fall ill of small-pox in our kitchens and stables, and so expose us to danger, inconvenience and expense, says Mencken. What are the virtues of a high-caste man? He should possess, to an unusual

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and striking degree, all of those qualities which distinguish the average man from the average baboon. The chief of these qualities is a sort of a restless impatience with things as they are,—a sort of insatiable desire to help along the evolutionary process. The low-caste man dreams chaotic dreams without working out practicable plans for their realization. He pins his faith to christianity, socialism, or some other vaporous miracle cult. The high-caste man, having efficiency as well as imagination, makes the thing itself arise out of the idea of it. He peers through microscopes, builds great steamships, reclaims deserts, makes laws, and overturns the gods. The distinction between the two is the product—not so much of varying environment as of inborn differences. Castes are not made by man, but by nature.

In his fourth letter La Monte replies to these misrepresentations of socialism very fully and ably, and in his reply Mencken branches off to the subject of political democracy. Its comparative safety and efficiency lie not in the florid strophes of the declaration of independence, but in the fact that those strophes must ever remain mere poetry; that is to say, its practice is beneficent because its theory is happily impossible. Once a year we reaffirm the doctrine that all men are free and equal. All the rest of the twelve months we devote our energies to proving that they are not. The typical low-caste man is entirely unable to acquire that power of ordered and independent reasoning which distinguishes the man of higher caste. The binomial theorem is as far beyond his comprehension as an epigram in Persian. In the true sense, such a being cannot think. The low-caste man's insatiable desire for company, for fraternity, for brotherhood, is a proof of his low caste. He has no resources within himself, so he joins fraternal orders, goes to church, and affiliates with a political party.

In his fifth letter La Monte discusses the rise of the pecuniary magnate, and the tendency under modern opportunities to concentrate financial power in the hands of a single person or small group of persons.

Mencken replies, that when this condition becomes intolerable it can be terminated by assassination; that the pecuniary magnate is inevitable at our present stage of progress. He is the incarnation of the dominant concept of mankind to-day. He will live and flourish until the ideals of humanity are changed. Once the ideal was an eternity of bliss at the right hand of Jehovah. After the age of faith there followed an age of military endeavor brought on by the gradual crowding of Western Europe. Then came the discovery of America and the gradual submergence of the military ideal in commercial ideals. That the commercial ideal will rule mankind forever, I by no

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means assert, says Mencken. How long it will remain more powerful than all other ideals, I do not know, and neither do I know what other ideal will take its place. My own private view is that the ideal of truth-seeking will one day take the place of the ideal of money-making.

In his sixth letter La Monte is able to enlighten Mencken as to how these mysterious ideals which rule the world are themselves manufactured. They are determined by the modes of production and exchange; but the explanation is thrown away.

Mencken's reply contains a statement of his own philosophy. In order that the human race may go forward it is not sufficient that the unusual man be given enough to eat and a roof to shelter him from the weather, for such things are within the easy reach of practically all men. He must have, in addition, a reward which effectually marks him off from the common man. Whatever he desires, he proves title to it by getting it. This is an admirable arrangement. It determines every man's value, not by his yearnings or his intentions, but by the immediate value of his acts. The workingman's notion that in addition to his just wages, he deserves a definite reward for the mere act of remaining alive, is one to which I cannot subscribe. I cannot think, says Mencken, upon my own good fortune in life, without a feeling that my thanks should go forth somewhere and to someone. My day's work is not an affliction, but a pleasure; my labor, sold in the open market, brings me the comforts that I desire; I am assured against all but a remote danger of starvation in my old age. Outside my window, in the street a man labors in the rain with pick and shovel, and his reward is merely a roof for to-night and to-morrow's three meals. Contemplating the difference between his lot and mine, I cannot fail to wonder at the eternal meaninglessness of life.

When disputants cannot agree on the facts, the debate as to the cause of these facts, who suffers or profits by them, and what results any proposed changes would have, is a waste of breath. Mencken claims that the exploitation of the workers is small; that there is no forced unemployment; that capitalists do useful work;—in fact, that there is no criterion by which we can tell what work is useful and what not useful; that everyone gets the actual value of his work in the open market; that there is no waste in competition; that human labor power is only muscle power, ox power; that the necessity of getting a livelihood and supporting one's offspring, which is effective in the case of wild beasts, is powerless to overcome the congenital laziness of the ordinary human being; that nothing but the magic touch of exploitation for private profit will work this miracle; that the difference

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between the high-caste man and the low-caste is congenital, not economic; but apparently he fears that the removal of the economic difference would destroy the congenital difference.

Well, if these things are true, then Mencken's philosophy appears reasonable and debate is useless. Mencken is unwilling to pay men anything merely for the labor of being alive; we, too. We are also unwilling to pay men anything merely for the labor of being property-owners.

Mencken is grieved because low-caste men cannot understand the binomial theorem. That is nothing. We have tried a hundred times and have never yet found a high-caste man (outside the socialists) who could grasp the axiomatic proposition that the abolition of exploitation in industry would necessarily cut away the foundation of graft in politics and make an honest government possible; or the equally evident proposition that although you cannot change men's actions directly by legislation, nevertheless you can change industrial and property conditions by legislation, and that these changed conditions would in turn affect men's actions. That is as an "epigram in Persian" to the high-caste man; on economic subjects he cannot truly think, as Mencken would say. He has a contempt for the "master equation" of economic determinism which reveals sociological truths; but master equations in any other department of human knowledge are acceptable and indicate a high-caste mind.

As the oyster cannot free himself from his shell, so the typical individualist cannot free himself from the idea that the "natural" function of pubilc government is to enforce private contracts by the artificial means of courts. This whole philosophy is based on the delusion that under bourgeois freedom the contracts and business customs of men, which grow into laws, arise out of industrial relations which are the result of the deliberate choice of the parties; in other words, that men choose their methods of social industry according to their varying tastes or whims.

The individualist assumes, in the first place, that all men can individually get a livelihood, which is only an incidental thing, produced by ox power; that then the principal business of life consists in the spiritual act of deliberating upon and making a choice of the ways in which ultimate happiness can be attained. This view lays a foundation for the theoretical separation of matter and spirit by the same gulf which is claimed to separate the two-legged ox from the truthseeker, and, of course, leads to dualism. In one age, says Mencken, this ultimate good was found in religion; later in military glory; then in commerce; it will reach its ultimate of ultimates in the pursuit of

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barren knowledge and speculating on the eternal meaninglessness of life and the riddle of the universe.

In this scheme the producing problem, which solves all problems by the reconciliation of mind and matter, is left out of the account entirely; whereas, in fact, the meaning of life is found in the living of it here and now, which includes the getting of a livelihood, (i. e., a human livelihood in society with all it implies), by a co-operation and co-ordination of matter and spirit. There is no meaninglessness of life except for one who is chasing the phantom of a far-away and ever receding telos, which is assumed to be wholly different and disconnected from the present; the placing of this telos in the distant future on earth gives it no advantage over the old religious telos in heaven.

There is no riddle of the universe except for one who has lost his mental footing by separation from the productive process, as well as by a misconception of the process, of cognition, and has a preconceived notion different from the alleged riddle; and who perverts his logical faculties by trying to apply to the universe as a whole laws of cause and effect, beginning and end, purpose and goal, which can be applied only to the parts of the universe in relation to each other; who views things only as successive, not as coexistent; as unrelated, not as correlated; who plays the one-string melody of evolution, and ignores the symphony of convolution. To apply to the whole the laws of the parts is to create riddles where they do not exist, and leads to agnosticism, not in philosophy only, but in sociology as well.

Truth-seeking or cognition is not an act of the mind alone, but requires the assistance of material phenomena. A man thinks not with his brain exclusively, but with his whole body, and ultimately with the whole Universe. The mind does not understand the Universe that stands under the mind. This Universe is the prerequisite and basis of understanding in the same way that standing room is the prerequisite of lifting. Why then should a man try to think himself out of the mystery of the Universe any more than he should try to lift himself away from the mystery of his standing place?

To get out of this slough of despond we need only observe that industrial relations are not secondary, but are primary, and are not of men's free choice, but are as involuntary as they are unavoidable; and that these compulsive relations account for men's tastes in pursuing certain ideals and establishing certain customs, which, when crystalized into laws by long usage, appear to the self-styled agnostic as the immutable laws of nature; whereas, in fact, they are as immutable as the methods of industrial production only, no more and no less.

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So long as the mystery of commodity production and class government stupifies the high-caste man in the same way that the mysteries of physical nature affect the primitive savage, the universe will remain a riddle. Not until man has mastered his own social environment does he rise from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom and become able to grasp the riddle of the universe. He will then also be able to grasp the paradox that a high Individualism can only be attained by means of Socialism.

The Story of the Telephone.

By Jack Morton.



HEN Professor Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, was a young man of 22, he was informed by Professor Helmholtz that an electro-magnet would set a tuning-fork ringing. Professor Helmholtz was not trying to invent a telephone, but to demonstrate the physical basis of music. But the humming tuning-fork was a new and very interesting phenomenon to Bell. If a magnet or an electrofied wire could set a tuning-fork ringing, why would it not be possible, he argued, to invent a musical telegraph whereby many sounds might be sent over the wires at the same time. Thereupon Professor Bell set out on the trail of the telephone.

His continued success as a teacher of acoustics, so brilliant that it won for him a professorship in Boston University, required much of his time, so that young Bell was continually divided between his interest in his method of teaching deaf-mutes and his quest of the telephone. But he was generally able to fix up a small work-shop in some basement where he carried on his experiments with batteries, tin trumpets, tuning-forks and magnets. He always seemed to be in a state of mental delight, either over the success of his teaching or the possibilities of the musical telegraph, or telephone.

It was Dr. Clarence J. Blake, who suggested that young Bell experiment with a real, human ear. Dr. Blake was an aurist of note and it was natural that he should make this suggestion which probably would never have occurred to Bell The ear of a dead man was procured and a straw was arranged to touch the ear drum at

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one end and a piece of smoked glass at the other. When Bell spoke loudly into the ear very small markings appeared upon the smoked glass.

Ordinary people, who have always lacked faith in inventors, would have called Bell crazy as he danced about this crude contrivance, so full of delight at his discovery that he could scarcely control his emotions. In a flash the idea of a membrane telephone came to his mind, and he imagined two discs connected by an electrofied wire receiving vibrations at one end and reproducing them at the other. Just as he arrived at the point when he felt confident of ultimate success, his financial backers declared they would produce no more money to advance an ear toy that would be no use to anybody, and insisted that Bell continue his experiments on the musical telegraph.

Fortunately, at this time, Bell had an opportunity of meeting Prof. Joseph Henry, who knew more of the theory of electrical science at that time than any man in America. Prof. Henry experimented with the Bell model and declared that Bell was on the track of a great invention.

Three months later a single twang was sent over the crude affair Bell had rigged up in a workshop—an exact reproduction of the twang received at the other end—the first message sent—and reproduced—and the telephone was born. The telephone was in existence, it is true, but it had not yet spoken one word, and Bell set himself to master the intricacies of electricity in order to complete his work. There were no sign posts to guide him, for nobody had ever progressed over the road to the telephone before him. He wandered about in a labyrinth growing ever a little nearer to a solution of his problem.

For forty weeks Bell experimented. All this time the telephone would gasp and jabber and whisper, but no words came over it till on March 10, 1876, it said very plainly, "Mr. Watson, come here. I want you." Mr. Watson, who was at the other end of the wire came dashing up from the basement workshop, "I heard you; I heard you," he said joyfully.

When Bell was twenty-nine, he received his patent from Washington. It was issued under the phrase "an improvement in telegraphy." There was then no such word in the language as the "telephone."

WIRELESS TELEPHONING.

From the first Bell telephone to the wireless telephone is a long step, and the latest achievements in this line have been performed by Dr. Millener in the yards of the Union Pacific R. R. Co. at Omaha,

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Neb., where he has installed a wireless apparatus which will ring a bell at some distance from the operator. Dr. Millener believes that practical apparatus may soon be installed in trains for receiving wireless telephone messages on moving trains. Communications are being held daily between the shops and Fort Omaha, four miles distant. The electric truck at the shops can now be controlled by the operator at Fort Omaha.

"In the operation of a wireless station on land a large area of ground covered with metallic netting is required to intercept and gather the electric waves."

In wireless telephoning on moving trains, Dr. Millener claims there will be no danger in electrifying the rails, as persons passing over them will never know, nor feel, the high voltage passing through them.

The Barbarism of Capitalism.

By J.



OHN K. TURNER has told us in the American Magazine about "Barbarous Mexico." Fred Heslewood and others have told us something about "Barbarous Spokane." We have heard of the barbarous slaughter of hundreds of coal miners, murdered like rats in a trap, time and again, in our own civilized United States of America.

We hear of the killing and mangling of thousands of our fellow citizens yearly by the barbarism of modern railroading. We are continually told, by the press of the world, of the most revolting scenes of barbarism in all of the so-called cultured nations. We know that the people are clubbed, lashed, imprisoned, tortured and killed in order to keep them in subjugation, not only in imperialistic Russia, Germany, China and Japan, but also in monarchistic England, Spain, Portugal and Italy. I would like to stop at that, but it must be added that this barbarism is also practiced in France and in all the Republics of America.

So it is beside the mark and wholly inadequate, to speak of a country, a city, a president, or a governor, as being "barbarous." It

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is not the **place**, or the **person** that is particularly "barbarous." What we see is the periodical outbreak, at certain times and places, of the whole mass of the devastating Barbarism of Capitalism, that is festering in the body of modern society, slowly eating its way to the heart and threatening to produce either a quick death, or a new birth, or both.

For many years, one of the places of refuge of the liberty loving and free minded people of Italy and Spain has been the Argentine Republic; but within the last five years the most horrible barbarities have been practiced there and many of these people have been glad to escape with their lives, even to such a country as "Barbarous Mexico." All of the countries between the United States and Cape Horn are governed by so-called presidents, who are nothing more than dictators, or petty dispensors of barbarism, who dictate to their people, but who in turn are **dictated to** by the great boss dictator, capitalism, whose capital city is New York, with a branch office at Washington, D. C.

The Argentine government at present is in the hands of Figueroa Aleosta, a heartless and despotic tyrant, who within the last few years has inaugurated a series of persecutions and banishments that have just about suppressed the last vestige of free press, free speech and democratic government.

On November 14, 1909, Colonel Falcón, chief of police of Buenos Aires, the Federal Capitol, and his private secretary, were killed by a bomb thrown by a person still unknown, but who was doubtless one of the victims of persecution who had escaped with his life and being human, felt a powerful desire for personal revenge.

The day following, the whole Republic was declared in a state of siege for 60 days and a reign of terror was begun by the government.

The offices of "La Vanguardia," a socialist paper, were attacked and partially destroyed. The office and machinery of "La Protesta," an anarchist paper, were completely demolished. The halls of organized workers and of the lay schools, were also ransacked by the police and practically suppressed. Libraries were burned. Men, women and children were arrested by the hundreds everywhere and herded to Buenas Aires. Old men, nor women, were respected. In one of the towns of the provinces, where an old man was a prisoner, his fourteen year old daughter was violated in his presence. To shorten a long story, a large group of men were driven from place to place and finally on board of a war ship where they were stripped and robbed of all but their underwear and compelled to run at a trot around the deck while the marines lashed them, beat them and jabbed

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them with bayonets and swords. Among these men were novelists, artists, editors, laborers and merchants, of diverse nationalities, dispositions and tendencies.

Two days later twenty-eight Russians were taken out to be sent to Russia and before embarking were given another run of the gauntlet worse than before. They were hacked with machetes till the deck was covered with blood and in one case the weapon remained sticking in the victim's back. The others stayed in that horrible daily torture till December 24, when thirty-eight Italians and Spaniards were released to be sent to Europe, only to find the police there ready to continue the persecutions as much as the conditions of the country permit.

Part of this narration I take from a letter dated Vigo, Spain, Jan. 22, 1910, and signed by eight of the deported Spaniards. It was published by "El Socialista" of Madrid. Fellow workingmen of the United States, this Barbarism of Capitalism is coming nearer and nearer to your own little home. The only remedy is the abolition of the capitalist system of production and distribution and the only way to do that is to effect a more perfect organization of the entire working class, both in the political and in the industrial field. At present you are almost helpless. Your congress is made up of millionaires and lawyers. You have no members of your class in places of power and even the so-called "prominent labor leaders," such as Gompers, are traitors to the working class.

The right of free press and free speech, is being taken away from you and you still sleep on. Forget your differences of craft and creed and language and join hands with all the other members of the working class in one magnificent movement; having for its purpose the complete annihilation of Barbarous Capitalism and the inauguration of a new society, in which not only a few will enjoy life, but all will live as humans should, in a state of peace and plenty.

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EDITORIAL

The Socialist Party Congress. The delegates of the Socialist Party who meet at Chicago May 15, will have a hard task before them, and a great opportunity. The convention of 1908 adopted a Declaration of Principles on which practically all members of the party can unite heartily. But it also adopted a platform for 1908 which has become obsolete, and a series of immediate demands which require careful revision. It is useless to disguise the fact that two opposite tendencies will be represented at the convention. There will be those who want a platform that will appeal to "all the people",—that will attract the votes of petty exploiters who want exploitation to continue, but would be glad to have the help of wage-workers in curbing the trusts. This view will be aggressively put forward and ably defended by men who are experienced in the ways of conventions. They will go into the struggle well organized, with the advantage of knowing exactly what they want. Yet we believe they represent a minority of the membership of the party. If those who stand for revolution rather than reform can unite on a definite program, applying the recognized principles of Socialism to the conditions of today, we may be able to go into the campaign with a platform to be proud of. Taking the old platform and demands as a basis on which to work, the International Socialist Review suggests the following revision as one on which we all might unite:

PROPOSED PLATFORM FOR 1910.

The Socialist Party, in national congress assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and invites the support of all wage-workers and all who desire to put an end to the system by which wage-workers are deprived of the product of their labor.

The United States is now at the height of what the great daily newspapers call "prosperity". Wealth is being produced at a rate swifter than was ever known in all the world's history. The machinery of production is being increased by leaps and bounds, and capital is piling up in the hands of the great captains of industry, who are preparing to use it to make the labor of their wage-workers more productive still.

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Amid all this "prosperity" the real wages of the wage-workers, measured in the necessities and comforts of life which they will buy, are swiftly and steadily declining. The production of gold, in which all prices, including the price of labor-power, are measured, has been wonderfully cheapened by new machine processes for extracting gold from ore. With this cheapening of gold, the prices of all the things the laborer must buy have risen by fifty per cent within the last ten years, while his money wages have increased but slightly.

Against this automatic reduction of wages the laborers have here and there resisted by strikes, but for the most part they have either accepted insignificant concessions on the part of the employers and returned to work, or else have seen their unions ruthlessly crushed out by the employers, aided by the judges, soldiers and police, acting as the representatives of the ruling classes.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the Republican or Democratic parties. As long as individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit through the exploitation of others, so long the misery of the mass of the people must go on increasing. No half-way reform measures in the way of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interest of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, the Prohibitionist and all parties other than the Socialist Party are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class. Each party, wherever it has been in power, has been equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class.

We recognize that no laws that can be passed while capitalists control the means of production, will put an end to the poverty and distress of the working class. Nevertheless we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program, as measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim.

PROGRAM.

1. Employment by the United States, state and municipal governments of unemployed workers in the construction of canals and roads, the building of schools, the reclamation of arid or swamp lands, the development of water power to be used for public purposes,

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the exploitation of government mining lands, and other useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be employed directly by the government and to be paid not less than the prevailing rate of union wages, with an eight hour work-day. The United States to lend money without interest to states and municipalities for the purpose of employing wage workers under such conditions.

2. The government to establish a compulsory system of insurance for the protection of all wage-workers, the cost of such insurance to be borne by the government and the employer, and no laborer to be debarred from the benefits of such insurance by reason of membership in a labor union or participation in a strike.

3. All wage-workers, whether employed by the government or private employers, to be given the right to organize into unions without interference of any kind on the part of the employer. Any corporation discharging employees for organizing to forfeit its charter.

4. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines, and all other means of social transportation and communication. All land not personally used by the holder, to become a portion of the public domain.

5. Abolition of police interference with laborers in search of employment. Any innocent person arrested on suspicion to be compensated by receiving double the amount of wages he would have earned during time confined. Any policeman or jailer using unnecessary violence to be forever debarred from holding office.

6. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

7. Improvement of industrial conditions for the workers, by shortening the work-day, by securing to every worker a rest period of at least a day and a half each week, by effective inspection of workshops and factories, by forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age, and by compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, old age and death.

8. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women. Residence requirement for suffrage to be reduced to three months in the state and thirty days in the voting precinct.

9. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall. The Constitution of the United States to be made amendable by majority vote.

All these measures are but a preparation for the seizure by the workers of all powers of government and all the means required for employing their own labor and enjoying its fruits.

It will be observed that in this draft of a platform we have made no attempt at originality nor at elegance of style. We have followed

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the language of the old platform except where there seemed to us to be a distinct reason for a change. We have eliminated about half the old "demands", partly because we think brevity adds strength, and partly because some of them are of a distinctively middle-class character. For example, it makes no difference to a wage-worker whether the government raises its revenue by a tax on incomes or in some other way. The demand that the national constitution be made amendable by majority vote is broad enough to cover the principle involved in the other constitutional changes suggested in the old program, and we believe it will be better propaganda to pass lightly over the details. "The free administration of justice" looks like a sop to the small proprietors, who are at a disadvantage when attacked by the big capitalists in the courts. In place of this we urge the new demand numbered 5, which is of vital interest to wage-workers.

Our demand numbered 2 is made necessary by the steps recently taken by several large corporations to establish insurance systems under their own control, to be used in a way likely to cripple the labor unions, an example that will probably be followed by many other employers in the near future. The addition we have made to paragraph 8 has to do with a matter that is vital to the life of our party. It is now in the power of the capitalists to nullify any local success we may win by discharging socialist voters, sending them adrift after jobs, and employing new laborers who are not allowed to vote for a long time. Even where no discharges are made for political reasons, the wage-workers' party is always at a disadvantage under present laws because its members lose their votes by following their jobs from place to place. This is a measure that will be bitterly fought by nearly every capitalist, while it will strongly commend itself to nearly every wage-worker.

Of course, the committee of the Congress will and should write its own platform, but we hope that these suggestions will at least clear the air. And we desire to take this occasion to deny most emphatically the charge that the International Socialist Review has opposed, opposes, or is preparing to oppose political action by the working class. We hold with Frederick Engels that the victorious proletariat, when it comes into its own, will have little use for the old political forms of the dead middle-class. But we also hold that in the fight with capitalism that is day by day growing fiercer, the wage-workers, if they depend on their unions alone, will be crushed by brute force. If they are to contend on equal terms with the capitalists, they must combine at the ballot-box to win for themselves the control of the soldier's rifle, the policeman's club and the judge's injunction.

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Australia. Another Strike that Failed. Australian capitalism is not full-grown, but in suppressing unionism it is as expert as our own giant. It has used the capitalistic weapons, the laws, the courts and the police, as effectively as Spokane, Philadelphia or New Castle, Penn. And that, too, in the face of a Labor Party and an elaborate arbitration system.

The great Australian Coal Strike is broken. It seems to have been a case of the labor leaders restraining the workers from decisive action until the employers had time to perfect their legal weapons and crush the strike. During the first two weeks of the strike the government was thoroughly alarmed. The threat of a general strike drove the ministry to plead with the mine owners and even to talk of state operation of the mines. But the general strike remained, in New South Wales as in Pennsylvania, only a threat. It was not the rank and file who flinched or hesitated. The Wharf Laborers clamored to go out in sympathy with the miners and were restrained only by the personal influence of their President, the cautious Mr. Hughes. The Coal Lumpers struck in defiance of the orders of the Strike Congress. Peter Bowling, socialist and fighting leader of the miners, was busy holding his men firm and organizing relief measures, but even he seemed unable to bring on a general strike in the face of opposition from the Labor Party and the Strike Congress. The government felt the hesitation, realized that they would have only the miners to fight, and abandoned their policy of concession and mediation. A short, sharp program of union-smashing was legalized by the parliament and relentlessly executed by the courts and the police.

Peter Bowling and four other union officers were already under sentence for "promoting a strike." They were tried again on a charge of "conspiracy" under the common law. On February 10th they were found guilty. The jury strongly recommended mercy, but the judge declared that "law must be upheld" and sentenced the strikers to

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eighteen months imprisonment at hard labor. Peter Bowling's sentence was added to that already meted out to him by another court for the same offense, and he is, therefore, under sentence of two years and a half imprisonment at hard labor. The excessively severe sentence showed the government's fear of him; its hatred was shown in the petty persecution of sending him to jail in irons.

A dramatic interlude worthy of Philadelphia took place on February 8th. The socialists of Sydney organized a street demonstration to protest against the imprisonment of Bowling and the other strike leaders. Men and women marched through the streets of Sydney, carrying red flags and inscriptions demanding the release of the unionists. The police fell upon the procession and dragged men and women to jail. Sixty-four paraders in all were hauled to court. There men were condemned on such damning evidence as that they "knew Tom Mann or Peter Bowling," that they "did not believe in capitalism" or that they "were not Christians." Those adjudged guilty of these widely varied offenses were fined.

Sixteen other strikers were sent to jail under sentences of from two to eight months. But the leaders who had opposed the general strike and had even urged the miners outside of the Newcastle district to return to work were not arrested. They were left free to continue their work of conciliation and adjustment. The Sydney Coal Lumpers rebelled against loading ships with scab coal, but Mr. Hughes, the politician of the strike, succeeded in getting the matter postponed by a referendum. The Wages Board was sitting, but no miners appeared before it. Again the miners asked the employers for a conference, again they were refused. With their leaders in prison, their union funds exhausted and hunger pressing on their families, the miners' unions began to ballot on the question of resuming work. During the second week in February the surrender came. The miners of the Northern and Southern Districts voted to resume work and submit their demand to the Wages Board. So the mine-owners and the government, by their straight policy of brute force, ably assisted by the compromise policy of certain unionists, won exactly what they had demanded in the beginning of the strike.

But the men, though beaten, were not ready to sacrifice their working-class honor. The understanding with the employers had been that, if the unions voted to resume work, all the strikers would be reinstated. But the mine-owners refused to re-employ the engineers and firemen who had aided the striking miners by quitting work with them. The Newcastle miners, desperate as their own position was, refused to betray the men of a brother craft who had stood by them. The engineers carried their case to the Federal Arbitration

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court and the strike settlement cannot be completed until this matter is adjusted. The discrimination of the employers against the engineers shows that the capitalists see clearly that it is this spirit of industrial unionism and its triumph over craft isolation which they have to fear. This flash of class solidarity is the only light in the darkness in which the great struggle is ending.

Russia. The Death Sentence of a Nation. For a hundred years now Finland has been struggling to maintain her freedom. This has not been a fight for mere national identity, but for democratic institutions, a fight for Finnish democracy against Russian autocracy. More than once it has seemed lost. In 1899 the Czar decreed that Finland should be reduced to the status of a Russian province. The result was a rebellion. In 1905 the great revolution forced the government of Nicholas II to restore the constitutional liberties of the brave little people to the northwest.

But popular government has not worked to the satisfaction of the Little Father and his ministers. During the past two years there have been four elections to the Finnish parliament. Three times has the parliament assembled; three times has the majority stood determined against the Russian tyranny; and three times has the Czar in wrath decreed a new election. But each election has registered a falling off in the strength of the old Finns and an increase in the following of the Social Democrats. After the last dissolution 86 socialists were returned, to continue the work done by 84 in the preceeding assembly.

But the success of the reaction in Russia has inspired Nicholas II with new courage. On March 14th, he dared once more proclaim the order which came to nought in 1905. That is, Finland is to be put on the same basis as any other Russian province. It is to have four representatives in the Duma, but its constituent assembly is to be reduced to a merely advisory capacity and this hitherto independent people is to be governed by the Russian council of state.

Of course, our Finnish comrades will not submit. They will fight for their lives. When they cast their votes for socialists at the last election they knew it would mean a life-or-death struggle. They are prepared for battle, at least so far as a fighting past and well nigh hopeless future can prepare them. The Czar has appealed for support to the government of Western Europe. The revolutionists of the world should stand ready to send aid to their comrades in Finland.

France. The Old-age Pension Law. At last it has become a law, this old-age pension bill which has so long kept French politicians and labor leaders in hot dispute. On March 31st, it passed the

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Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 560 to 4. From this time forth French laborers will contribute to a pension fund—the men nine francs a year, the women six, and the children four. The employers and the government are to contribute also, each one turning over to the fund a sum equal to that paid in by the workers. And then at the age of sixty-five each worker will be entitled to a small pension.

At the congress of Nîmes, it will be remembered, the socialist party instructed its deputies to support this measure. Nevertheless, among the four negative votes was that of Jules Guesde, the old leader of the revolutionists. During the strenuous syndicalist agitation against the bill Comrade Guesde took no conspicuous part. But shortly before the day set for the final vote he moved an amendment to strike out the provision for workingmen's contributions. This motion was supported by only twenty-seven votes, representing the revolutionary wing of the socialist group. Comrade Jaurés voted against it. His defense was that the acceptance of the amendment would mean the defeat of the bill—and just then the main point was to pass a law of some sort. The future would bring opportunities for amendment. Comrade Guesde denounced the bill as a crime against the working-class, and when the vote was finally taken lined up against it with three extreme reactionists.

Hervé in Rebellion. Immediately connected with the passage of the pension law is the latest move of Hervé, the arch-revolutionist. He is waiting to be led away to prison to serve out a sentence of four years. His crime was denunciation of the police. At least that was the excuse for his punishment. While all the liberal forces of France are loudly protesting against this new attack on the freedom of the press Hervé has thrown a bomb into the the socialist camp.

At Nîmes he fought vigorously against the parliamentary group. Now he has published in his paper, **La Guerre Sociale,** a call for the formation of a new party, or, to put it more accurately, for the starting of a new revolutionary movement. Both the Socialist party and **Confederation General du Travail** are too slow for him. What he proposes to substitute for them I do not know exactly. Apparently it is to be, not only a non-political movement, but an anti-political movement—with the general strike as its whole program.

Of course, Comrade Hervé's suggestion is meeting strong opposition. The editors of **l'Humanité** denounce it as treason, and attack its author for remaining in the Socialist Party and at the same time starting a movement against it.

Sweden. The Strikers Take up the Ballot. Stockholm has just completed a municipal election. The result shows that the strike was

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not in vain. The Swedish proletariat is aroused. It has started a political strike which cannot end in defeat.

The Swedish electoral system is a peculiar one. Its chief feature is a plural voting arrangement, which, in the election just held, gave the average Conservative voter 24 votes, the average Liberal 17, and the average Socialist 10½. But even with this system against them our Swedish comrades achieved a notable victory. The city council of Stockholm consists of one hundred aldermen, of whom fifty are elected each year. Of those returned in the recent election 12 are Liberals, 16 Socialists and 22 Conservatives. This means 14 new seats for the Socialists. The total Socialist representation is now 19. But this is the least interesting part of the story. Voters are more important than votes. The Socialists marshaled 15,188 voters, the Liberals 8,240, and the Conservatives 10,424. This means, of course, that the Socialists now constitute much the largest of the three parties. An interesting feature of the election were the victories of two women candidates. Comrade Gertrud Mansson, a leading Swedish suffragist, is one of the women who are to hold seats in the city council of Stockholm for the next two years. So in addition to being a victory for the proletariat this election was a victory for Swedish womanhood.

England. Industry and Politics. **The Industrialist,** organ of the English Industrial League, makes a significant contribution to the discussion of the recent English election. It was easy to see why the labor party lost more than it gained. But why was an out and out socialist like Victor Grayson defeated in a constituency where he had been triumphantly elected but a short time before? He actually lost full 500 votes. In a recent issue of the Industrialist a man who went through the Colne Valley campaign offers the following explanation: "The capitalists from one end of the valley to the other ..... threatened a look-out if Grayson was elected. What is more, they were in a position to carry out their threat. The whole of the labor movement in Great Britain could not have prevented them."

If this is true it presents a serious condition. We have often seen industrial revolts of the working-class fail because of the lack of political power, but here we see a political movement crushed because of lack of industrial power. What will English workers do about it?

Australia. The Strikers at the Polls. The telegraph brings the news that the Labor Party has won in the federal elections, and will control the parliament of the commonwealth. The defeated Deakin-Cock party was a fusion of the protectionists and free-traders, an alliance made with the avowed purpose of defeating the "socialistic"

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program of the Labor Party. Its "anti-socialistic" purposes were disguised as a new "fiscal" policy, by which taxation might ultimately be shifted from the land-owners to the workers. The Fusion party proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would place on the Federal government the obligation of paying to the state governments about one half of its present revenue. This measure would relieve the state governments from the necessity of increasing their land tax, but by decreasing the Federal revenue would ultimately make necessary new indirect Federal taxes. It was already suggested that needed revenue be raised from taxes on tea, kerosene and cotton goods, in other words that the workers pay. The fiscal situation is strikingly like that in England; for the chief demand for increased taxation arose from the champions of a greater army and navy, while old-age pensions were brought in as a bait to the people. Australia already has an old-age pension law, and any failure of the Federal revenue always threatens the working of this law. Therefore, if the land-owners could be helped out from the state treasury, the workers would be compelled to submit to indirect taxation in order to pay their own pensions. The Labor Party opposed this constitutional amendment, declared for increased taxation of large holdings in land, in favor of an army and navy for defense only, and, above all, for the "socialistic" proposals of the nationalization of monopolies.

The success of the Labor Party means more than the defeat of the "Anti-socialist" Fusion party and its capitalistic financial schemes. It means a strong popular protest against the union smashing policy of the recent ministry in New South Wales, a policy which had been endorsed by the Federal administration. It seems that the workers, in spite of the wide-spread dissatisfaction with the Labor Party's attitude during the coal strike, felt that their only hope lay in turning over to this party the whole responsibility of government. As in Sweden, the workers, defeated for the moment on the industrial field, have taken up the ballot. It may be that the Labor Party will betray them. That is not the important consideration just now. The important thing is that the workers are awake. If the Labor Party does not serve their purpose, they will soon have another party that will.

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WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

Bing! Two more blows are aimed at labor's head. They are now coming in pairs. Having outlawed the boycott and having legalized the blacklist, the judicial sappers and miners are now taking the next logical step. They are going to prohibit striking and forbid the workers from organizing.

Let it be made a matter of record for future generations to marvel, and as a matter of information to those workers who failed to read the few line items that appeared in an obscure corner of the daily press if not entirely suppressed, that almost simultaneously the United States' District Court of Appeals for the Virginias and the Appellate Court of Illinois issued the ukase that labor must not organize and strike.

In West Virginia the union miners have spent several fortunes in attempting to organize the non-union men during the past decade. The Davises, Elkinses, Scotts and other capitalistic politicians in both old parties virtually own the West Virginia mines, railways, etc., and have practiced a system of peonage for years. Notwithstanding the espionage that obtained among the workers, the army of private guards maintained at great expense and the co-operation of the corrupt office-holders with their capitalistic masters, the miners' organizers were making considerable headway in bringing their non-union fellow-workers into the fold, when United States Judge Dayton suddenly issued an injunction over a year ago restraining the organizers from performing their duties. The case was carried up and now the U. S. District Court of Appeals upholds the Dayton decision.

In Chicago a bunch of scab street railway employes entered the court (at the behest of their capitalistic masters, of course) and prayed for an injunction to restrain the union men from compelling them to join the organization and from going on strike to secure their discharge. The lower court refused to issue the mandate and the non-unionists promptly carried the case to the Appellate Court and secured a reversal of the decision, which forbids the union street railway employes from organizing the plaintiffs or going out on strike and refusing to work with them.

It used to be the claim of conservative unionists, when charged by open shoppers with attempting to compel workers to join the union, that they had a right to cease employment rather than work with non-unionists. This contention was admitted for years as being fair and reasonable. But now this supposed right is denied by the courts and men are bound down to involuntary servitude and commanded, upon pain of being adjudged in contempt of court, to continue in their employment, no matter how irksome it may be.

It's all very well for certain great labor leaders to denounce these decisions and advise that they be ignored. But these same great labor leaders are setting a mighty poor example. When they are confronted with imprisonment for contempt of court they put the trade union movement to tens of thousands of dollars' expense to keep out of jail. The ordinary son of toil knows that the amount that will be spent for his protection is exceedingly limited, and so, rather than "get in bad" and permit his family to suffer, he naturally hesitates.

If these precedents that have been established in Virginia and Illinois become general, and industrial and political history indicate that they will, then the enemies of organized labor have found the means of pre-

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venting strikes and the spread of unionism. It may be taken for granted that the capitalists will not use their new power injudiciously. They will bide their time and gradually and insidiously tighten the shackles that already bind the working-class. It will be worth while to keep an eye on this new development in capitalism.

Here's a new wrinkle in the injunction games that's a lalapalooza. Several thousand stonecutters have been on strike at Bedford, Ind., for many months. They were being supported financially by their international union and affiliated organizations in fairly good shape. Then the bosses' combination goes into court and secures one of those blanket injunctions that covers everybody, everywhere and any time. The unionists and "all other persons" are enjoined and restrained "forever" from picketing, visiting homes of strike-breakers to solicit them to join the union, from boycotting those who harbor or feed strike-breakers, from besetting depots and stations to urge imported men to refuse to work, from marching and parading through the streets to demonstrate their solidarity, and (listen to this!) from "assessing any of the members of the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America, or any other trade union, for the purpose of hiring any person to leave the employment of the plaintiff or any of the plaintiff's," and so on. In addition, the striking stonecutters are assessed the costs of the suit!

Everyone in the labor field knows that it is customary, in strikes of national importance, to supply unions with funds to pay the way out of town of men who are imported under misrepresentation. So the cunning capitalists at Bedford, in order to exhaust the funds of the strikers in case they are furnished from the outside in defiance of the injunction, resort to the trick of arresting the rebellious stonecutters right and left and dragging them over into the next county (a circuit court having issued the restraining order), where they are unknown and are compelled to furnish a cash bond, thus tieing up their finances! Can you beat it!

But it is doubtful whether this outrageous proceeding will have any effect in opening the eyes of the great leaders at the head of the international union. Their minds are still centralized on the good old period when the journeyman stonecutter was regarded as an artist and roamed about the earth plying his avocation as a skilled craftsman.

Just because the Bedford capitalists didn't tie the strikers, hand and foot, with wire cord and throw them into a pit, the great leaders will continue to mumble something about their "rights" and vote the old capitalistic party tickets.

The grand success that the Pennsylvania plutocrats have had in ridding themselves of the expense in keeping an army of private police in their employment to beat the workers into submission when they became obstreperous by securing the passage of the law establishing the state constabulary, better known as the "Pennsylvania Cossacks," has aroused the envy of the plutes in New York state.

Now there is a secret movement on foot to sneak a bill through the Legislature of the Empire State to establish a state police force that can be kept loafing about and growing fat at doing nothing while the big thieves in Wall street and at Albany get away with millions of swag, and until such time as a bunch of workmen are goaded into revolt against their merciless drivers, whereupon flying squads of Cossacks, armed to the teeth, will descend upon and scatter them to the winds.

This country is following Russia more closely than any other nation on earth. And it is perfectly natural. The workers of the United States, despite the fact that they have the ballot in their hands, are actually more powerless than the Russian toilers, who, despite the tremendous obstacles in their way, have at least a few representatives in Parliament to make a fight for them, even though they are cast in prison and railroaded to Siberia.

This comes of the "pure and simple" and anti-labor political policies that have ruled the roost in America for generations. The workers have been insidiously taught that nothing is to be gained through political efforts, or that "independent

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the "best man" on an opposition ticket.

It is not strange, therefore, that the great capitalists, politicians and editors have become imbued with ill-concealed contempt for the workers. I know a unionist who upon numerous occasions has intimated pretty strongly to some of the plutes that labor will soon wake up and sweep them out of power, only to be met with derisive laughter and stinging sneers and open boasts that capital can bribe, bulldoze or flatter enough big and little labor leaders to divide the workers and remain in the saddle until the crack o'doom. It looks that way.

The second year of the Seamen's strike on the Great Lakes has commenced and the unionists are as determined as at the beginning to compel the Lake Carriers' Association to concede the right of the expect to do fully as well this year. Owing to the incompetency of the non-unionists the season of 1909 was the most disastrous in the history of inland waterway navigation. For that fact the insurance company raised the rates on ships controlled by the L. C. A. and lowered the rates on lumber carriers, manned by union men.

There is no material change in the tinplate workers' strike, which will have been in progress one year next month. The workers remain upon the firing line and are determined to force the steel trust to recognize them. The trust, in order to hold its employes in slavery, has given them a slight increase in wages and promises to introduce an insurance feature. It is a cheap bribe that is being practiced by many corporations nowadays.

Eugene V. Debs

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Socialists Attention !

FREE PRESS AND SOLIDARITY ATTACKED BY THE STEEL TRUST.

Get in this fight.

Two years ago six or eight determined Socialists seeing that the working class had no means of voicing their wrongs in the capitalist press got their heads together with a view of starting a paper where the wrongs of labor might be made known. Also where the injustices and cruelties of present society might be shown up with a view to their correction.

As they proceeded they found ready support, not only among the Socialists in New Castle but among the working class in general, especially among the men working in the steel and tin mills. The necessity of the work in view was appreciated and out of their hard earnings the workers gladly contributed, often denying themselves things that they sorely needed. In the Spring of 1908 a collection of $330 was taken up—enough to buy a cabinet of type and a small job press which was located in a little back room upstairs on Washington street. The work grew. Job work and advertising came in and when we were driven out of the little back room on Washington street in an effort to suppress us we were able to move

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to larger quarters on Apple Alley.

Again we grew. Fearlessly we exposed not only the every day robbery practiced by the capitalist class on those who live by honest toil, but also the rottennesss of corrupt and designing rogues in official places. In short the Free Press became a menace and a danger to knaves and grafters everywhere. The Free Press was hated. But it was appreciated by the working class and also by everybody who desired to see a better city in New Castle and a better world in which men and women might live. The Free Press was distributed without charge to every door but the free contributions from those who believe in its mission not only made this possible but enabled us to enlarge our work so as to consider the advisability of taking on new work and getting a larger press and moving to larger quarters.

The oppression by the Steel Trust of its employees grew each year. Finally the trust declared for an open shop. This with a view to sweep away the last defense that stood between the men and the mere wages of a precarious existence. The strike broke out. The Free Press came promptly to the support of the strikers. As the strike proceeded many of the workers came to feel the necessity of a form of unionism that was more strictly up to date and organized in such a way as to include all the wage earners. Locals of I. W. W. were formed. They determined to begin the publication of the now-existing Solidarity. They looked to us to do their presswork not only for the paper but for a large number of pamphlets that they hoped to bring out. We looked again to the workers for the funds to get a larger press. We did not look in vain. The press was secured. Again we moved to larger quarters, this time to 56 S. Jefferson street.

All this while even with the contributions that came flowing in the Free Press was only made possible because every cent received was squeezed until it made two, and most of the work was voluntarily done after hours by hard working men without pay.

The task of delivering the paper

SOLIDARITY

Leading exponent of Revolutionary Unionism east of the Rockies.

A. M. STIRTON. . Editor. **H. A. GOFF.** . Acting Editor

Delivers blows so effective that the Editor and entire Press Committee are now in Jail.

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from door to door was equally as trying and equally as important as that of printing it. This too was done voluntarily and without pay. The company of men who did this work are known as the famous "Flying Squadron" and only their persistent devoted efforts made the Free Press possible. The Free Press from the start has been built up by the toil and sacrifice of the workers. At times many of the men were tired and worn from long hours of toil in the mills, but they would stay up all night to get the Free Press out, and they would take up their accustomed route when the day came for its delivery from door to door.

Little have the residents of New Castle, other than those actively engaged, ever known the sacrifice and toil involved that the workers wrongs might be known and that a better civilization might be advanced. But they did not look upon it as a sacrifice. It was a labor of love.

But it wasn't loved by the grafters and official crooks. Hardly. It wasn't loved by the Steel Trust. It isn't loved by the Business Men's Exchange. It is hated worse than death and is feared worse than hell. They have cause and they will have more cause in the future than they have had in the past. If the Free Press has waded into this gentry in times past, we will go after them stronger than ever in the future. We have cause too, not only, or chiefly, in the recent arrest of our press committee, but in the recent action of the Business Men's Exchange in endorsing the attempts of the steel trust to crush the striking workers and reduce them, if they can, to a condition worse than the serfs of Russia. Members of the Business Men's Exchange have made their brags that they would crush every form of labor unionism in New Castle and drive every union agitator out of town. Can they do it? Not while the Free Press lives. Shall it live? It's up to you. We are locked in death holds with the oppressors of labor and the municipal grafters who have prostituted public offices to prey upon the people. One or the other must go down. Which shall it be?

The hell-hounds of the capitalist class are out for blood. They have determined to strangle the Free Press. They have thrown our press committee into jail on a trumped up charge of violating an obscure passage in the publishing laws of Pennsylvania. The issue of battle is drawn. It is the Business Men's Exchange against the workers. It is the steel trust and its lackeys and puppets against the Free Press and every agency that defends the working class. It is the rogues and grafters against the men and women of honset toil. There is no compromise, no retreat, no surrender. It is war, war to the knife, knife to the hilt.

Long and deadly has their hatred been nourished, and they have watched and waited with the patience of a hungry wolf. The recent election of one of our press committee, Charles McKeever, who has been on the press committee from the start, to the city council, filled the measure of their wrath to overflowing. More gall was added to the well of venom. Still they bided their time and were willing to try slicker means. Perhaps we could be bribed or cajoled. Smooth invitations were sent to McKeever asking him to attend meetings of the Business Men's Exchange to raise funds for the July celebration. McKeever didn't go; and in the case of the charge against us for not complying with the publishing laws of Pennsylvania, we retaliated by having a capitalist paper, the New Castle Herald, haled into Court on the same offense.

This enraged them. They gnashed their teeth and went out for blood. Address Free Press Pub. Co., Box 644, or Solidarity, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

From a "Live One." I consider yesterday the best April Fool's Day I have experienced for a long time. Received bundle of Review in the morning and as I had doubled my order this month, and as my helper was away, I feared I had bitten off more than I could chew. But I started out with 20 copies and sold 18 by noon; took ten more and sold all but one by the middle of the afternoon; took five more and sold all but one—making 34 copies of the April Review sold—a pretty good April Fool Day's work. I wired you last night for 40 copies more. Hope you will get them to me as soon as possible. Enter my order for a bundle of 40 for May as soon as they are out.

JOHN A. BECKER, Wyoming

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Librarian or Lackey—Which? The Seattle Post-intelligencer of April 6, chronicles an interesting "news item" regarding the I. S. R. and the Seattle Public Library. The Librarian was no doubt deeply shocked, sensitive soul, by the Review's write-ups of the recent Free Speech Fight in Spokane. No doubt, the Ladies' Home Journal is safer, saner and milder mental pabulum for sissys in general and capitalist lackeys in particular. We quote in full:—

"Its alleged intemperate language is responsible for the barring from the Seattle public library yesterday of a publication known as the International Socialist Review. One member of the board of trustees described its general wording as "hot stuff." The board voted unanimously not to place the paper in the reading room.

There was no intention on the part of the board to prod the Socialists simply to see them jump and cavort. On the contrary, the members were anxious that no undue prominence be given to their action.

"The language of the paper was simply too intemperate, that is all," said Librarian J. T. Jennings after the meeting. A Socialist here, Mr. Varnum, requested some time ago that we place a paper known as the Chicago Daily Socialist in the reading room. He offered to pay for it himself. The committee investigated this paper, as it does all publications, and agreed that it was all right. We therefore installed it, and will pay for it ourselves. Recently Mr. Varnum requested that the International Socialist Review be placed on file. The committee, I think, went through some seven different copies and found the language used too intemperate for the magazine to be placed in the reading room."

Boosts. N. Y. City. I congratulate you on the last issues of the "International Socialist Review." I read it with more interest than ever before.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

A New Paper in Alabama.

We are very much pleased to announce the People's Voice, a new socialist paper, published in Birmingham, Ala., and edited by our friend Comrade William Raoul. The great need of the South has been more Southern newspapers and we feel confident that Comrade Raoul will be able to reach many new people and to break much new ground for Socialism.

Men vs. the Man. Do not overlook the excellent article in this number by Comrade Marcus Hitch, in which he reviews the new book by Comrade Robert Rives La Monte, editor of the N. Y. Sunday Call, and H. L. Mencken, also a New York editor. La Monte represents the very best in the realm of socialism while Mr. Mencken is one of the foremost advocates of individualism in America.

Scabs and Strikes. The Philadelphia Street Car Strikers were loyally supported by hundreds of unorganized workers. In fact, the biggest surprise of the strike was the walkout of the 9,000 locomotive builders employed in the Baldwin Locomotive Works.

Whether these workers were "class conscious" or not cuts very little ice —they acted right and had the nerve to voice their discontent. It is a safe bet, that men made of such stuff, will never be bound, gagged and fettered by "sacred contracts" and like superstitions.

During the late (?) panic the Baldwin workers' wages were cut without notice. Several small strikes in various departments gained a little for the men, but the discontent grew and the Street Car strike was the spark needed to fire the latent spirit of solidarity.

As the Baldwin works is built across several streets, several street car lines run through the plant. During a noon recess they smashed several cars and when the General Superintendent and Giant Special Officer interfered, they were likewise handled.

The police drove the men back into the works, shooting up into the windows and "the bullets are still in the rafters as relics of the strike." Speed the time when these men will be organized in one revolutionary union.

All of the Building Trades struck for a few days, the Iron Moulders returned to work, by order of their National Executive Board, after being out three whole days. The Brewery workers voted to strike but, prompt action on the part of "their high officials" put an end to their good intentions. Many more details might be added which would be of interest to Review readers. The one and only reason why the strike was lost was because it was not a **general strike.**

H. D., Phila., Pa.

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MADAME BRESHKOVSKY.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONIST—SENTENCED TO SIBERIA.

Madame Breshkovsky is 66 years of age, bent and decrepit. She has practically devoted her whole life to agitation among the peasantry. She is called "Babushka," the grandmother of the revolutionary movement. The most remarkable thing about her, says the "Times" correspondent, are "her eyes, glowing with fervour." Not long ago she was in the United States, but her zeal for the cause took her back to the land of the knout and the dungeon. She is the grandest type of Russian womanhood. Of gentle birth, she has endured exile and imprisonment, innumerable hardships and privations, has been hounded by Russian spies and mouchards all over Russia. She has been an inspiration to the whole movement. With undaunted courage this noble martyr told the court openly that she was a revolutionary Socialist. And the vile instruments of the Czar have sent this woman to the land of the eternal snows—to Siberia—to death, because that is what it means.—Social Democrat, England.

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Int. Seamen's Union of America. As a result of the strike on the Lakes, a remarkable situation has developed in Vessel Insurance rates. For the first time in history wooden ships on the Lakes are given a lower insurance rate than is accorded to steel vessels.

At a conference between the Vessel Insurers and representatives of lumber carrying vessels at Cleveland, Ohio, April 12th, rates for wooden vessels were made slightly lower than last year. Just previous to this meeting the insurance rate for steel tonnage was increased 1% above the 1909 rate.

The significant feature of this, is that normally the greatest risk is attached to wooden tonnage, especially to those in the lumber trade, but nearly all of that class of vessels employ competent seamen, Union men, and were not involved in the strike. Hence, they made a good showing last season and have now secured a reduction of rates.

On the other hand, the big majority of steel vessels are in The Lake Carriers Association and were manned by strike-breakers. Accidents were numerous and insurance risks greater because of employment of incompetent seamen.

Since the Union men have now announced their determination to continue the strike this season, the Insurance Companies evidently expect the many disasters of last season due to inexperienced crews, to be again repeated, and have accordingly raised the insurance rates on such vessels.

The Lake Carriers are again recruiting non-English speaking laborers and young boys, placing them aboard of the ships to serve as strike-breakers. They have failed utterly to secure sufficient competent seamen.

Issued by the Press Committee,
International Seamen's Union of America,
674 West Madison Street, Chicago.

PAINE'S AGE OF REASON.....20c
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Eugene V. Debs Recommends T. J. Mooney as follows:

June 28, 1909.

"To Whom it May Concern:

Thomas J. Mooney accompanied us on the "Red Special" last fall and rendered us most valuable service along the route. Comrade Mooney is one of the most active workers in the labor movement. He is absolutely honest and trust worthy and is filled with energy and ambition to better the condition of his class. Comrade Mooney is worthy of any position he may wish to hold in the labor movement and I cheerfully commend him to the consideration of Comrades and Friends as one of the best types of the Awakened American Proletariat.

Yours Very Truly,

(Signed) **E. V. Debs.**

Thos. J. Mooney won 2nd price in Preliminary contest.

Comrades and Friends: It is with the greatest hesitancy that I insert this letter I assure you. Last June I read of the "Wilshire Contest" for the "trip round the world," to one securing the most subscriptions for "Wilshire's Magazine," within eleven months time. Fully realizing the value of such a trip to a working class education, at once I entered the contest determined to win that trip fair and square. Starting out without any finance, as I had just put in one month in a hospital from loss of a finger, I hoboed from town to town getting subscriptions, covering a distance of 8,000 miles, riding in box cars, on blind-baggages and tops of passenger trains over the deserts of Utah, Cal. and Nev. in scorching suns of July and August, through Oct. and Nov. rains in Oregon and Washington, and worst of all the ice and snow and sometimes zero weather of Dec. and Jan. in Mont., Idaho, Utah and Nev. through which I traveled was all that any human could stand, snatching a few hours sleep here and there when convenient, many times in a box car, round-house, sand-shed, engines, barns and socialist headquarters when available as I did most all my riding at night, for it is easier to get over the road.

I don't want the readers of the "Review" to think I am trying to advertise and popularize myself, but to let you know of the efforts put forth by me in this contest and the disadvantages under which I labored. I would never have used this method of trying to secure subscriptions were it not for the tactics of one Geo. Goebel, National organizer and lecturer for the Party, who has been out on the road in the different states, at the party expense ever since the contest opened, and at the same time allowed to compete for this prize. He has offered a number of comrades in the West some of his "Wilshire Bishop Creek" mining stock and has written to almost every town in the west asking the active comrades to get subscriptions for him, also, he has gotten out private subscription cards and sent them to his friends, there are supposed to be no subscription cards in this contest.

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I don't happen to have the distinguished qualities that are required to be a National Organizer, but all my work so far in the party has been volunteered and wholly unremunerated, selling over $1,000 worth of literature in two months on the "Red Special." Speaking every night for six months on the streets of Stockton, Cal., collected $75.00 for the "Red Special" before it left Chicago, and $38.00 at three meetings in Idaho, for the Mexican Refugee Fund. A member of International Molders' Union, Socialist Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World.

Comrades, I am sure I can win this trip if you will help me to the extent of sending me your subscription for the "Wilshire Magazine," 25 cents yearly, in money order, stamps or coin at once or send it direct to Wilshire to count for me in the Round the World contest, and should I win this trip, the knowledge and experience I would gain from it would at all times be used in the interest of my class. And should I ever be in a position to do you a like favor I will gladly do so. Thanking you in advance, I remain your co-worker and Comrade for Industrial Freedom.

T. J. MOONEY,
973 Market St., Room 301, San Francisco, Calif.

All subscriptions must be in "Wilshire's" office June 1st.

Out of the Dump

A Story by Mary E. Marcy

A sketch of life in Chicago, beginning in the "dump" or slum, and coming into contact with scientific charity in the guise of the Charity Organization Society.

. . . In the main it is a convincing narrative. . . If it is bitter at times, that is inevitable from the array of things of fact brought to bear to make their own argument. . . . The movement of the story is swift enough to satisfy the most eager reader, and its materials are handled with unusual power.—Buffalo Evening News.

The "simple annals of the poor" as pictured in Mary E. Marcy's "Out of the Dump" are terrible annals. The book is a voice from the depths. Its outlook is from the viewpoint of the very poor. It is a protest that poverty is not understood, and that organized charity goes about its problem in the wrong way. . . . On its face, it is written with full and intimate knowledge.—Chicago Inter Ocean.



Socialist reasoning must fall like constant drops of water on the stultified feelings of those not with us. Mary E. Marcy has contributed a fair share of this wearing-away material in the pages of her little book, "Out of the Dump." She has shown how the victims of the Chicago slums tarry on earth in disease and poverty till death becomes kind enough to relieve them from the capitalist clutches. But she does more than that; she gives hints of the remedy which, if followed out, must lead to the cure—Socialism.
—New York Evening Call.

"Out of the Dump" is the truest and most vivid description of the real life of the American city worker ever written.—Robert Rives LaMonte.

There are eight original wash drawings and a cover design by R. H. Chaplin. Well printed and daintly bound in cloth. A beautiful gift book.

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These offers include postage inside the United States. Postage to Canada is 20 cents a year extra; to other countries 36 cents.

ARE YOU ON OUR LIST?

If you are a friend of the Review and want to see it succeed, you should be on our subscription list. It does not help us nearly so much for you to buy the **Review** each month. Many comrades have to get it in this way because they are moving from place to place, and we are constantly reaching new readers through the sale of single copies who are not as yet sufficiently interested to subscribe by the year. But our main dependence for the money needed every month to pay the printers must be on the friends who send us the full dollar each year. If we had ten thousand more of these, we could and would make the Review twice as good.

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expenses. The reason is that the **Review,** as well as the book publishing house known as Charles H. Kerr & Company, is owned, not by any one person or small group of persons, nor even by one socialist local, but by over three hundred locals and nearly two thousand individual party members. Each of the owners has a right to know what the publishing house is doing each month, and that is why we print the figures.

WHAT WE DID IN MARCH.

Receipts.	
Cash balance, March 1	$ 129.18
Book sales	2,827.06
Review subscriptions and sales	926.81
Review advertising	86.73
Sales of stock	238.09
Loans from stockholders	335.00
Total	$4,542.87

Expenditures.	
Manufacture of books	$ 869.20
Printing March Review	509.83
Review articles	81.22
Books purchased	27.10
Wages of office clerks	342.65
Mary E Marcy, on salary	90.00
Charles H. Kerr, on salary	125.00
Postage and expressage	696.82
Interest	73.00
Rent	70.00
Taxes	104.93
Miscellaneous expense	60.89
Advertising	675.89
Copyrights	39.64
Loans repaid	601.78
Cash balance, March 31	174.92
Total	$4.542.87

Paying Off Loans. It will be observed that in March, as in November, January and February, we paid off loans to an extent far greater than the new loans that came in. That we have been able to do this shows that we are paying all expenses and earning a small surplus each month. But this surplus is not nearly enough to meet

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The Ancient Lowly

A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Times to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, two volumes, 690 and 716 pages. Each, $2.00. Either volume sold separately.

Before written history began, society was already divided into exploiting and exploited classes, master and slave, lord and subject, ruler and ruled. And from the first the ruling class has written the histories, written them in accordance with its own interests and from its own point of view.

To arrive at the real story of the life of the oppressed classes in ancient times was a task of almost incredible difficulties. To this work Osborne Ward gave a lifetime of diligent research, and his discoveries are embodied in the two volumes entitled The Ancient Lowly. He has gathered together into a connected narrative practically everything pertaining to his subject in the published literature of Greece and Rome, including in his inquiry many rare works only to be consulted in the great European libraries. But he did not stop here. Many of the most important records of the ancient labor unions are preserved only in the form of stone tablets that have withstood the destructive forces of the centuries, and the author traveled on foot many hundreds of miles around the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering these inscriptions.

Perhaps the most startling of his conclusions is that Christianity was originally a movement of organized labor. The persecution of the early Christians is shown to have arisen from the age-long class struggle between exploiters and exploited. And the most dangerous thing about the book from the capitalist view-point is that the author does not merely make assertions; he proves them.

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Theodore Roosevelt.

By GEORGE D. HERRON

I HAVE been asked by The International Socialist Review to write about Theodore Roosevelt. It is difficult to write of so dominant and delusive a personality, without in some measure using language that fits the subject. In both word and deed is Mr. Roosevelt himself so terribly personal, that it is impossible to write about him in an impersonal way. To speak of him in any terms that at all characterize him is to lay one's self open to the charge of personal feeling. I confess I do feel deeply about Mr. Roosevelt, but it is because I believe him to be the most malign and menacing personal force in the political world of today. He is the embodiment of man's return to the brute—the living announcement that man will again seek relief from the sickness of society in the bonds of an imposing savagery. He is a sign, and one of the makers, of universal decay. He is the glorification of what is rotten and reactionary in our civilization. To

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and history. I said this because it was true. It is what many thoughtful Americans know; it is also what no one with a reputation to lose will say. We are all afraid of him: we are afraid of him just as we are afraid of the plotted revenge, of the bludgeon from behind, of the knife in the back, of the thief in the dark. No one knows what this man will do, if one enters the lists against him; but whatever he does, it will be to avoid the question at issue, and to come at you unawares: to seize an advantage that only the dishonorable and the shameless accept. Whatever he does, he will never fight you fair: he will never strike a blow that is not foul. In some respects, Mr. Roosevelt has the field to himself: the majority of men have still some rudimentary feelings about the truth; and if not this, then an ordinary sense of humor, as well as the lack of opportunity, saves them from any foolish attempt at competing with Mr. Roosevelt in the art of clothing flagrant falsehood with the garments of moral pomp. It is notorious, too, that no man will now contend with Mr. Roosevelt, because no man will so bemean himself as to fight upon Mr. Roosevelt's terms. It is also notorious that Mr. Roosevelt will avail himself of this fact, as he did in his controversy with Mr. Edward H. Harriman; as he did in his amazing and disgraceful articles against Socialism; as he did when he condemned, for the sake of his own popularity with a capitalist press, the two Labor leaders, Moyer and Haywood, while these men were still on trial for their lives. He knows that his most bitter opponent will observe some of the decencies of combat. Observing none of these himself, he has all the choice of weapons; and he chooses without reference to the weapons of his opponent. Indeed, no white man would be found with the controversial weapons of Theodore Roosevelt upon his person. And no white man has had, or would wish to have, Mr. Roosevelt's opportunity for investing the most skulking personal revenges with the air of a champion of the public good.

But it is not against a mere individual that I protest. I object to Mr. Roosevelt from the fact that he voices and incarnates the fundamental social immorality—the doctrine that might makes right: that no righteousness is worth the having except that wich is enforced by brute words, or brute laws, or brute fists, or brute armies. Mr. Roosevelt stands for a life that belongs to the lower barbarian and to the jungle. He has set before the youth of the nation the glory of the beast instead of the glory of the soul. The nation has been hypnotized and saturated with his horrible ideals, as well as by his possessional and intimidating personality. Of course the nation is itself to blame, and in this reveals its own decadence; for the heroes we worship, and the ideals we cherish, are the revelations of ourselves. Yet it is this one man, more than all others, who has awakened the instinct to kill and to conquer, and all the

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sleeping savagery of the people. It is he who has put the blood-cup to the lips of the nation, and who bids the nation drink. And one of the strangest ironies that ever issued from academic ignorance, and what will prove to be one of the historic stupidities, is the endowment of this naked militarist with the Nobel Peace Prize; and this because, in the interests of the great bankers and of his own military policy, he was instrumental in depriving Japan of the full fruits of her victory.

Theodore Roosevelt leads a recession in the life of the world. He betokens the enfeeblement of mankind, its lack of a living faith. He is the ominous star of the New Dark Ages—wherein the faithless soul of man will seek forgetfulness and excitement in military murder and political bestiality. It is true that Mr. Roosevelt has imposed upon the world an impression of strength; but he is essentially a weakling, an anthropological problem, a case for the pathologist. His psychology is that of the savage at one time, and of the hysteric at another. Intellectually, he is an atavism, the recrudescence of an antique type; he belongs with the rulers of the Roman Degeneracy, or with the lesser Oriental despots.

And Mr. Roosevelt is the last man whose name should be spoken of in connection with democracy. He does not believe in democracy at all; nor in freedom at all. He is no more of a democrat than Genghis Khan or Louis XI. He likes liberty less than Cromwell did; and Cromwell liked liberty less, by far, than did Charles I. Only these are big names to put beside the name of a man so morally small, so ignorant of essential excellence, so ruthlessly inconsiderate of his fellows, as Theodore Roosevelt.

But supposing Mr. Roosevelt were one of the soul's gentlemen, supposing he politically meant to do social good, it is by methods that belong to the darkest phases of human history—the methods of the tyrant who believes his own will to be the only righteousness, and all opposition to that will to be the one unrighteousness; and who proceeds to stamp its opposers with what he means to be an indelible infamy, or to kill if he can. As the best example of this sort, Cromwell tyrannized over a nation, and over the souls of men, for their own salvation and for the glory of God. And this is the method by which every tyranny or tyrant seeks justification. It is the only method Mr. Roosevelt cares for or believes in.

Yet no man ever ruled other men for their own good; no man was ever rightly the master of the minds or bodies of his brothers; no man ever ruled other men for anything except for their undoing, and for his own brutalization. The possession of power over others is inherently destructive—both to the possessor of the power and to those over whom it is exercised. *And the great man of the future, in distinction from the great man of the past, is he who will seek to create power in the peoples,*

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and not gain power over them. The great man of the future is he who will refuse to be great at all, in the historic sense; he is the man who will literally lose himself, who will altogether diffuse himself, in the life of humanity. All that any man can do for a people, all that any man can do for another man, is to set the man or the people free. Our work, whensoever and wheresoever we would do good, is to open to men the gates of life—to lift up the heavenly doors of opportunity.

This applies to society as well as to the individual man. If the collective man will release the individual man and let him go, then the individual will at last give himself gloriously, in the fullness of his strength, unto the society that sets the gates and the highways of opportunity before him. Give men opportunity, and opportunity will give you men; for opportunity is God, and freedom to embrace opportunity is the glory of God.

II.

Yet, having said all this, I venture to prophecy that Mr. Roosevelt has not yet reached the high noon of his day. And the day is Roosevelt's, you may be sure of that. It will be a long day too, and a dark day, before it is done. He will return to the American nation and rule it, as he means to do. It is not merely that the nation is obsessed with Theodore Roosevelt; it is that a situation is arriving in which he will be the psychological necessity. He himself foresees this necessity; the nation is instinct with it. He knew what he was doing when he made Taft president. Roosevelt made Taft president because he knew that Taft would make Roosevelt necessary. He knew that Taft would be a failure; that he would further confound the confusion toward which the nation is drifting.

But drifting is hardly the word. With awful swiftness we are moving toward long crisis and abysmal disaster—crisis and disaster in which the rest of the world will be involved. It is the inevitable outcome of the capitalist system that the workers of the world will become too poor to buy the things they make. We are already in sight of that culmination in America. We must hence reach the last accessible man and compel him to buy, we must sell to the uttermost man on the outermost edge of the earth, or our economic world-machine will fall in upon itself. We Americans must have the market of China: else there will come a sudden day when twenty millions of men will be in the streets without work. And twenty millions of men will not go down to starvation without bringing down the national structure with them.

Now Capitalism knows that Mr. Roosevelt is the only man that can be depended upon to get for it the Chinese market. It also knows perfectly well that labor has not in the world a more ruthless enemy than Mr. Roosevelt. At heart he holds the working class in contempt. He

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despises the dream of equality. He hates the whole modern effort of the soul toward freedom—freedom of labor, freedom spiritual, freedom social. Notwithstanding his bluster about the trusts, and his determination to control to some extent the course of industrial operation, it is in the interest of Absolutism, and against Socialism, that he has worked. Intelligent Capitalism knows that Roosevelt can be trusted, as no other man can be trusted, to see it through. It is therefore to Roosevelt that Capitalism will turn to conquer its new world for it; to Roosevelt that Capitalism will turn to finally crush the resistance of labor. It is to Roosevelt that all the vested interests of the present civilization will turn, in the time of their danger or dissolution. The Ceasars arose as the necessary chief of police of the Roman propertied or plundering class. So will Roosevelt and his successors arise; they will arise to police the world in the interest of its possessors.

There could only be one alternative to Roosevelt, in the dreadful years that are coming to America: a thoroughly organized Socialist movement of the highest order; a Socialist movement that would be profoundly revolutionary, resolutely reaching to the roots of things, refusing any longer to tinker or compromise with the present evil world; yet a Socialist movement with its Pattern in the Mount—a Socialist movement led by the glowing vision, and charged with the highest idealism as to ultimate freedoms and values. It is for such a revolution the whole world waits: a revolution that shall be a synthesis of the life of man; a revolution wherein men shall mightily and decisively make their own world; a revolution that shall make all material facts and forces to be the medium and music of the free human spirit; a revolution that shall make the world's civilization an invitation to the soul of every man to express itself and rejoice. Yet there is not such a Socialist movement in the world now, and the last place to look for its coming is in America. Nowhere else has Individualism borne such deadly fruit; nowhere else is there such intellectual and moral servility; nowhere else is there such actual ignorance of the new world that is besetting the old. We have never had a Republic in anything but name. We have always and only had the administration of society in the interests of the dominant financial bureaucracy. And it is well known, now, that our whole system of government has long since broken down. America is practically being governed without law. There is absolutely no constitutional method of social reform. There will be a long time of darkness and suffering, of hypocricy and compromise, and of depthless disaster, before there will be any real social awakening in America, or any effective spiritual fund upon which to draw for a revolution. It is for this reason Mr. Roosevelt will become the nation's psychological necessity. There is nothing for it but the strong man—the man who will govern us without law. Mr.

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Great Britain as well, will turn to Roosevelt as the only force relentless and purposeful enough to carry it through the beginnings of the New Dark Ages. And, as I have already said, it is when the world is enfeebled and faithless that it turns to the strong man.

Upon such a crisis the nations are turning now. We are approaching one of those times when the world returns to brute force; when civilization is resolved back into its primal elements; when the tyrant seems to be the only saviour. And Mr. Roosevelt is the man for this approaching time. And this approaching time is working out the day and the hour of the fulfillment of Mr. Roosevelt's ambitions.

So I make my prophecy: Roosevelt will return to America, and he will rule it. He carries the nation in the hollow of his hand. He will be elected president. There will be war with Japan for the market of China. There will be glutted markets, underconsumption of economic goods, universal unemployment, and the sudden standstill of industry, and the paralysis of even the semblance of government. Roosevelt will seem the only salvation from anarchy. When he returns to Washington, he will return to stay, as he means to stay. He is by nature a man utterly lawless, and the nation is now practically lawless. He has been all his life getting ready for this one goal, and the decadent nation is rapidly preparing the goal for him. The monthly magazine-reformers and Mr. Pierpont Morgan are alike turning to Mr. Roosevelt as the nation's hope. All things are preparing his way. The times and he are joining themselves together perfectly. Theodore Roosevelt has had his dawn: he will now have his day; and it will be one of the harshest and bitterest days in the still-continuing pilgrimage of mankind through the wilderness.

Now having made my prophecy, let me be judged by it ten years hence—not now. And ever, while I live, shall I pray that my prophecy may prove false. For the sake of man, and for the joy of my own soul, may it be that this word of the future may not come true. Rather let it be that some sudden awakening as to what is really true and good and beautiful, some sudden precipitation of the yet unevolved spirit of man, may deliver us from the engulfing misery of the New Dark Ages which the coming of Roosevelt betokens.

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HEN an economic need of anything arises, that need has to be satisfied. Sometimes we grow impatient and say that events move slowly, but when economic pressure becomes strong enough all things yield.

Put the army of a civilized country without food on an island of barbarians, and in a short time you will find them descending to cannibalism, with tongues full of excuses for their deeds. The heathens refused to feed us, they will tell us, they strove to drive us away. We were compelled to fight them. Many were killed and the food supply was destroyed. So we ate them. The conditions were deplorable, we will admit, but we made the best of them.

Behold the nations in need of expansion. Their territory is teeming with men and women. They need room for this population to grow. The islands to their left will support millions of people. In one way or another a quarrel arises between the island people and the big country. The island people are whipped and the overflow population flocks into the new country and another province has been added to the home country. And the home country tells the world how it has carried civilization into darkest Manchuria.

In China we see how the rulers of the Empire have recognized the need of industrial development. If China was not to be wholly overrun by the Foreign Invaders, she had need of adopting the methods of production of her enemies. Prejudices gave way. Superstitions and old religious beliefs stepped aside before the new necessity and modern industry was encouraged. Now China is saying, "The old way was wrong; but the new way is the right way."

So it was with the sacred cattle of the Malay Peninsula. Here, as in holy Benares, for hundreds of years the sacred cows have been

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fed upon rose buds and garlanded with flowers. All that was asked of them was that they eat of the dainties provided by their humble servants, the natives, and chew their cuds in philosophic content, as sacred cows.

But England has invaded the Malay Peninsula. Great roads have been laid through the jungles. Trees have been cut down and 10,000,000 rubber trees have been planted in their beds. The tin and gold mines were opened for exploitation and the export trade last year amounted to over $400,000,000.

Singapore has become a melting pot for the Eastern peoples. Here toil laborers of every shade of yellow, black and brown. And the wonderful white man comes also. Chinese there are, strong and bare of shoulder. And hairy Klings as straight as pine trees and darker than the blackest coal. Turbaned Indians and Mohammedans work side by side with the gaily dressed Japanese, and every boat brings Italians, Spaniards, Germans and Americans.

Old ideas are being displaced by new ones. Strange words are heard from the mouths of strange peoples. And every day these people are clothing themselves in new ways.

Amid all this medley of peoples, and the contsant need for mules, the fall of the sacred cows was inevitable. Doubtless, it was some sacrilegious son of Britain, who first suggested pressing them into service to haul the rude carts. Possibly it was the Black Sheep of some respectable Malay family, who committed the first outrage. At all events, the beautiful, strong-limbed, snow-white, rose-eating sacred cattle have passed away. To-day they are white oxen drawing rude carts filled with dirt from the new docks in Singapore.

Probably, for this is usually the case, the Old Folks have become accustomed to the ways of the younger generation and have learned to regard with equanimity the wild innovations of their sons.

Some day, we suppose, the Beef Trust will reach out into the Far East. We are beginning to think at last that "Nothing is certain but Death and the Beef Trust."

And so, it is easy to fortell the ultimate end of the sacred cows. When they become too old and sick and stiff to longer pull the carts of their new masters, when they become valueless for anything save the cannery—But why harrow ourselves further! The lesson of the sacred cattle is plain to all. This it is.

Before Economic Necessity all men bow. Kings abdicate; religious fade away; the Holy of Holies is eaten for lunch and Gods are harnessed to supply the need. Before Economic Necessity nothing is fixed. Nothing is evil. Nothing is sacred!

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Solidarity in Prison.

By William D. Haywood.

in the socialist movement presents some complex
, some unusual rewards.
e are socialists in jail in New Castle. There
ists in office at Milwaukee.
e opportunity of the individuals concerned could
be reversed, it is certain that Comrade Emil Seidel, mayor of Milwaukee, and his colleagues, would bear with fortitude the gloomy ignominy of the cells in Lawrence County Jail. It is likewise true that comrades McCarty, Stirton, Williams, Jacobs, Fix and Moore, the manager and editorial staff of Solidarity, could administer the affairs of a municipality with honor to the party and credit to themselves. But those who know the boys in jail, know that neither would voluntarily change places. All are filling their present positions, in upholstered, revolving office chairs or hard rough benches for the same great cause.

The imprisonment of our fellow-workers in New Castle is an incident in the strike against the American Sheet and Tin Plate Co., which has been on since last July.

This branch of the U. S. Steel trust declared for an open shop, thus precipitating a strike among a comparatively few men who were members of the Amalgamated Association.

Invention and the introduction of modern machinery had reduced thousands of men to a common level of labor, below the standard of eligibility required in a pure and simple trade union. These men were organized by the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Free Press, published by the socialist locals of Lawrence county, took up the fight of the striking workers and was the only medium through which their side of questions involved could be presented to the public. Every Sunday morning the paper went as a

C. H. McCarty.

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messenger of truth into the homes of the workers conveying a word of hope and cheer such as had never been heard in pulpits or read in the capitalist press. It was the voice of the strikers to the strikers. They were loyal to themselves.

The fight was on. The U. S. Steel trust resorted to methods and tactics that are old in the battle against labor. Police, deputies, the state constabulary and court injunctions were their instruments of warfare. Strike breakers were shipped in and the mills resumed operations in a crippled condition.

B. H. WILLIAMS TURNING OUT DOPE FOR SOLIDARITY IN LAWRENCE COUNTY JAIL.

The Free Press kept up a vigorous political agitation resulting in the election of Charles H. McKeever, manager of the paper, as City Councilman.

It was about this time that Comrade A. M. Stirton, who had for some years previously edited the Wage Slave in Michigan, a paper well and favorably known throughout the country as an advocate of industrial unionism, went to New Castle, where Solidarity was started to help in the battles of the workers in the iron and steel district. C. H. McCarty became manager of the paper and Comrade Stirton editor.

The paper adopted a policy comprehensive, constructive and international in scope. It grew rapidly in circulation and influence and is much feared by the employing class in the coal and iron district, of Pennsylvania, speaking as it does for the unemployed, the unskilled, and the despised of labor for whom no voice had ever been raised. Since the Carnegie massacre at Homestead in 1892, no efforts had been made to organize these men.

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These men are imprisoned: humiliations are heaped upon their wives and children, because they dared to organize and to teach organization, because they worked for the abolition of wage slavery.

They ask nothing for themselves. When I asked what message they had for the workers on the outside, in one voice they replied,

"If the workers would help us, let them build up Solidarity."

* * * *

The minions of the capitalist courts have invaded the jail and served process of injunction against the imprisoned men. They are prohibited from molesting or persuading the employes of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company. And the persecution does not end here.

In the June docket, Charles McCarty, F. M. Hartman, Charles McKeever, Evan Evans and William J. White are charged with seditious libel and must appear to defend themselves. This is a further effort to strangle the press of the working class in New Castle.

Money will be needed in this fight and it will have to come from the workers. Do not neglect this matter, as this case is of vital interest to you.

Defense Fund is in charge of Joseph Booth, Box 644, New Castle, Pa.

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No Beans and Rice for Columbus.

By R. E. Porter.

MAY DAY PARADE.

owing to the great increased cost of living, the con-
rs and motormen employed by the Columbus Rail-
nd Light Co., went on strike for higher wages, E.
ewart, general manager of the company, suggested
the men choose a more economical diet and sub-
e beans and rice for roast beef. In short, he said, if they would eliminate meat from their bill of fare they would be able to live upon the wages the company was "giving" them.

The discharge of several men who had taken an active part in the agitation for organization, resulted in a mass meeting of all the railway employes and the organization of the conductors and motormen into a local of the A. A. of S. and E. R. E. of A.

The strike was called on April 28th, and because of the aggressive picket system of the strikers every line in the city was tied up tight within a few hours. A feeble attempt on the part of the company to resume operations resulted disastrously to the "rolling stock." That the citizens were with the strikers is illustrated by the following picture, which shows hundreds of people standing passively by while a car was wrecked by sympathizers in front of the State Capitol building.

The Socialist State Convention which was in session in Columbus contributed several good speakers who took an active part in the several

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SOMETHING DOING.

hall meetings held and the railway employes learned more about the class struggle by a few socialist speeches and an actual fight with the car company, than years of prosperity would have given them.

The first May Day parade ever held in Columbus took place Sunday afternoon. Hundreds of trade union men and socialists were in line and a spirit of solidarity and class consciousness was shown, never before seen in Columbus.

However, the autocratic attitude of Manager Stewart remained unchanged and knowing that city officials are but business agents for the capitalist class he demanded police protection and got it, but the workers still walked to and from work.

BILLY BUTTS IN THE PARADE.



As the company could not round up enough local scabs to run the cars, they brought in professional strike thugs from the outside, several of whom were arrested for carrying guns and, thus handicapped by lack of labor power, the company officials came to terms and the strike was settled on May 6th by granting a slight increase in wages and other demands.

Comrade Heston, who did active picket duty, writes as follows:

"The strike though short, has been a wonderful lesson to labor, of the advantage of united effort in securing mutual benefit. They will soon

ON PICKET DUTY.

vote as they struck and the time is hastening when labor shall rule and own what labor creates. We see very plainly that if we, as laboring men, controlled the govenment, nothing could prevent labor from being victorious. The Political arm and the Economic arm must work hand in hand."

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Marxian Socialism and the Roman Church.

By Thomas C. Hall, D. D.

Rev. John J. Ming, S. F., has rendered a real service by calm and most dispassionate as well as well-informed rvey of socialism* from the point-of-view of an ecsiastic of the Roman Communion. The general aims d hopes of socialism are most admirably set forth, th full and free use of the best and most authoritative sources for information. Many a Protestant Controversialist could learn a lesson of wisdom and fairness from these pages. It is an actual relief to pick up a book that shows that a critic of socialism has taken some pains to find out just what it really means.

In the second part the author deals with the religious philosophy that underlies Marx and Engels teaching, and he states fairly clearly the position of Marx and Engels as evolutionary materialism, and enters upon a critique of the evolutionary materialism.

The weakest chapter in the book is the fourth, in which religion is identified with existing churchly forms, and customary theological formulae, and hence there is no difficulty in showing the hostility of militant socialism to these things. But it can, of course, never occur to the mind of a Roman ecclesiastic that religious faith may and probably will long survive the wreck of all existing ecclesiastical organizations, and the modification of all accepted theological formulae. Naturally also the author identifies christianity with the Roman communion and has therefore little difficulty in showing that socialism has been the sharpest critic of dogma, worship and the church as understood in that communion. On the whole the author is right. It is impossible to share the aims of Marx and Engels and at the same time cherish the feudal hopes of medieval scholasticism. Roman Catholicism has an official and infallible voice, and that voice has identified, as far as it is possible, the Roman communion with the medieval scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas; and splendid in many respects as is the system of Thomas Aquinas there is no room in it for evolution, relativity, critical idealism, modern pschology, or even modern historical process. Our author is quite correct in maintaining that the primitive communion of the early church and its

*) The Characteristics and the Religion of Modern Socialism by the Rev. John J. Ming, S. F., Benziger Bros. 1908.

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What is the Matter with Spain?

By William Burt Gamble.

> I confess, dear sir, that to be a complete ass I want nothing but a tail, and if your worship shall be pleased to put one on me I shall deem it well placed, and will then serve you as your faithful ass all the days I have yet to live."
> —*Sancho Panza.*

Cervantes doubtless intended no unpatriotic reference, ıe tart irony may be read into these lines—lines which off, to a nicety, royalty-loving, superstitious, self-sfied old Spain.

Why is it that this former mistress of the World ierves such a dig? Why is it that a hospitable, courteous, temperate, frugal, poetic, peaceful, democratic people lags several leagues behind the international cavalcade which we are pleased to call civilization? One has a notion, more or less distinct, that she is broken-winded ecclesiastically and bone-spavined politically; but the enquiring mind is no longer satisfied with a catalogue of mere symptoms; one naturally asks if there may not be some deeper-seated trouble—some complication demanding the X-rays of Progress and the infusion of something potent in the way of Twentieth Century serums? Briefly then, what is the matter with Spain?

First of all, we desire little of kings and queens and wars and closet skeletons. In our probe for the vitals, History shall cut away such useless tissue. True, christian Spain has ever been, with few exceptions, the beast of burden for her rulers. But rulers alone cannot undo a nation. Why is it that Spain, rather than Turkey, deserves the only bed in the European hospital? Her neighbors are up and doing: aristocratic England, royalty-loving France, groping Germany, priest-pestered Italy, red Russia herself—each one of these has felt the surgeon's steel. Each has spilled blood—seas of it—but has not each written "value received" for every crimson ounce? And what has Spain to show, for *her* gory deluge—what but the red stains where martyrs fell, and thinkers and unbelievers, the innocent and the helpless, children even,—the hope of the land wiped out to no end save the country's desolation and the supposed glory of God! What has Spain and her paper constitutions and her grinding aristocracy and her prying priesthood ever sacrificed for the cause of liberty? Now and then has appeared a doctor who understood

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her case; but has not this well-intentioned person always been railroaded for his trouble, and with neatness and dispatch, to other climes, or more often to the hereafter? Spain's revolutions have been little else than the lancing of a few troublesome boils. Festering upon a bed of superstition there she lies: Spain of the Cid, of the Senecas, of Quintilian, Martial and Lucan, of Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, of Calderon, of Cervantes, of Velasquez, of Lope de Vega: heros, emperors, poets, painters, philosophers---Spain of the Alhambra and those glorious centuries of Moorish toleration and culture—Spain that stretched her mailed arm across Peru and Mexico to the far Phillipines—Spain, potent in position and in resources: rich in wine and oil and fruits, rare marbles, silver, copper, iron, coal, cinnabar; a land whose not unwilling soils needs only the modern methods of irrigation and an awakened intelligence to transform the peninsula into the garden spot of the world. And yet, even to-day we are justified in quoting the words of Buckle:

"Spain sleeps on, untroubled, unheeding, impassive, receiving no impressions from the rest of the world, and making no impression upon it. There she lies, at the further extremity of the continent, a huge and torpid mass, the sole representative of the feelings and knowledge of the Middle Ages."

One may well ask: What is the matter with Spain?

The answer is to be sought in the fact that, to a greater degree than any other European division, Spain is a victim of her environment. There, evolution has given mankind a bad inning. Rear a hungry child in the squalor of a dark cellar, shouting "bogey man" to its every yearning for the light, and see what kind of a man you get. Rear a race among the blighting awfulness and the fearful terrors of Nature, exhorting frightened souls to prod the devil with incantations and mummery, to believe and to obey a parasitic priest-hood, to lick the boots of a life-squeezing royalty, and you get Spain. Imagine, if possible, a mighty World-Maker at the beginning of our era, isolating unmoulded human material in the Spanish peninsula: one were indeed an optimist who could vision for the future a free minded country like France, or England, or Germany. One might as well conceive of a Reformation in the Gardens of the Vatican.

Let us recall briefly our physical geography:

The brighter the sunshine, the darker the shadow. Spanish sunshine is proverbial—and her shadows, alas! As if the rain were fearful of washing away the blots of centuries, the country, except in the extreme northern portion, is hot and dry. Most of the rivers flow in beds too deep for the Spaniard's primitive methods of irrigation. Drought and famine have consequently been frequent and disastrous. The climate is notoriously unhealthy, though uncleanly habits and medieval sanitation

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have doubtless aggravated the evil. Again and again pestilence has raged unchecked. The Spaniards have always been more concerned for their souls than for their bodies. Then, too, it is the land of earthquakes; and to a simple race these terrors do not appear as a natural necessity, but as the acts either of an enraged God or of a destroying demon. With every manifestation of earth and sky and sea, every dire event twisted by designing priests into a pious fraud, surely it is not to be wondered that a susceptible people sinks into the slough of the centuries. Small marvel that the Andalusian peasant, drowsy from his siesta and gazing across his unplowed fields, sighs a vain mañana and mumbles a prayer, leaving the future harvest to San Isadore and the efficacy of Peter's pence.

Theology, then, has conspired with Nature to infuse into the Spanish blood the germs of degradation. A more northern country would have counteracted the virility of the poison; but Spain, with her three thousand religious orders, her ten thousand monks, her forty thousand nuns, her taxes and her false pride, "sleeps on," no more able to escape her poverty and her ignorance than she could have escaped her burnings, her thumb-screws, her rackings and hackings, her plunderings, her priestly unchastity, her rapings, her every diabolical unspeakable. As Lea in his "History of the Spanish Inquisition" says: "No other nation ever lived through centuries under a moral oppression so complete, so minute, so all pervading."

Sorehearted, one is tempted to forget the birth-blights of Spain and to cry with Shelley:

> "Nature! No!
> Kings, priests, and statesmen blast the human flower
> Even in its tender bud; their influence darts
> Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins
> Of desolate society."

Tyrants forsooth! Imagine Spain dragging a king to the block—and Spain has inflicted upon outraged humanity the most notorious procession of royal fanatics, criminals, and idiots that History has ever been ashamed to record. Paint them as devil-fearing epileptics with protruding jaws and overhanging lips, and morals and habits to match and one has sketched well. Other lands have voided such monstrosities, or at least have tried to; but in Spain no gibbering monarch has ever debased himself sufficiently to lose the loving loyalty of his subjects. The kingly touch was a hallowing one. The royal horse was considered too sacred for the worthiest courtier to mount. The mistress of a dead king always hied herself off to a nunnnery, finding in the Virgin Mary the only feminine soul sufficiently exalted for the confidences of the royal prostitute.

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Here again history and evolution have their answer. Let us see how it was that the prince put the finishing touch on what the priest had all but completed.

Back in the eighth century we run across Tarik the Moor, his hands itching for a hold upon fair Andalusia. The bounding blood of the desert flowed in his veins. Summoning his army, he crossed the Straights of Gibraltar. Others followed. There was fighting, of course; within three years the soldiers of the Crescent had spread over all Spain, save only among the northwestern fastnesses, where the Christians were making a determined stand against annihilation. The Moors liked the new land; they remained eight centuries—centuries which shall always shine for their enlightenment, their broad culture, and their prosperity—centuries when the rest of Europe lay under the hypnotic spell of the medieval monster. One would fain fill one's space with a picture of the civilized Mohammedan and his beneficent works.

With the pent-up Spaniards, extermination by the Infidel seemed quite as direful a prospect as the loss of a seat in heaven. The struggle savored of a holy war. Their property and their homes gone, they strengthed their blows with hatred and vengeance. Religion and patriotism became synonomous. With thunder and lightning, earthquake and pestilence, God should smite the Saracen. No portent was considered too insignificant to bear a meaning to the Spanish arms. The king who could lead them to victory, or show by the stars that he certainly would do so, was indeed divinely given.

Like the priest, the king was not slow to see the point: he worked the scheme to the limit. The task of the tax-collector became a sinecure. Imagine the hardy Swiss mountaineers bowing thus to the iron heel and the Pope's toe. If nature has never watered the seeds of enlightenment and liberty in the human soul, what may one expect save the weeds of superstition and absolutism?

The spirit of monarchy has tanned the Spanish character: more the pity, because the Spaniard is innately democratic. Except to royalty, the traveller discovers naught of that cringing servility that a caste-bred Englishman offers to the man above. The Spanish beggar regards himself as one's equal before God, and he conducts himself accordingly. One's servant is a self-respecting person giving value for value: pressing my-lord's trousers is deemed quite as commendable as pressing the life out of my-lord's factory hands or her ladyship's tenants. But to the king! Long live the king! Unless one happens to stumble into Barcelona or some other equally alarmful place where the twentieth century has begun to dawn, royalty gets a welcome fit for the Virgin Mary herself.

A sheep-like people has never builded an enduring nation. One

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dog has ever been able to guide the flock. Though Spain has seen her moments of glory, race ambition has never been the force behind. Any leader sufficiently gifted in grandstand bravado and eloquence can make soldiers fight. War isn't so very difficult if one has the priest to help him out. That is why Ferdinand and Isabella were able to restore Spain to the cross; why Charles the Fifth could sweep his iron hand over the checker-board of the world; why Phillip the Second, Lord's Annointed, could burn out and chop off heresy. These were strong sovereigns—in their evil ways. But with the first hint of weakness came the deluge. In 1609 Phillip the Third, a priest-persuaded libertine, committed the crime of the centuries by expelling the remnant of the Moors—a million of them—the very blood and sinew of industry and commerce. Spain reaped as she sowed. Fields went to waste, cities starved, the poor peasant prayed and paid. The birth-rate fell and death stalked through the land. Spain became the country desolate. The spirit of the nation was completely crushed. She has never recovered. As Buckle says: "For her, no hope remained; and by the close of the seventeenth century the only question was, by whose hands the blow should be struck, which would dismember that mighty empire, whose shadow had covered the world and whose vast remains were imposing even in their ruin."

Now and then the flower of Spain has briefly bloomed; but the blooming has been in a hot-house under the hands of foreigners. Even Charles the Third (1759-1788), the most enlightened and able monarch the country has known, the one who dared to expell the Jesuits, to curb the greediness of the Papacy, to lighten the burdens of the poor, to protect and to encourage literature and science, to extend the hand of justice to the colonies—even he, reared in a foreign country, is not fairly to be credited to Spain. And his people regarded his reign with less of interest than a Sunday bull-fight. Charles the Third was no sooner in his tomb than Charles the Fourth, Spanish to the core, undid the former's good work. After all, the good old ways were the better ways: back came the Jesuits; free-speech was strangled; literature was discouraged; and the Inquisition blazed again forth with a glow that lighted all Spain. Cromwells have never thrived on Spanish soil: poor Prim but emphasizes the fact.

What hope for such a country? Ballot-box? Primary reform, anti-graft legislation? pure food laws? bombs? breadlines and missions? settlements? royal blood-lettings? pink pills for politicians?—in Heaven's name what? Something is the matter with Spain and she needs a doctor.

A plain vision of the only true hope was seen by Franciso Ferrer: and for seeing too much, even in this, the twentieth century, Spanish

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soldiers filled his breast with lead while the priests looked on. The evil virus still runs strong and sure.

It was through education that Ferrer sought to undermine medievalism —not education that crams into the mind of youth only the facts necessary to build a bridge, or survery a field, or analyze a sample of coal, or design a house, but the facts and logic that bear upon the dignity and destiny of man as a social and fraternal being. Ferrer studied the child and worked to instill teachers with his spirit and courage. Beyond a mere bread-and-butter education the Spanish boy or girl gets nothing save what a priest is pleased to give him. As well might the Roman Index be burned by the public executioner: it is wasted upon Spain, where sixty-eight per cent of the nation can neither read nor write. Imagine the average Don hankering after such hell-fire volumes as Francis Bacon, Descartes, Draper, Gibbon, Hallam, of Heine, Hobbes, Hume and Kant, of Victor Hugo, Locke, Mill and Voltaire—it were to laugh were it not so sad.

No, Spain likes the disease and the stench thereof; she prefers the priest to the drain man. When Francisco Ferrer set about to pull down the age-worn structure, not with bombs, but with a rope of education and free-thought, when he sought to erect in its place a well ventilated building, gleaming with windows that should look out over a vista of happy homes which the soldier and the priest must flee as a bat from the light of day, they tore his heart with Spanish bullets and saved the country to its benighted past.

Here are the words that brought him to martyrdom:

> *"What we have attempted at Barcelona, others have attempted elsewhere, and we have all seen that the work is possible. And I think it should be begun without delay. We should not wait until the study of the child has been completed, before undertaking the renovation of the school; if we must wait for that, we shall never do anything. We will apply what we do know, and, progressively, all that we shall learn. Already, a complete plan of rational education is possible, and, in such schools as we conceive, children may develop, happy and free, according to their natural tendencies. We shall labor to perfect and extend it."
>
> "Moreover, as soon as circumstances permit, we shall take up again the work begun in Barcelona, we shall rebuild the schools destroyed by our adversaries. In the meantime, we shall labor to found a normal school in Barcelona, for the training of teachers to second us later; we shall create a library of the modern school, in which such books will be published as will serve for the education of the educators, as

*) "The Modern School, by Francisco Ferrer; Mother Earth Publishing Ass'n., N. Y.

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> well as for that of the children. We shall also found a pedagogic museum, containing a collection of all necessary materials for the renovated school."
>
> "Such are our plans. We are aware that their realization will be difficult. But we want to begin, convinced that we shall be aided in our task by those who are everywhere struggling for human liberation from dogmas and conventions which assure the support of the present iniquitous social organization."

If these words of Fransisco Ferrer be anarchy, let the world make the most of it. Dark as is the future, Spain cannot drag through the twentieth century as she has dragged through the past. A single idea, like the drop of water in a rocky crevice has been known to burst a nation asunder.

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The Immigrant.

By Eliot White.

Lewis W. Hines, Photographer.

As a mountain-climber's stature is magnified by enfolding vapor on the heights, so this woman's figure looms large against the flash of New York's harbor waters, where still about her seems to roll the mist of Slavic patience and privation of her peasant ancestry.

It is only a Russian immigrant girl, wrapt in a shawl that her mother wove for her with half-frozen fingers in far-off Smolensk, but where she stands hesitant on the threshold of the new land, the madonna-like resignation fused with the kindling brightness of hope in her face, singles her out from her companions.

Even the unimpressionable medical examiner, turning back the eyelids of a thousand new-comers for trachoma, mechanically as a meat-inspector testing quartered animal flesh, had noticed with a tingle of admiration the color and depth of her fresh eyes.

Under the shawl's edge her forehead gleams like the burnish of an oakleaf, and when her mother in the agony of parting printed a last kiss on the girl's brow, it seemed to her that she touched delicate, living parchment, holier than a missal's through such love and sorrow; while brighter than the adorning of its pages appeared to the mother's brimming eyes the healthful glow of the young cheeks.

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Lewis W. Hines, Photographer.

own language her muttered words of despair and shame, and broken appeals to her mother and the unseen God.

He grasps her arm with firm, kind hand, as she prepares to leap into the tide swirling past the piles, and in eager syllables of her beloved tongue pleads with her to relinquish her plan of self-destruction.

She tells him she is not fit to live, but by long urging he persuades her to come to his home and share the scant room with his wife and little ones.

Yielding at last, in utter languor she plods by his side to the tiny tenement, so bare, and yet sanctified by the wife's piteous welcome of the fugitive and the scarcely interrupted merriment of the night-gowned babes.

But she summons a last shred of resistance when the wife offers to share her bed with her, and will hear to nothing but that a quilt be spread for her on the floor, declaring again that so defiled a thing as she is unworthy tolerance in a pure home.

Scarcely will she eat, and that only after the family have finished, but begs the wife to let her wash the floor, as though to be upon her

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knees and glance now and again at the little ikon on the shelf, were the only posture that could rest her shattered spirit.

The second day, before the workman has returned from the shop, the wife who has anxiously kept her eyes on their visitor until now, has to go to the street on an errand, and when she returns is dismayed to hear the children declare, "She ran away!"

A minute later loud cries of warning and fear rise from the street, more ominous to the wife than she cares to own; then glancing to the window she is frozen with horror to see a dark form drop past the pane, while in another instant a chorus of groans and screams from the crowd below confirm her worst forebodings!

The clang of an ambulance-bell that ceases abruptly in front of the house, is followed by hurried steps up the flights to her door, and she admits a white-coated doctor who asks if the people below are right in saying a woman who just leaped from the roof was a lodger here.

"If you don't want to look at her," he adds,—"and I advise you not to, here is a necklace that she wore; do you recognize it?"

Alas, all too well the wife remembers the cheap red beads, and the hand-wrought copper clasp that the tortured girl, with a flood of tears, had said her father hammered, to complete his parting gift to the daughter of his heart.

Before the young mechanic reaches his home he has learned the dread news from the neighbors, and meets his wife at their door in sad silence, while graven deep on both the faces is plain to read the sorrow not of this tragedy alone, but reminiscence of the whole long anguish of the Slav's Egyptian bondage.

More because of habit than hunger, the heavy-hearted little family gather at their board, when suddenly the husband with an exclamation of surprise picks up from the table where they had lain unnoticed, a dozen disks of brass.

Puzzled, he examines them more closely, then glancing at his wife sees in her eyes the reflection of his own slow realization and loathing that make the bits of metal seem to burn his hand.

"She said she left them to pay us her board," declares the eldest of the children, who had forgotten till now the lost visitor's parting message.

With a groan as though he had been bludgeoned, the father stumbles to the window and hurls the brass checks out as he would have rid his home of a nest of adder's eggs.

Rebounding from the pavement with loud jingling, they instantly draw a bevy of boys to scramble for them in a tumbled heap at the gutter.

And a moment later a group of loungers beside a neighboring saloon, to whom the boys show their disappointing prizes, break into loud guffaws of ridicule of the boys, and glee in recognition of the evil coins.

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money and without price. All the money he had to spend was what he earned on the way.

And so Mr. Franck became a part of the working class population in every village, city and country through which he passed, living their life and learning more about the character, and the hopes and aims of the workers than a tourist would have garnered in twenty journeys.

There is only one way for the American to know the Chinese, the Burmese, the French and Germans and that is by becoming one of them. The artificially prepared stage settings before which tourists gape, and which travelers have been wont to erroneously call "local color" did not interest Mr. Franck. But the question of earning his bread and butter, as well as lodging, while in a particular locality was all important, and so, from very necessity, Mr. Franck was compelled to live the life of his ever-changing environment. He learned the view-point of the working class in the countries through which he passed.

He slept and ate and tramped with "hoboes" of every land and creed and color. Sometimes he had a little money. Very often he had nothing but the rags on his back. He tried his hand at every kind of work that a clever all-around American fellow could dream of, he bluffed his way through seemingly impossible barriers, he slept cold and hard many a night, and went hungry many a day. But he saw the world—the workers' world from almost every angle and nation under the sun and he had a "vagabond's" royal good time doing it.

In writing of his friends, the "hoboes," Mr. Franck says:

"But whatever his stamping ground, the tramp is essentially the same fellow the world over. Buoyant of spirit for all his pessimistic grumble, generous to a fault, he eyes the stranger with deep suspicion at the first greeting, as uncommunicative and non-committal as a bivalve. Then a look, a gesture suggests the worldwide question, 'On the road Jack?' Answer it affirmatively and, though your fatherland be on the opposite side of the earth, he is ready forthwith to open his heart and to divide with you his last crust."

There is no "fine writing" in Mr. Franck's story. It is just the simple, vivid narrative of his experiences and adventures, supplemented by snap-shots of the workers of the world and conditions under which they toil—but its simplicity and vividness set the reader's blood a-tingling. Readers of the Review will find "A Vagabond Journey Around the World" the best book of travel published in many years.

Published by The Century Co., Union Square, New York, at $3.50 net.

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Why is a Comet?

By C. J. Pickert.

BECAUSE two dead, dark stars, wandering through space, came so near as to be reciprocally attractive; that is, they came within a few millions of millions of miles of one another. Then they went for one another. In the course of a few brief centuries, they fell into one another. The occasion was celebrated with fireworks. Each of these cold, dead worlds was thousands of times larger than our little earth, and the impact of their falling together raised temperature from a little above absolute zero to a point where the most obdurate substance becomes gas. Nay, temperature became so high that atoms could no longer maintain their identity, and vast volumes of matter were reduced to a more primary form. We now know that the explosion drove not a little of the substance of the two colliding worlds more than three thousand millions of miles from the center of action; how much farther, we do not know. It is not difficult to understand that everything went whirling; that the entire mass of seething matter acquired a rotary motion; that the conflagration cooled, as its heat was radiated into space; that the cooling caused or permitted a contraction of mass; that localities occupied by denser portions should become centers of attraction, drawing to themselves surrounding particles; that the central portion should be the largest, and by its greater attraction control all the others, and should remain a glowing mass a million years after the smaller outlying bodies had cooled to opaqueness.

Thus became the sun and the planets.

We, ourselves, were mixed up in that ancient collision. Is it any wonder that we have a persistent memory-instinct of eternity? Now, the earth, or any other planet, does not describe a circle, in its path about the sun, because it has not recovered from that old thrust which threw it away from the center. After the thrust, it began to fall back again. But its whirling movement prevented it falling in a right line. The longer it continued falling, the faster it fell; and the faster it moved, the greater became the tangential thrust, until the latter overcame the gravitational power, and it again swung farther from the sun. And thus became the rythm which brings us within less than ninety millions of miles of the sun in December, and thrusts us more than ninety three millions of miles away in June.

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So, with all our sister planets. And so, also with the comets. But why is a comet, instead of a planet?

Because, when those two dead old worlds bumped, splinters of rock, gravel, boulders, in great quantities, were hurled thousands of millions. Those that had not, fell directly into the sun; those that had, swing to fall back again, and many of them had acquired a tangential motion. Those that had not, fell directly into the sun; those that had, swing to and fro, as the earth, only, that, being lighter, and falling farther, they describe an ellipse far more elongated. Halley's swings much nearer the sun than does the earth, and farther than Neptune, and we go around the sun seventy times to Halley's comet once.

A comet is merely a swarm of meteors traveling in close company. While distant from the sun, there is no tail or "hair," from which the name is derived. But when near the sun, because it has no protecting atmosphere, the fierce heat boils the gases out of the boulders and gravel, and the sun's rays exert sufficient power to drive the gas particles into space. As the comet recedes from the sun, the tail disappears.

Were we but a little slower, or Halley's comet a bit faster, we should have had an exhibition in May. The earth bears not a few scars which have not been accounted for upon any theory other than contact with comets. And ancient traditions tell of such an occurrence during the human period.

Edmund Halley noted that certain comets traveled in nearly the same path, and came at intervals of seventy years, and boldly foretold the return in 1759, which the comet kindly confirmed, and ever since then we have been adding to our knowledge of why is a comet.

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Working Conditions in the Pittsburg District

By Bertha Wilkins Starkweather.

BY-PRODUCTS OF THE STEEL MILLS.

has been said of the high wages paid to steel workers. e fact remains that only about ten per cent. receive re than laborers' pay which is from fifteen to twenty cents per hour. In positions of great responsibilty l danger, "expert wages" are paid to the men in rge. These are based on the tonnage so the wages depend upon the output of the department. They range from three to eight dollars per shift of eight hours.

The common workman at the base of converter or blast furnace working in a constant rain of sparks, with streams of white metal on all sides, is the veritable lamb for slaughter. Yet the competition among the unskilled workmen is often so great that they are willing not only to bribe officers and foremen in order to get a chance to work, but they are careful to keep those bosses "goodnatured".

Since 1897 England has had in operation a law known as the fellow-servant act. Under this law, the employer is responsible for accidents which occur because of the ignorance or carelessness of employes. The dependents of a workman thus killed are compensated for the amount of

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the man's wages for the three years just preceding the accident. If he has not been in the employ of the firm for that length of time, the indemnity of his dependents is placed at one hundred and fifty six times the weekly wage. If the workman leaves no dependents, the employer is responsible only for his funeral expenses which are less than fifty dollars. This law has a tendency to place a premium upon men unencumbered by family ties, though it is a dangerous policy to hire young and inefficient men to positions requiring skill and general efficiency. The laws in this country are easy for the employer as he usually manages to blame all accidents to some workman and under cover of such irresponsibility for workman, he escapes.

The employment slip which the men must sign before they are allowed to go to work in the steel mills is a carefully worded little document and serves incidentally as a release to the company in case of accident resulting in injury or death to the signer. The steel mill workers say that because of this release, the steel company does not seem to care whether its men are married or without dependents. Others say that to the management the ideal worker is a strong, docile, willing, unencumbered man who will remain inside the mill fence, in case of a strike and be satisfied to work for months if need be as a scab, with the strike-breaker's restaurant to furnish him with food and drink and the improvised dives to furnish him with entertainment. There are houses filled with cots and every preparation is made for keeping hundreds of men inside the mill yards in case of trouble with the men.

After each "heat" has been drawn from the blast furnace, the slag and refuse must be cleared out before a new charge can be made which is done about every seven hours. To clear the furnaces dynamite is sometimes used for blasting and it is dangerous business because the place is hot. In order to avoid any responsibility for accidents the steel company lets out this blasting to a contractor. He hires the men and if they are hurt, they are pretty sure to find themselves dealing with a poor man. However the steel company take them into the hospital at the mills. This is simply a "bit of generosity" on the part of the company.

Agents for accident insurance companies are given the freedom of the plants and allowed to ply their trade in all languages among the men. If a man says that he can not afford the extortionate premiums asked he is made to feel the displeasure of the company. If he is insured and is injured he can not collect his insurance money from the independent companies, until he has signed a release clearing the steel company from all responsibility for the accident.

The first man on the ground after an accident is the company photographer. He takes photographs from all sides and if any fatalities have occurred, the victims are taken as they died. The photographer

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the clerk told him to throw out the objectionable portions. Then he signed.

This man was an intelligent American and an eye-witness to the accident but he was not summoned to the coronor's jury. The verdict from that body, was "From testimony presented, we the jury, are unable to determine the cause of said explosion." They had called in a few frightened Hungarians who had to give their statements through an interpreter and who for the most part, stood blinking and shrugging their shoulders afraid of doing anything which would make them lose their precious jobs.

THE STEEL MILLS' HOSPITAL SERVICE.

For ten years the good ladies of Homestead, Pa. have been trying to raise a fund for the purpose of building a hospital for injured steel-workers by giving straw-berry socials, fairs, etc. They insist in their kindness of heart that it is cruel to rattle the injured and dying men from fifteen to twenty miles to Pittsburg or McKeesport to the public hospitals.

A STEEL KING'S HOME.

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flesh. The magnet pulls out bits of metal which no surgeon would be able to trace. Like a good shepherd the little magnet point, calls its own with its mysterious force, "and they know his voice and come."

A pathetic incident is told by the women of the neighborhood. A young American of Polish parentage was killed one morning and taken to the hospital morgue. When his young wife came with his dinner to wait for him at the gate, the keeper asked her husbands work-number. it was the number of the man who had been killed. He was dismayed to face the situation before him. There stood the young woman bright and expectant, smiling in anticipation of the chat she would have with her husband as he ate the hot dinner she had brought in her basket. Soon the look in her eyes grew wistful—his dinner was getting cold; so afraid were the men of the scene, it is said, that they let her wait for hours before the truth of her widowhood was finally told her.

The following accident is another typical one and illustrates what happens behind the steel mill enclosure. The converter bottom was blown away in one of the plants and the fifteen tons of metal, three thousand two hundred degrees hot, made a hell of the black depths of the building.

When the foreman had picked himself up and found that his injury was only two dislocated ribs, he turned to the dead and the dying. Two men were writhing in the most horrible torture and several with fearful burns were moving about. After the dying had been sent out on stretchers and the wounded sent away to walk to the hospital with a feliow workman, the foreman turned to the glowing heaving mass of metal on the ground. One of the Slag-men stepped up to him and whispered, pointing to the metal, "Mike's in there!"

"Which Mike?" asked the foreman.

"Mike, the slag-man."

The foreman convinced himself that there was certainly no Mike in the slag-man-crew who worked at the base of the converter.

The company's record of the two men who died in the hospital that day, was as follows:

Name—John Knezovitch.

Address—Strand Street.

Occupation—Vessel Slagman.

Injuries sustained. Severely burned on body, head, legs and arms. Caused by No. 3 bottom blowing off.

Name—Daniel Reploch.

Address?

Occupation—Vessel Slagman.

Injuries sustained. Severely burned on body, head, legs and arms. Caused by No. 3 bottom blowing off.

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coronor as Thomas Joran, with the same report as above and the same witnesses and jury.

The Hungarian who insisted that Mike "was in there," was unfortunate. His fellows said that he talked too much. He lost his job.

"Those fellows shifting along as if they could hardly walk another step, are blast furnace men," remarked an old workman, as we watched the men leaving the mills after work. "I can spot a furnace man every time. They work a twelve hour day for less than two dollars and on each alternate Sunday, they work a straight twenty-four hours without stopping. That gives them a whole Sunday off every two weeks. There are only three other kinds of work worse than this: the lead workrs, the sugar refineries, and the fertilizer works in Packingtown! It's all hell to the unfortunate man who is so placed as to have only such work to keep him from starvation."

In all the departments where the hot iron is handled many men succumb to the heat and are often carried out by their fellows gasping for breath. Perspiration must flow in streams from their faces and it must keep their heavy double woolen shirts soaked, to save the men from "keeling over." They wear the thickest woolen shirts to be had in the market, even in summer as a protection from flying sparks. Wool smothers fire, where cotton or linen would burn.

I would rather spend fifteen years winning one wage worker to the Army of the Revolution than one day in converting a professional man. Sympathizers may come and may go, but the workers who are suffering from wage-slavery must continue to fight and to struggle until Capitalism it abolished. . . .

—Wm. D. Haywood.

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The Mother's Future.

By Georgia Kotsch.

She bore us in her dreaming womb,
And laughed into the face of death;
She laughed in her strange agony,—
To give her little baby breath.

Then, by some holy mystery,
She fed us from her sacred breast,
Soothed us with little birdlike words—
To rest—to rest—to rest—to rest;

Yea, softly fed us with her life,—
Her bosom like the world in May;
Can it be true that men thus fed
Feed women—as I hear them say?
—Richard Le Gallienne.



AN proposes, but God disposes," runs the old proverb.

"The living form of Socialism has long been perfecting itself within the crysalis of civilization," may be Belfort Bax's way of expressing the same idea as it applies to the social evolution.

With the seemingly all-powerful Canute of capitalism commanding the "rising tide of Socialism" back to the deep sea caves of ignorance and helpless servility and with the occasional Socialist who now and again goes down to the beach, broom in hand, to sweep back a wave which threatens to wet the feet of a pet prejudice of which he, advanced soul though he is, has not yet rid himself, evolution goes serenely on with it "disposing" in the interest of "the living form" of the time to be.

The broom-wielders are interesting. It would be much indeed to expect that men reared under capitalism, they and their forbears for generations lapped and nurtured in its false traditions and standards, should suddenly stand forth in the full stature and perfect proportions of the Socialist ideal. And so we find some of the good comrades with ideas a bit aslant in regard to woman, particularly the married woman, under Socialism.

Recently a Socialist paper which has possibly converted more people

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in this country to Socialism than any other one influence save Standard Oil, was asked by an anxious subscriber what would be the condition of married women under Socialism. Now, Socialists disclaim knowledge as to details of the coming commonwealth, and yet the spirit of prophecy is strong within them, and the gist of the editor's reply was that under Socialism the husband would make enough to support the family. This, it must be acknowledged, would be a great improvement over the present state of the married woman. Now she can never be sure of the security of her master's income; then she would have only the uncertainty as to whether he would deal fairly with her. There is, however, a point of doubt here. Women have, through long practice, learned how to get along with a slave. With a free man there might be trouble. He might be arrogant.

Listening recently, to an ultra scientific lecturer, a kind and well-intentioned man, explaining what the full social value of a man's work under Socialism would signify, he said: "There will always be non-productive persons for whom society will have to care, mothers who are rearing children, cripples, etc."

Here was real encouragement. Under the present regime women are classed with the imbecile, criminal, insane. Under Socialism we shall at least not be disgraced, for a cripple may be a gentleman of the highest character and attainments. The worst that can be said of him is that he is unfortunate. So mothers who are rearing children will be raised to the class of the merely unfortunate.

Opening Comrade Vail's "Modern Socialism," a book widely circulated for propaganda purposes because of its clear enunciation of Socialist principles and their application to the various relations of life, I find the author expatiating upon the economic independence which Socialism will bring to unmarried women, but alas, it seems that if they are so foolish as to marry it is gone. He says, "Socialists hold that it is the husband's province to provide for the necessities of his family, and the very fact that the new order would render it easy for a man to support a family would encourage matrimony."

Thus the vocation of wife and mother would render an independent woman dependent upon one man and this is innocently supposed to be an inducement to her to marry. Could anyone but a man have written that!

Comrade Richardson, another of our most able writers, after dealing in profound wisdom with markets, cost of commodities, exploitation and incentives, comes in due course to the woman question. Being a courageous man he scorns the only safe course for him, viz., dodging it, and tosses it off in this wise: "Woman—the complete woman—the woman who is living the life for which nature qualified her—the woman

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who is living the life that every true and thoroughly womanly woman is ambitious to live, is a mother and in her own home."

In Wilshire's, the Podunk philosopher, whose social soothsaying has a definite turn, prefaces an article in all sincerity, "The proper study of mankind is man." Laboriously he builds up a 51 per cent. oligarchy, runs amuck against the other 49 per cent., ignominiously deserts his "man study" and clutches at the skirts of woman to save his wobbly Jericho walls from toppling and allowing the 49 per cent. jobless philistines to invade the 51 per cent. job monopoly. And what is to be woman's reward for propping up this futile substitute of a larger for a smaller class rule, this whole monument to man's muddling? O, that's easy. She is to be rescued from industry and permitted to revert to the *Man Hunt*. In the language of the genial Fra of humbuggery, "I hope we have not lost our sense of humor."

A glance at our national platform and these will suffice as samples of broom wielding.

The platform is a well-meaning document. That I know, Socialist men fully intend to give to woman equal opportunity—that is, the equal opportunity which man considers it wise and proper she should have.

Upon first looking over the platform I hopefully read all the hims and his-es in the generic sense, getting along very nicely until I come to, "Capitalism drags their wives from their homes to the mill and the factory," which is equivalent to objecting that "his wife"—his property—should be dragged forth to "serve" somebody else instead of "him." There I rebelled, being wedded to the belief that, whatever the temporary hardship, if a woman must serve a master, service in the world of industry will broaden her mental scope and develop her sense of social responsibility more than will service to one man.

Comrade Vail says, "The door to most departments of industrial employments has been opened to women and with the most baneful results." The introduction of steam power and machinery had the most baneful results for working men, but Socialism does not propose on that account to put men back at hand work, and no more, my comrade brothers, does it propose to put woman back into the narrow walls from which she is escaping. Socialists fling the gleeful gibe at Mr. Bryan and the bourgeois trust-busters who would set back the clock of progress in the organization of industry, yet some of them would put woman back into her "sphere" after she is married.

And what will she do there? In the words of the Moor, her occupation is gone, or soon will be. The labor with which she erstwhile beguiled the day and part of the night has gone to the machine and to fingers especially trained for each specific task. The creamery has taken her dairying. She can no longer make soap or candles, weave, spin or knit

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in the home to advantage. Sewing, washing, ironing, the nursing of the sick, canning, preserving, baking—in a word, cooking—are rapidly going from the home. Thus is evolution "disposing."

Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, of the Russell Sage Foundation, says, "Many functions of the old family unit are now being performed by the community in other and mainly better ways. The home is no longer the scene of activities which make up social life. The school brings about the selection of skilled individuals from the community who shall serve as models for our children, and since we are, on the whole, securing persons for school teachers who are far better patterns than the average parent, we are improving our social inheritance. This is only another step in the specialization of motherhood."

Professor Simon N. Patten, of the University of Pennsylvania, says, "There is no longer need for woman's labor in the home. Is she going to sit idle or is she going to make herself of use in the community? I do not question that she will make herself of use and thus solve her problem."

Are Socialist men going to allow these capitalist-minded gentlemen to be more scientific upon an economic and social question than they?

In this transition period there are thousands of women who, not being compelled to enter the industrial field and having no training nor opportunity for usefulness in other lines, are prisoners of pettiness, living objectless and discontented lives.

The masculine psychology, in its management of women, entrenches itself in such phrases as "the mother function," and "mother instinct," as its last citadel. Capitalism has demonstrated that women have other important functions as well as the mother function and it does not take much of a prophet to foresee that under correct conditions the performance of the mother function need not deter her from entering into the world's work. That she should be paid, not cared for by society as an unfortunate, while performing this function of race necessity, should never come up for question among Socialists. Mother instinct is a fine thing, provided it is guided by trained intelligence. There comes a day when the mother instinct, thus guided, says, "That baby which you call yours is not wholly yours. She has individual rights and society has a claim upon her. Henceforth you must employ time hitherto given to her in some other way. The kindergarten teacher is fitted as you are not to care for her at this stage of her life. And you surrender her to one after another of the trained educators provided by society as a whole. Other mothers surrender the feeding of their children to the cooks provided by society for school children.

Under Socialism shall we specialize in every other line of usefulness and shall this most important matter, the rearing of the children, be left to the haphazard chance of the individual mother, whether or not she be

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capable? We shall do nothing so foolish. Many mothers are not competent to rear their own children but may do other splendid work for which they are adapted.

And is the sacred home then to be destroyed? The mouthpieces of capitalism have almost bullied us into timidity when it comes to discussing the home. Let me fortify myself. Says Bax, "Socialism is the great modern protest against unreality, against the delusive shams which now masquerade as verities," and Emerson says, "He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness."

There is no sacred home where the woman is not upon an economic equality with the man. And shall home be less sacred because it is not a workshop or because its members are not thrown together so constantly that they rasp each other's less amiable characteristics into painful prominence? With Mrs. Gilman I agree also that a "family unity which is only bound together with a table cloth is of questionable value."

Woman is standing upon the brink of accomplishment, of joy in the world's work and a willing sharer in its responsibilities. She is groping toward the social consciousness. She will go forward and not back, and the home, freed from grimy toil and economic compulsion, will become such a place of tender love and friendly solicitude that members of the same family will actually be polite to each other.

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Still Fighting at Glace Bay.

By J. B. McLachlan.

N July 6, 1909, was inaugurated, what has turned out to be the largest, longest, and bitterest strike of coal miners ever waged in Canada. The unique thing about this fight, is the transformation of a trade union called the Provincial Workman's Association, with a thirty years life behind it, into a scab organization that welcomes into its ranks imported strike breakers of every kind and description.

There are some 13,000 miners in Nova Scotia, a third of whom up till two years ago belonged to the P. W. A. For years the miners of this small organization carried on a very unequal struggle against the Dominion Coal Company, the largest coal corporation in Canada. Sheer economic necessity at length forced them to appeal to the United Mine Workers of America, to come over and organize them into a district of that body.

The P. W. A. in its palmiest days was never anything but a little toy trade union that was used by the coal companies to make the men believe they were organized. It was patted on the back by politician, press, pulpit, and profit-monger and lauded to the skies by these as an organization well able to look after every interest of the mine workers. Grand Secretary is its highest office, and was for many years, and is still, filled by John Moffatt.

Oily, smooth, pious; a man who invariably, when attacked, plays the martyr's roll to the limit. By birth a Scotchman; by adoption a Canadian; by nature a traitor; by profession a scab organizer; and by long and continued habit the arch-lick-spittle of the Dominion Coal Company. Such is the man who fills the office of Grand Secretary of the P. W. A.

At the behest of the Coal Companies this fellow called a convention of the P. W. A. in May 1908 "to put a stop to the agitation going on amongst the men for the introduction of the U. M. W. of A." The convention met, and he failed. This convention decided to take a referendum vote as to whether the miners of Nova Scotia should join the U. M. W. of A., or remain in the P. W. A.

On June 24th, the vote was taken and the U. M. W. of A. came out on top with a majority of 412. As soon as navigation closed in November, 1908, the Dominion Coal Company locked out one thousand men, and expected that zero weather and starvation would crush the spirit of revolt, that Moffat's silly, pious platitudes about patriotism had failed to stay.

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Failure again was the result. The men stuck to the organization of their choice, and March, 1909, at length arrived. Navigation was again about to open and coal could be shipped up the St. Lawrence. The Dominion Coal Company was in a dilemma. Greed and fear filled their hearts. Greed said, "Take back the men and make profits right now." Fear, pointed to a strong, virile, aggressive organization that would assuredly, if it got a foot hold, make a large inroad on the dividends in the future. A hurried meeting of all the coal operators of the province was called, and met in the town of Truro, N. S., and a compromise beween fear and greed was reached. Each was sworn, "not to deal in any way whatever with the U. M. W. of A. but to sustain and 'do business' with the P. W. A." The locked out men were taken back, but they realized that the cessation of hostilities was only temporary, and on July 1, 1909, over two-thirds of the employees of the Dominion Coal Company walked out on strike. The remainder staying with the P. W. A. and giving the glad hand of welcome to every strike-breaker and thug imported by the Dominion Coal Company.

The fight was now on in dead earnest. A month previous to the strike the coal company had 625 special police sworn in. Many of the "loyal" P. W. A. members, including John Moffatt, donned the tin badge of the corporation thug, which gave them the right to swagger around town with a gun on their hip. 600 soldiers and three machine guns were rushed into the mining towns about Glace Bay. During the summer months, specially on Saturday nights, these gun men without reason, or warning would swoop down on the town of Glace Bay flaunting their naked knives in the air, and hustle peaceable strikers from the side-walk into the street. The strikers were arrested in scores on frivolous and trumped-up charges and thrown into jail. Two continents were ransacked and everybody that could be induced to take a free trip to Glace Bay, was given one, in the hope that he would remain there a strike-breaker. Scabs and thugs were expected to break the strike. They failed. One month after another sped away and the men still stuck to each other. Meantime the coal company with its "loyal" P. W. A. men and imported scabs had managed to raise their daily output a few thousand tons. Winter again arrived; enraged at its inability to break the strike with jails, thugs, and scabs the Dominion Coal Company like another Nero or Nana Sahib turned its ferocity against tender women and little children. During the past winter months hundreds of mothers with crying, clinging, trembling little children hanging to their dresses, have been evicted from their homes, and thrown on to the streets in blinding snow storms, with the glass ranging from zero to 18 below. Neither youth, age, sex nor sickness appealed successfully to these pitiless iron-hearted ruffians. An old and obsolete law was resurrected and

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the peoples' belongings taken for back rent, and some families were left with nothing but what they stood up in.

The strikers have weathered the rigours of another Canadian winter imbued with the spirit that it would be better to fill a freeman's grave than a coward's job.

Some weeks ago the old management resigned, which means that they had conferred on them the ancient and honorable Order of the Sack. A new superintendent and general manager were appointed. Press and pulpit rang with the praises of the new men. For a few weeks all evictions were stopped. Men were let out on suspended sentences, honeyed words were now tried where brutality had failed. The men had been fighting for ten months for something substantial, and refused to go back to work on promises which appeared to them pretty little airy nothings. The mask was then dropped and seventeen families thrown on to the street. Men out, on suspended sentences were arrested and placed in jail, One fellow, who had the hardihood to leave the employ of these good, God fearing men and join the strikers, had his home entered at midnight by a band of thugs and he and his family driven off the "company's property" four hours after he had joined the U. M. W. of A.

The fight has cost the U. M. W. of A. three-quarters of a million, and to-day preparations are under way to tie up every mine in Nova Scotia, if a settlement is not effected at an early date. If the other operators refuse the demands of their men, then we can settle down for another years fight. The men here will win fighting, or lose fighting; give up till the last dollar is spent they never will.

It has been a grand time for socialist propaganda. Hundreds of the men imported were the discontented of the capitalist countries of Europe. They thought they saw an escape from capitalist oppression by taking the free passes handed out by the Dominion Coal Company. The coal company thought it was importing scabs when it was really bringing men who shall be its grave diggers. The writer visited a shack where sixteen of these men were; a U. M. W. of A. interpreter told them I was an officer of the U. M. W. They grinned and nodded; not one of them speaking a word of English. He then said, I was a member of Glace Bay socialist local. That did the trick, in a moment they were round me shaking my hand and the grins gave place to beaming faces.

The local comrades have taken advantage while the miners were in a mood to think and have spread the literature of socialism amongst them, where, hitherto stoic conservativeism reigned, it is now fast becoming red. On the whole the fight has been good for us all.

"Fair flies life amid the struggle,
And the cause for each shall choose."

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

By I. M. Robbins.

. . The Solution: A Prophecy and a Remedy. . .



IF amalgamation is to continue, it is evidently probable only at the very fringe of the negro race among those members of it, among whom "crossing the hue" is frequent, to whom the entire status of the negro applies most cruelly, most unreasonably. There a racial prejudice often rises to destroy the happiness of innocent people, as for instance in the splendid play, the Nigger, which was presented to the New York public at the New Theatre last winter. Where biological and esthetical reasons no longer exist, there the emancipation of the negro race will make further amalgamation possible.

It is possible to imagine that in the indefinite future such a legitimate amalgamation at the fringe will lead to completed amalgamation of the negro race. Professor Giddings a few years ago made that prediction, to the horror of the Southern Aristocracy, the same aristocracy, which often secretly gossips about the drop of African blood in this or that exclusive family. Of course, it is quite evident, that as a practical problem this far delayed process need not cause any one sleepless nights at present. Whether the light increase of legitimate amalgamation will overcome the decline in illegitimate relations, consequent upon the moral, intellectual and economic improvement of the negro race, is a statistical problem with too many unknown quantities to permit of an exact solution. But supposing such a result is inevitable, what are its historical horrors?

The 10,000,000 negroes represent scarcely more than 10 per cent of our population. Were we able to estimate the exact proportion of white blood in the veins of these ten millions negroes then the proportion of negro blood to the entire sum total of ethnic elements of this country would dwindle down perceptibly. Add to this the continuous flow of white immigration, which is a constant factor, depressing the percentage of negro blood. In another century the negroes, even including all the quasi-negroes, will represent no more than four or five percent. Their entire amalgamation would introduce one twentieth or one twenty-fifth into the Caucasian race. Is our conceit

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really so great as to actually make us believe that this is a danger to our national efficiency? There are hundreds and perhaps thousands of "white" men and women, highly esteemed by their friends, who have more than that amount of negro blood.

The scare of amalgamation is a phantom, which consciously or unconsciously, the Southerner holds before our eyes, in justification of his anti-negro policy and in furtherance of his brutal exploitation of negro labor.

Our ideal has been defined and defended. Is there any historical justification for it? Is it a dream or a prophecy? Thus we come to the second element in the solution of the negro problem.

It is quite easy to put a wet blanket over the hope of ultimate negro emancipation. As we have shown repeatedly, recent years have brought about a decided aggravation of the negro's position. The curtailment of his rights goes on, and anti-negro riots become more frequent, the specific southern sentiment is no longer local—it gradually extends over the rest of the country, because of the diffusion of the negro population, as A. H. Stone insists, and often even in advance of it, by direct psychological infection following the diffusion of the white southerners throughout northern cities. Even Booker Washington in the privacy of his study is discouraged and pessimistic at times, though insisting on the platform and in interviews that everything must turn out well in the end. The protests of the few radical negro leaders remain voices in the wilderness thus far. History does not favor the negro at present.

But... history does not move in straight lines. Under pressure of economic forces it follows the line of least resistance, no matter how roundabout and crooked. The logic of social evolution is not the logic of a human mind shaping itself to a purpose. And a careful analysis of the social forces, blindly acting, does to my mind, point at one sign of hope and promise for the negro. And that is the negro's resistance, the negro's reaction to the white man's oppression.

In her lectures to the American audiences Mrs. Pankhurst very wisely pointed out that no element in society succeeded in gaining its rights in face of the opposition of the oppressors until it has made a nuisance of itself. This conforms with the socialist philosophy that the emancipation of the downtrodden must be the result of their own efforts, or as our Russian socialist friends eloquently express it in their motto: "Through struggle shall thou gain thy rights."

Dissatisfaction and protest is the first step to resistance and struggle, and the dissatisfaction of the American negro must inevitably grow. All educational activity among the negroes tends to increase this dissatisfaction, the agitation of the radical negro tends to in-

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crease it, and even the sermon of economic betterment so meekly taught by Booker Washington, works in the same direction, in so far as it produces more efficient, more intelligent and more prosperous negro workmen.

We may therefore assume that the forces of negro dissatisfaction must eventually be measured by the entire strength of the negro population. It is perfectly clear however, that by themselves the negroes will ever be in a hopeless minority, and therefore unable to influence legislation, or forcibly acquire the rights, which are unjustly denied them. It it because of this evident helplessness that the negroes have been forced to hold tenaciously to the Republican party as their only ally, and as with the growth of industrialism and the protective spirit, the South is rapidly turning republican, all interest for the negro has entirely been lost, and the negro for the first time feels that he is without white friends.

But in political struggles sentimental friends are very much less to be depended upon than business allies. Were a united white race confronting the negroes of this country, his position, in view of the present attitude towards the negro, would appear to be almost a hopeless one. But the 80 million white men and women are not so united, and among the struggling factions of the white race the negro must look for his most trustworthy ally.

Thus far this is cool and business-like politics. When the question is asked, what element of the white population will want to join hands with the negro, the answer is: only that element which will be forced to do so, that element which will find itself on the same side of the fight as the negro: the American workingclass.

The present relations between these two social groups are such that our prophecy will seem to the negro but an idle dream, and the white workingmen, the vast majority of them, and practically all of them in the South, will dismiss it with disgust. The present antagonism between the white and the negro workingmen may be said to represent the most acute aspect of the negro problem. For barring, perhaps, the occasional outburst of violence and bloodshed, nothing hurts the negro as much, and nothing raises his wrath so as does the opposition of white labor to his efforts to obtain a footing in the industrial field, or to retain it after having once won it. "Granted that you do not want us in your parlor, nor in your cars, theaters, libraries, nor on your juries, or in your civil service; and granted that you have decided to keep us out of all political life, and to deny us ally and help in the preparation of laws under which we must live, or the levying of taxes, which we must pay—surely, surely, you must give

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us an opportunity to pursue peacefully our trades and to earn a living."

This very thing the white workmen, whether organized or not, do deny the negro laborer, unless he is willing to remain satisfied with the lowest and least remunerative employment.

Thus the white and negro workmen are not only not allied in their economic struggle, but are actually engaged now in suicidal struggle, a struggle, it must be admitted, of the white man's making.

And right here the philosophy of political struggle comes in. In this peculiar struggle between white and negro labor, capital will invariably be found on the side of negro labor. This struggle furnishes the only opportunity for southern capital to become fond of the negro, and appreciative of the negro's rights. Thus with the help of southern white capital, negro labor is enabled to become a very great nuisance and danger for white labor.

Unless we are ready to deny all intelligence in the American workman, we must admit that the only possible way to counteract this nuisance, to avoid that danger, is for the American workman to enter into an alliance with the negro competitor and thus realize the principle, that "when combination is possible, competition becomes impossible." It is because I can look a little further into the future, and see the inevitable developments, that I welcome such struggles as the one that recently arose on the Georgia Railroad, for they help to clear the issues. And personally, I confess, that I can not repress my satisfaction when the negro laborer succeeds in beating his white brother, even if it be with the help of his employer. For the childish attitude of the southern white workman needs that lesson.

It is idle for the white workman to depend upon the negro hater's fairy tales of the negro's inability to enter industrial life. Southern capital is willing to defend this theory—on paper, until a real labor struggle setts in. And, of late, northern capital has learned to depend upon negro scabs as well. The vast contributions to the industrial schools of the type of Tuskegee and Hampton should by this time have opened the eyes of the American workman, to the fact, that the entrance of negro labor into industrial life of the country is a question of time only and cannot be resisted. A priori, the Socialist could have predicted that. Or was it to be assumed for a moment that 10,000,000 good strong pairs of arms would be left forever ununionized in the process of extracting surplus value?

And thus here and there, in the North and even in the South, labor unions are forced to organize the negro workers or to admit them into their own unions on certain terms of equality. Either this movement must grow, or the number of negro scabs must grow, and

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destroy the white man's union. For nothing would be more dangerous, not to say detrimental, to the entire cause of organized labor, than the systematic breeding of a large body of embittered "scabs," scabs out of choice, necessity and principle, scabs who are now taught by their own negro leaders, that their only chance to succeed is to underbid the organized white workman.

And what is true of the economic struggle must sooner or later be true of the political struggle as well.

It is not necessary for me to go into extended discussions concerning the importance of the political struggle for the betterment and final emancipation of the working class. But in this field the negro may at present appear to be absolutely powerless and therefore useless as an ally. Nevertheless, arbitrary as have been curtailments of the negro's political rights, his political influence has not altogether been destroyed. And if this country is ever to see a powerful, influential political labor movement, it will be forced to take the negro into account.

The developments we are discussing will not take place in the immediate future, but in analysing as large and broad a problem as this, it is not wise to hedge one self within narrow time limits. We are dealing here with broad historical tendencies and these point towards certain directions. The diffusion of negroes throughout the country must proceed at an accellerated rate. The breaking up of the solid democratic South will, though slowly, reestablish in some degree the political rights of some negroes in the South. The repeated failures of the disfranchisement amendments in Maryland, even the failure of Vardaman's senatorial campaign in Mississippi point in that direction. And with the quiet balancing of powers in the bitter political struggles between capital and labor which this country must go through in some more or less distant future, the actual balance may be formed in the hands of isolated minorities. Will the fear of amalgamation, will the objection to "parlor" equality always be strong enough to prevent the American white workman from joining hands with his natural economic ally, and thus force him to remain the political as well as economic scab in employ of the moneyed minority?

Thus in the very struggle for emancipation, and not only after achieving the victory, will the American white working class be forced to join hands with the negro, and in return help him obtain his final goal—the economic and legal equality, not out of humanitarian considerations or because of a abstract desire to solve an interesting sociological problem.

Is an ideal and a prophecy sufficient? The poet is satisfied with the dream of the golden age in the future, the calm student and

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philosopher studies things as they were, as they are and as they will be. But we are not all poets or philosophers, and a sorry world it would be if we were. The ordinary man, the man of action, when confronted with a difficult problem, asks: What shall I do? And only through the collective action of all these men is the prophecy and ideal realized. Whence the popularity of remedies, whether scientific or otherwise. It will be utterly futile, for me, therefore to avoid prescribing for the social disease I have described and analysed at such length.

Of remedies for the solution of the negro problem there are many more, even than there are ideals concerning the nature of the inevitable solution—for even when agreeing concerning the ideal, people may and do disagree about the best, quickest and easiest way of reaching it. Supposing we agreed that the ony way to solve the negro problem was to get rid of the negro. Still there would be many different opinions about the best way to get rid of him: whether to forcibly ship him back to Africa, or to let him die off gradually by refusing him all knowledge of the laws of life and health, or to kill them off, which manifestly would be the quickest way.

But obviously it is unnecessary to subject to a minute and careful scrutiny all the different remedies proposed, as for instance the very elaborate plan of Rickett, to ship them to Africa, developed in a book of 600 pages. Nor need we spend too much time whether Vardaman's plan of denying all schooling to the negro, or the industrial institutes and schools for servants are the best method to teach the negro, "his proper station in life." Speaking as I do, to American workingmen and socialists, and assuming the ideal and the prophecy, which I have developed above—I want to consider one question only: What can the radical American workingman and the American Socialist do to help along the negro's struggle for emancipation, and to make him an ally, rather than an obstruction and an enemy to the American working class in its struggle for emancipation?

In Socialist literature the problem is not a new one. In the International Socialist Review alone, before this series of articles began, I counted as many as ten articles on the negro problem. Such authoritative thinkers and leaders as Debs, Darrow, Meily and Vail have participated in these discussions, in addition to Southern comrades, qualified to speak because of their local interest in and first hand knowledge of the problem.

It is a sad fact nevertheless that there is very little interest concerning the negro problem among the Socialists outside of the narrow circles of Southern locals. Perhaps the first advice that must be given

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to the American Socialists is to pay a good deal more attention to this as to other practical problems of American life.

In so far as the Socialists have paid attention to this problem, however, it is somewhat difficult to define their attitude on the problem, or at least on its practical aspects of it. If one wants to limit himself to the official expressions of opinions such as are contained in the platform and formal party resolutions, one may get a fairly definite point of view. But I cannot help feeling that, with all due deference to official party resolutions, that they do not often reflect the true opinion of the body of the party members; and in any case there is never that unanimity of opinion which the consideration of official documents alone might lead us to assume.

Moreover, one fails to find very many expressions of official opinion. The "negro resolutions" adopted at the national convention of 1900 are specific:

> "Resolved, that we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world."

But one fails to find similar expressions of opinion in the labor platforms of either 1904 or 1908. As far as I was able to discover, the word "negro" fails to appear in either platform, and even in the demands enumerated in the platform of 1904 and much more thoroughly in the platform of 1908, there is none that even by construction can be made to apply to the peculiar grievances of the negro. Even the model state and municipal platforms presented to the National Convention of 1909 by a special committee avoid this matter. And yet discriminations against the negro are frequent in municipal, state and national life.

About the only demand, that by implication may be said to favor the negro, is the immediate demand:

"Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women."

But if in framing these demands the negro was actually kept in mind,—why were the Socialists, "in convention assembled" afraid to say so plainly? Was it because they were afraid to step on the toes of a few Southern delegates?

Is this fair? Is it wise? Is it practical?

Don't tell me, that the Socialist's justice towards the negro is self-understood! Why should the radical negro make such an assumption? Have the American labor unions inspired him with such faith in the fairness and justice of the American white workingman? Haven't some of the most radical of the American politicians,

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such as Bryan and Watson, remained thoroughly reactionary as far as the negro is concerned? How does the radical negro, how does a Du Bois or a Trotter know that Socialists will treat him any better?

Socialist philosophy is incompatible with negro repression, you say? How is the negro to know it? And are you so very sure that the cooperative commonwealth is unthinkable with Jim Crow cars, and other characteristic virtues of modern Soutehrn life?

I know, that in thus pleading for a "clear cut, uncompromising, revolutionary" negro plank in our national platform I go contrary to the opinions of the highest authorities on the Socialist movement.

Says Eugene V. Debs, (or at least, he did say some 6 or 7 years ago):

"Permit me to express the hope that the next convention may repeal the resolutions on the negro question. The negro does not need them and they serve to increase rather than diminish the necessity for explanation.

We have nothing special to offer the negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races.

"The Socialist party is the party of the working class, regardless of color—the whole working class of the whole world."*

Nevertheless, such is the irony of circumstances, that only two months later Debs himself was forced to quote this long resolution verbatim, because "it constitutes a vital part of the national platform of the Socialist party and clearly defines its attitude towards the negro."**

The negro resolution thus proved useful sooner than expected, and would prove useful again.

Far be it from me to question even for a moment the sincerity and humanity of as broadhearted a man as Debs. But wasn't the attitude as quoted in the lengthy extract above, really begging the entire question?

The Socialist party in this country "in convention assembled" does not make the platform for the Socialist movement of the world, but for the United States only, and in these United States, there is a negro problem, and there is no Swedish or Irish problem. For this reason no "separate appeals to all the races" are necessary, but a special appeal to the negro is necessary, for the special grievances which he suffers from are to him no less real than the general grievances of each and every wage-earner. And when Comrade Debs says: "Properly speaking, there is no negro question outside of the

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*) I. S. R., Vol. V., 6. 260, Sov., 1903. ("The Negro in the Class Struggle.")
**) I. S. R., Vol. V., p. 392, Jan., 1904 ("The Negro and its Nemesis.")

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labor question" he voices an opinion, sincerely held by many Socialists, but unfortunately contradited by facts of every day experience.

In the last analysis our attitude upon this one special problem of modern economic and social life will depend upon our general point of view upon the proper aims and objects of the Socialist movement. And here I feel full well, that I may come in conflict with the views of Comrade Kerr and those of the International Socialist Review, but the reader surely understands that no one but myself is to be held responsible for anything I may here state. Is the Socialist movement a movement exclusively shaped for the purpose of accomplishing the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth without further regard for anything that happens before that final goal is achieved, or is it the expression of all the economic and political aspirations of the workingclass in the immediate present as well as in the more or less distant future when that final revolution will become an immediate issue?

Until very recently, the former opinion was held by a vast majority of the American Socialists. It is evidently this conception that prompts Debs to say, "with the 'nigger' question, the 'race war' from the capitalist view point we have nothing to do. In capitalism the negro question is a grave one and will grow more threatening as the contradictions and complications of capitalist society multiply, but this need not worry us. Let them settle the negro question in their way, if they can. We have nothing to do with it, for that is their fight."

But if, as the evolution of the Socialist movement in this country during the last five years has unmistakenly demonstrated, anything that concerns the working class in the present is also a concern of the Socialist party, if in 1908 it was thought necessary to present eighteen specific industrial, political and social demands, including such as the abolition of the senate, woman suffrage, conservation of health, a creation of a department of health and what not, can we still consistently hold that the race friction is "their fight"? When the engineers and firemen of the Georgia Railroad insisted upon the discharge of the negro firemen, because they were **negroes**, and the later were supported by the Railroad managers, who ostensibly demonstrated a greater humanitarian feeling then the white fellow wage-earner, was the fight between white and black wage-earners **their fight** or was it **our fight?** No, comrades, it will not do to avoid the issue. Every struggle of this nature (and they are rapidly multiplying) is an indication that the situation is becoming graver, and every struggle of this kind that the Socialists disregard is an opportunity lost.

And supposing it were understood by the negroes that the So-

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cialists (under socialism) expect to grant the negro his right to work and the "full enjoyment of the product of his labor?" Is that enough? Will that convince the negro that the Socialist movement is his movement?

"Socialism," says a Southern writer, "is primarily an economic and industrial movement, the object of which is to secure to every man, white and black alike, economic justice and equality in the full enjoyment of the product of his labor."*

Only economic and industrial? Does it not also strive for political and social justice in its broadest sense?

Shouldn't we at least explain to the negro, that having no interest in his economic exploitation, we shall for the same reason not undertake to keep up his political and social repression, and will not hold to the psychological superstructure after the economic basis is gone?

And thus I am ready to offer my first prescription: The Socialist party must take a definite attitude on the negro problem, and must not be afraid to proclaim. And this attitude must include something, a good deal more tangible than the promise of "full products of one's labor in the cooperative commonwealth." It must include, if it to be logical and honest—a clear, unmistakable demand for the entire abolition of all **legal** restriction of the rights of the negro. Only on this ground will it ever succeed in proving to the negro, that the Socialist party is his party, not only in the future but in the present.

Including "social equality?" shall many a southern socialist exclaim, horrified.

I beg your pardon, but do you mean "social" equality—equality of social rights, or parlor equality in the individual home? If the former, by all means. And as to the latter, that is **one** thing the Socialist movement has no concern with. Whether you will insist upon receiving at your **home** only white persons, or only bleached blonds, or only Presbyterians, or only musical people—is no concern to the Socialist—But mind you, this is true **only as far as your home is concerned.**

And it was undoubtedly this loose and confused thinking that permitted the use of term "social equality" when the question of mixed locals arose in Louisiana some five years ago. What has the Socialist local to do with your home? And when the Southern Socialists pleaded the prejudices of the "comrades of the gentler sex", one might ask how many Socialist comrades there are among the "gentler sex" in the South?

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*) Socialism and the Negro, by E. F. Andrews, (Inter. Soc. Review V, p. 524, March, 1905.)

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Of course the National Organization may permit, as Comrade Eraste Vidrine suggested,* the negroes of any locality to organize negro branches, as it permits the organization of Polish, Italian, Jewish and other branches. But the problem is, shall the Socialist organization permit any local to discharge an Italian because he is an Italian, a Jew because he is a Jew, a Catholic because he is a Catholic, or.... a Negro, because he is a Negro?

The "social" life, concomitant upon Socialist organization, (i. e. entertainments and festivals) have often been urged as an unsourmountable difficulty against admitting negroes to Socialist locals. Here again is there a hopeless mixture of civic rights and "parlor" privileges. The difficulty is exaggerated, for the more intelligent negro (and he is the only possible candidate for membership) has no desire to invade himself upon a society in which he is not welcome. Besides, it is no secret, that in cities with a mixed population the festivities and entertainments of the Socialists are conducted on national (and for all I know may be conducted even on religious) lines.

But in thus committing himself in the most flatfooted fashion against any discriminations against the negro, within the limits of his own organization, the Socialist will not have done his entire duty by the negro, nor by the rest of the American working class.

The attitude of the Socialist movement on this all important problem must not only be passively correct and decent, but actively agressive. Armed with the true Marxian explanation of the negro's economic, political and legal status, and the thorough understanding of the only satisfactory, inevitable and necessary solution, the Socialist party has a sacred duty before it:

1. It must make an earnest effort to convince the growing negro radical element, that as economic exploitation was the cause of the dismal fate of the negroes in the past, their only hope in the future lies in joining hands with the movement towards the curtailment and final abolition of the economic exploitation.

And it must make a still more earnest and energetic effort to convince the American labor movement, as expressed in labor and trade unions, that in resisting the economic and civic growth of the negro it is simply building obstructions in its way.

In other words, the Socialist movement, viewing the labor problem in its entirety, not in any utopian or phantastic way, but practically, and yet seeing much further than the immediate narrow

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*) "Negro Locals," I. S. R. Vol V., p. 390, (Jan., 1905.)

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interests of this or that little group for higher wages or a privileged position—the Socialist movement must make the one practical effort necessary to direct the negro problem into the narrow channel towards its true solution.

Will we be wise enough to do it?

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of absolute feudalism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. — Communist Manifesto.

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The Ballot.

By Frank Bohn.

IGHTY YEARS OF SENSE AND NON-SENSE.

CHAPTER I.

1827-35. The American Labor Movement resolved to "strike at the ballot box." It strikes. A fake "labor" party is organized. The genuine party is shattered and the "strike at the ballot-box" fails.

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CHAPTER II.

1867-94. The National Labor Union and Knights of Labor make use, indirectly and sporadically, of the ballot. Weakness and compromise prevent definite results. Capitalist politicians help to break up the Knights of Labor.

CHAPTER III.

1882-1908. The American Federation of Labor clings unswervingly to the policy of "No politics in the union." But this slogan does not keep out the great hosts of ward-healers who find local unions and central bodies the most smoothly running parts of their machines.

1908-10. The American Federation of Labor invites Republicans and Democratic politicians into its service. Everyone whose election they advocate is defeated.

1910. The American Federation of Labor inclines toward a craft-unionized "labor" party. Limbs of the party succeed in being born dead.

CHAPTER IV.

1895-1905. The Socialist Labor Party sets up the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance to teach the workers to "strike at the ballot box" for the S. L. P. There was no great striking done.

CHAPTER V.

1900-10. A large portion of the membership of the Socialist Party declare that unions are but passing phases of a better past; that in the evil present they had better get off the earth and clear the way for the "strike at the ballot box."

CHAPTER VI.

1905-06. The Industrial Workers of the World is organized with the Western Federation of Miners and several other industrial unions as

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departments. It declares that all the workers must organize as a class, by industries in the shop, and by municipalities, states and nations at the ballot box. They must strike, says the I. W. W., at both places—strike for something to-day, for more to-morrow, and for the world, when sufficiently organized.

CHAPTER VII.

1906-10. A number of very active and revolutionary industrial unionists, becoming disgusted with the efforts of a Socialist political sect to control the I. W. W., and of another Socialist political element to keep erect the falling hopes of craft unionism, turn their backs on the "capitalist" ballot box.

CHAPTER VIII.

1910. "A shout is heard like thunder peal,
Like dashing wave and clash of steel"—
"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE."

CHAPTER IX.

1910. Some things needful are found wanting. Among these, a socialist propaganda which teaches facts and a common desire on the part of socialists to work in harmony where agreement is possible.

"A" says that politics in the union has never gained anything, that the craft unions are alright, but that they would do better if they would teach the workers how to do more work and thus satisfy the employers and get higher pay for the membership. "B" says that the unions are getting the slippery end of the stick, that they had better go into politics on their own account and protect their funds which they have been so long in hoarding. "C" comes around to the union hall from a Socialist meeting and tells the fellows there that they had better adjourn. Socialism is the only solution of the labor problem. Vote for Socialism. People always get what they vote for. That's the way Rockefeller and Morgan got theirs, you know. "D" is sometimes a trifle mean about it. He is said to fly off the handle and call the others hard names. All his fellow-workers think him to be somewhat of a nuisance. He has the audacity to ask that the same principles be adhered to at the ballot-box as in the union and vice-versa. If the workers are to fight the capitalists in the union why not on election day? If they are to organize as a class at the ballot-box, why not in the union? "E" simplifies matters. He declares that the capitalists themselves do not respect the ballot; that, if the workers are organized as a class by industries in the shops they will not need to register their will with pieces of paper; that, as force is the foundation of law, to conduct political arguments and fight political campaigns is to worship at the shrine of outworn superstitions. Thus the circle is made complete. To be sure, it is a circle of opponents nagging and kicking at each other, instead of brothers hand in hand.

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WHAT IT CAN DO AND WHAT IT CANNOT DO.

For an example of all that is great and successful in the Socialist movement we are in the habit of pointing to Germany. Social and industrial Germany is distinguished by two facts. Its Socialist movement is much the largest of all the great nations. Its social reform legislation has been most far-reaching and effective. Of course, we need not be told that we have here simply cause and effect; but how has the effect been secured?

The social reforms which have bettered the condition of the German working class, stamped out the slums from the German cities, and kept the type from degeneracy, were adopted not *by* Socialists but *against* Socialists. In the war upon socialism, Bismarck and the heirs of Bismarck have made every effort to remove from themselves the stigma of utter carelessness as regards the working class. Thus the largest and most powerful Socialist party in the world has secured the most effective results without having ever written a law on the statute books, without controlling a single administrative or judicial office, without compromising the high, clear position of the great founders of the German movement.

To me this is one of the two most significant facts in the history of International Socialism.

In how far is the experience applicable to America? To be sure, the peculiar form of organization and tactics of each national socialist party must spring from the peculiar industrial and political conditions of that nation. The history of America and conditions now facing the working class lead relentlessly to definite conclusions. These conclusions, in so far as they have to do with politics, I shall here state. The sources from which they are drawn cannot, of course, be here published.

Positively, a working class socialist party, through legislative, executive and judicial action, can be a powerful support to the labor union movement. It can prevent adverse legislation, use of police and military by and for the capitalists in strikes, and injunctions.

Negatively, it can force excellent reform legislation from capitalist-ruled municipalities, states, and the federal government.

Positively, it can be as great a revolutionary propaganda force as any class union, but in a different way. The union teaches practical organization and inspires the revolutionary spirit through class action. The party teaches, primarily, great principles, and inspires the revolutionary spirit through emphasizing the ideal.

The immediate demands of the workers must be *shop* demands. The step-at-a-time victories must be *shop* victories. These must lead ultimately to the working class government of the shop. Such essential victories to-day, to-morrow, and in the storm and stress of revolution, will be won by the revolutionary class union with the help of the party; not by the party with the help of the union.

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EDITORIAL

The Socialist Congress and the Immigration Question.

The Review goes to press too early for any adequate account of the Socialist Congress which came together in Chicago on May 15. The first four days were given to the preliminary work of organization and to a prolonged and vigorous discussion of the question of immigration. We can therefore give our readers a clearer idea of the work of the Congress by attempting this month little more than a report of the proceedings on this one subject, and reserving the rest for next month.

Two years ago the National Convention appointed a committee of five, consisting of Victor L. Berger, Guy E. Miller, John Spargo, Joshua Wanhope and Ernest Untermann, to study the question of Immigration and report on it to the Congress of 1910. The majority report was signed by Comrades Berger, Untermann and Wanhope, and the minority report by Spargo, Miller being absent. As both reports were long, we summarize them.

Summary of Majority Report

In the struggle for the realization of our social ideals, the Socialist Party should combat those tendencies of the capitalist system which weaken the workers, and assist those tendencies which strengthen them. Sometimes the party in acting for the immediate interests of the working class, must come into apparent conflict with its ultimate ideals. This is unavoidable; we work toward our ultimate ideals through and despite these immediate contradictions. The Socialist Party, in its present activities, can not outrun the general development of the working class, but must keep step with it.

In advocating restricted immigration or the temporary exclusion of certain races, we are not necessarily in contradiction with the essential principles of solidarity of the working class. We believe that this policy may under present conditions be the most effective means of promoting ultimate solidarity.

We agree with the conclusions of the International Congress that immigration and emigration of workingmen are phenomena inseparable from the substance of capitalism; also that it is the duty of organized workingmen to protect themselves against the lowering of the standard of life which frequently results from the mass import of unorganized workingmen.

We therefore endorse every demand made and position taken by the International Congress on this question, except those passages which refer to specific restrictions or to the exclusion of definite races or nations. We do not believe that such measures are necessarily "fruitless and reactionary", as stated by the International Congress, but on the contrary are convinced that any measures which do not conform to the immediate interests of the working class of the United States are fruitless and reactionary.

We advocate the unconditional exclusion of Chinese, Japanese, Coreans and Hindus, not as races per se, not as peoples with definite physiological characteristics,—but for the evident reason that these peoples occupy definite portions of the earth which are so far behind the general modern development of industry, psychologically as well as economically, that they constitute

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a drawback, an obstacle and menace to the progress of the most aggressive, militant and intelligent elements of our working class population.

Comrade Spargo in his minority report began by quoting the resolutions adopted by the International Congress at Stuttgart, and as a knowledge of these is almost essential to an understanding of this whole discussion, we reprint them in full.

Resolutions of the International Congress at Stuttgart

Immigration and emigration of workingmen are phenomena as inseparable from the substance of capitalism as unemployment, overproduction and underconsumption of the workingmen; they are frequently one of the means to reduce the share of the workingmen in the product of labor, and at times they assume abnormal dimensions through political, religious and national persecutions.

The congress does not consider exception measures of any kind, economic or political, the means for removing any danger which may arise to the working class from immigration and emigration, since such measures are fruitless and reactionary, especially not the restriction of the freedom of emigration and the exclusion of foreign nations and races.

At the same time the congress declares it to be the duty of organized workingmen to protect themselves against the lowering of their standard of life, which frequently results from the mass import of unorganized workingmen. The congress declares it to be their duty to prevent the import and export of strike breakers.

The congress recognizes the difficulties which in many cases confront the workingmen of the countries of a more advanced stage of capitalist development through the mass immigration of unorganized workingmen accustomed to a lower standard of life and coming from the countries of prevalently agricultural and domestic civilization, and also the dangers which confront them in certian forms of immigration.

But the congress sees no proper solution of these difficulties in the exclusion of definite nations or races from immigration, a policy which is besides in conflict with the principle of proletarian solidarity.

The congress, therefore, recommends the followng measures:

I.—For the countries of Immigration—

1. Prohibition of the export and import of such workingmen who have entered into a contract which deprives them of the liberty to dispose of their labor power and wages.

2. Legislation shortening the workday, fixing a minimum wage, regulating the sweating system and house industry and providing for strict supervision of sanitary and dwelling conditions.

3. Abolition of all restrictions which exclude definite nationalities or races from the right to sojourn in the country and from the political and economic rights of the natives or make the acquisition of these rights more difficult for them. It also demands the greatest latitude in the laws of naturalization.

4. For the trade unions of all countries the following principles shall have universal applicaton in connection with it:

(a) Unrestricted admission of immigrated workingmen to the trade unions of all countries.

(b) Facilitating the admission of members by means of fixing reasonable admission fees.

(c) Free transfer from organizations of one country to those of the other upon the discharge of the membership obligations towards the former organization.

(d) The making of international trade union agreements for the purpose of regulating these questions in a definite and proper manner and enabling the realization of these principles on an international scope.

5. Support of trade unions of those countries from which the immigration is chiefly recruited.

II.—For the Countries of Emigration—

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1. Active propoganda for trade unionism.
2. Enlightenment of the workingman and the public at large on the true condition of labor in the countries of immigration.
3. Concerted action on the part of the trade unions of all countries in all matters of labor immigration and emigration.

In view of the fact that emigration of workingmen is often artificially stimulated by railway and steamship companies, land speculators and other swindling concerns, through false and lying promises to workingmen the congress demands:

Control of the steamship agencies and emigration bureaus and legal and administrative measures against them in order to prevent that emigration be abused in the interests of such capitalist concerns.

III. Regulation of the system of transportation, especially on ships. Employment of inspectors with discretionary powers, who should be selected by the organized working men of the countries of emigraton and immigration. Protection for the newly arrived immigrants, in order that they may not become the victims of capitalist exploiters.

In view of the fact that the transport of emigrants can only be regulated on an international basis, the congress directs the International Socialist bureau to prepare suggestions for the regulation of this question, which shall deal wth the conditions, arrangements and supplies of the ships, the air space to be allowed for each passenger as a minimum, and shall lay special stress that the individual emigrants contract for their passage directly with the transportation companies and without intervention of middlemen. These suggestions shall be communicated to the various Socialist parties for the purpose of legislative application and adaptation, as well as for the purpose of propaganda.

Summary of Minority Report

The International Congress is merely an advisory body; its decisions are not binding on us. We in America must determine our own position in the light of our own experience. No other nation has an immigration problem like that of the United States. More than a million immigrants come here each year, mostly from countries where the standards of living are inferior to ours.

Such immigrants, for a time at least, until they can become organized, become tools of the capitalist class against organized labor, since they accept wages and working conditions inferior to those prevailing.

The organized proletariat of this country must, through its political organization, the Socialist Party, and through the labor unions, make a supreme effort to break down the barriers which keep the immigrant workers outside of the organized working class movement. It is the task of the nation, and even more of the working class of the nation to overcome the barriers of race, language and custom which divide our class.

We affirm that the central, fundamental principle of Socialism is the class struggle, that it is the duty of the Socialist movement to fight the battle of the working class for a higher standard of living, and, if necessary, to require the total exclusion of a race which menaces this.

But we believe the movement for Asiatic exclusion is due to a misunderstanding of the facts. The volume of this immigration is at present too small to constitute any serious menace, and there are no signs of an immediate increase. And most of the Asiatic immigration of the present time is practically contract labor. It is artificially stimulated, subsidized immigration against which the party, in conformity with the Stuttgart resolution, stands with all labor organizations. Only by controlling the political powers can our class secure protection from the menace of the mass immigration of contract laborers.

A substitute for both the majority and minority reports was introduced by Morris Hillquit of New York.

Hillquit's Substitute

The Socialist party of the United States favors all legislative measures tending to prevent the immigration of strike breakers and contract laborers

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and the mass importation of workers from foreign countries, brought about by the employing classes for the purpose of weakening the organization of American labor and of lowering the standard of life of the American workers.

The party is opposed to the exclusion of any immigrants on account of their race or nationality, and demands that the United States be at all times maintained as a free asylum for all men and women persecuted by the governments of their countries on account of their politics, religion or race.

Comrade Untermann, in his opening address, claimed that it was impossible to get the Asiatic laborers to understand the principles of labor organization, much less of socialism. Comrade Berger supported the policy of exclusion arguing that immigration from foreign countries, even European countries, did lower and does lower the standard of living. The trade union papers throughout the country, he declared, have hailed the Milwaukee victory as a trade union victory.

"And now are we to answer them by telling them that we Socialists after winning our first great victory want to admit the Chinese, want to admit the Japanese, that we stand for Corean labor? We are the party of the working men, only we don't want to stand for the things that will help them. Is that the idea? How ridiculous!"

As the debate progressed, however, it became evident that a large majority of the delegates were unalterably opposed to the report offered by the majority of the committee. Their objections were well summed up by Comrade Spargo in his closing speech, from which we quote:

"There is an issue between the majority and minority reports. The majority report takes this position: In its practical outcome it pledges American Socialists here and now to proceed with the advocacy of Asiatic exclusion. In its text it specifically repudiates the idea and suggestion that it is based upon race hatred, and the argument for it in the main has not been an argument upon a race basis on its face, Most of the delegates have argued that the Jap is a menace to our standards of living. Others, speaking for the majority report, have frankly confessed that that, in their judgment, is not the fact, and that in the last analysis their opposition was one of racial antagonism and antipathy. The text of the report says that it is not race discrimination, but the argument for the report says it is not merely race, it is race plus environment, and not even the dialectical skill of Comrade Untermann will be able to make clear to you how you can distinguish and differentiate the race from the environment. The environment of a race is back of that race life, and you cannot get away from it.

* * * *

"Think of the consequences of the adoption of the majority report. Here today are we of the Socialist Party, who are feeling its pulse, knowing that we live in a nation with a foreign-speaking proletariat, knowing that if ever the battle of labor is to be won in this country it must be by the foreign-speaking immigrant; think of what would happen if you are permitted to drive the entering wedge today. I tell you, if you want to bankrupt Socialism in America you can do it by adopting the majority report. I am not afraid to say that I am old-fashioned, that I will stand by old watchwords, old ties, old sentiments. Socialism is, after all, Comrade Gaylord, something more than the electing of mayors or aldermen. If you want to elect mayors only, you can do it. If you want to elect governors only, you can do it.

"While it may be true that my great-great-great-grandchildren may be forced to the necessity of raising their hands against the hands of their brothers, for myself I will not. You may call this bosh, if you will. You may say that the capitalist wants it, if you will. But I know better, and I know that the heart of this Socialist movement is that red bond of human blood and common aspiration which binds me to my brother in this great world struggle."

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At the conclusion of the debate, the final vote came upon the adoption of Hillquit's substitute. To explain the position of those who voted for this, we can not do better than to quote briefly from his closing speech:

I shall vote against the majority report wherein the principle of the exclusion of Asiatic races is raised. True enough, they say they are not to be excluded as races per se, but they go on and describe the reasons for exclusion, and those reasons are reasons describing the connection of a certain race as a race and nothing else.

I am opposed to Comrade Spargo's minority report, although again, I repeat that I am not opposed to Comrade Spargo. But I am violently opposed to the minority report, for it contains that principle of exclusion of races, and no matter how well Comrade Spargo argues for the contrary, his resolution says in distinct terms not capable of misunderstading, 'We cannot agree that such exclusion would, if determined upon, be in conflict with the principle of proletarian solidarity.' And further, 'We affirm in opposition to this declaration, that the central, fundamental principle of Socialism is the class struggle, and that it is the duty of the Socialist movement to fight the battle of the working class for higher standards of living, and to protect at all costs the measure of civilization we have obtained against capitalist forces which menace it,' and those forces are specifically stated as being or possibly being certain races.

Now, his exposition may be sound, but in principle it is the position of the majority. It is absolutely the same, except that Comrade Spargo makes the gratuitous additional statement that today there is no occasion for applying that principle. So then, I say that those standing against exclusion of races have no other alternative than the substitute before them.

The substitute was adopted by a vote of fifty-five to fifty, most of the negative votes coming from those who desired a more explicit declaration in favor of welcoming laborers from all countries.

It is perhaps to be regretted that so much of the time of the Congress was given up to the discussion of a minor question, of little practical importance in our propaganda. But it is most gratifying that the Congress refused to put itself into the attitude of chasing after votes, and took a stand in line with the best traditions of the revolutionary movement.

Another incident in which the same healthy tendency came out still more strongly, occurred just as we were closing the last form of the Review. The Farmers' Committee, through its chairman, A. M. Simons, brought in a report which vaguely advocated co-operation with the existing organizations of farm owners, and offered no definite suggestions except those embodied in a program adopted by the Socialist Party of Oklahoma. It is only fair to state that the committee did not explicitly endorse that program, but it submitted it as "offering suggestions born of experience and therefore more worthy of careful consideration than any that might spring from a purely theoretical and doctrinaire knowledge of the subject." This program embodied a measure exempting farm property to the extent of $1,000 from exemption and execution. It also contained a provision for the leasing of state lands to landless farmers at the prevailing share rent, the payment to cease when the payments equaled the value of the farm, and the farmer and his children then to

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be entitled to the possession of the farm for life. This is of course an essentially reactionary program, which if adopted would stamp us as politicians rather than revolutionists. But happily it excited no enthusiasm in the Congress. There was a chorus of disapproval, and the report was unanimously referred back to an enlarged committee to report to the convention of 1912.

Sparks from the National Convention.

We are glad the forms of the Review do not have to close before we can get in a few words about the spirit of the Convention held in Chicago, this month.

Many comrades of the revolutionary wing of the party feared that some of the old spirit of revolt would be lacking this year. Some of us feared that the party might be swung off its feet, and out of the path of progress into the snares of opportunism,—that we might forget our one great aim—the abolition of wage-slavery—for immediate and doubtful "victories." And now we are singing a song of great rejoicing.

Although the Convention is only half over and many of the proceedings have dragged along tiresomely, the re-union has strengthened those of us who had grown weary into renewed faith in the party and our comrades.

There were hot debates over tactics to be pursued by the Socialist Party in securing the ballot for women. Much to the surprise of the Convention some of the women delegates were in favor of a socialist union with suffrage societies.

Comrade Prevey of Ohio, said:

"I want to stand on the street corner and talk as a socialist and not as a suffragette."

Comrade Joe Cannon, of Arizona, gave a talk against catering to the society suffragette element. And, by the way, Comrade Joe Cannon can be depended upon to forge straight ahead for the revolution and the movement of the wage-workers for the abolition of capitalism. If we did not know where he stood before the Convention, his uncompromising stand upon each and every question was enough to inspire a wooden image. Count on Comrade Joe.

"I don't care for this dilettante and bon ton suffragette movement that would tend to disrupt the socialist party" said Comrade Cannon.

The vote of the Convention was almost unanimous to keep the socialist movement intact, class conscious and revolutionary. We are not to go rain-bow chasing after the Belmont and Morgan suffragettes. The

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ballot for working-women is a class demand and not a sex movement alone.

On all questions the women delegates of the Convention acquitted themselves nobly.

Comrades Fred Merrick and Joe Cohen, of Pennsylvania, materially aided in expediting the work of the Convention. Keep your eye on Fred Merrick. He is a comrade who knows that the only help for the proletariat is to be found in the abolition of wage-slavery.

"The Whirlwind of the Pacific Coast" was the name given Comrade Tom J. Lewis, of Oregon. Lewis believes in the wage-workers, first, last and all the time.

Some of the Chicago socialists became so enthused over the speeches made by Delegate Tom Lewis, at the Convention, and Ed. Moore, of Philadelphia, that they inveigled both comrades into lecturing before the Twenty-first Ward Branch.

And the Chicago Socialists were given such a wakening up at that meeting as they have not had for a long time.

Comrade Moore's talk upon the strike in Philadelphia was simply inspiring. We found, in Philadelphia, he said, that we had loads of revolutionary material that we had always called reactionary. When the pinch came, it was not the paid organizers, officials, editors, lecturers or writers who displayed the strongest degree of class consciouness, but the unorganized, often unskilled and ill-paid wage-workers. The way these men and women struck and stuck to their class—the solidarity they showed, has encouraged us socialists more than anything we have seen in many years. We didn't know how strong we were.

"Don't go out for low rents, or cheap reforms," said Tom J. Lewis. "Low rents mean lower wages and are only a help to the capitalists. They want low rents and cheap bread more than you do. Wages sink as the cost of living sinks, so you can't get anything by going out for *low prices.*"

Tom Lewis does not waste his brilliance before cultured and "high" (?) class audiences, in marble halls. He goes to the heart of the revolutionary element—to the wage-workers, and comrades from Oregon assure us he often speaks to 2,000 workingmen and women in Portland, in a single evening.

The Convention was an inspiration to us all. We did not know how many splendid, uncompromising workers the party possesses until we met some of them at Masonic Temple. You don't often see some of their names in the papers, but they are the men and women without whom the revolution would be but a flimsy farce—the brawn and brain of the great class struggle that will only end when wage-slavery has been abolished and the working class come into its own.

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It was recommended in the supplementary report of the Committee on Commission Form of Government that if the comrades fail to win in primaries in cities under a Commission Form of Government, the Congress advise the comrades nevertheless not to abandon the struggle but to leave the members *free to vote* (for *capitalist candidates*) in the second election. Delegates Thompson, of Wisconsin, and Simons, of Illinois, championed this recommendation. But it was *voted down* by a vote of 48 to 17, with the Milwaukee delegation solidly supporting it. We are not yet ready to abandon our policy of *no compromise; no political trading.*

Delegate Merrick, of Pennsylvania, added his portion of inspiration to the comrades who think straight socialism is good enough for them.

Comrade Barnes, of Louisiana, lined up for industrial unionism. "It is the only thing that will solve the race problem of the South," he said.

Delegates Steve Reynolds and James O'Neal, maintained the reputation of the Hoosier State for producing some of the finest.

Frank M. Cassidy, of Buffalo, N. Y., former editor of the Switchmens' Journal, said, "We have to have a revolutionary economic organization to back up the political fight at the ballot box."

Comrade Cassidy speaks from practical experience in one of the strongest fighting labor organizations and not from ruminations in the libraries.

Delegate Geo. Brewer, of Kansas, didn't seem to feel the need of any party compromises. There is nothing the matter with Kansas.

Delegate Meyer London and John Spargo, of New York, will be able to look future International Japanese and Chinese delegates to the International Socialist Congresses in the face and say "Comrade." Both gave splendid arguments against the Asiatic Exclusion Recommendation.

"The men in the craft unions are simply aching for a change," said Delegate Maurer, of Pennsylvania, in his plea for an endorsement of industrial unionism.

We all took a liking to Mayor Seidel, of Milwaukee. "We all make mistakes," he said, "but we must do the best we can."

Delegate Berger, of Wisconsin, wanted all delegates to be paid for time spent at the Convention. The motion was voted down. Comrade Berger said the Convention delegates were as much entitled to pay as the International Delegates.

Delegate Robert Ringler, of Pennsylvania, was always on the job for straight class-conscious socialism, without any opportunistic trimmings.

Did anybody hear anything about the Report of that Farmers' Com-

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mittee? Read it over carefully and you will understand why it fell with such a sickening thud.

Delegate Bell, of Texas, was instructed by the farmers of that state to say they only wanted *straight socialism.* There is nothing the matter with the Texas farmer.

Delegate Thomas Morgan, of Illinois, was right on the job with both eyes open. Evidently Comrade Morgan thinks it is better to have a small organization of people who know what they want than a big one of folks who want any old thing.

Chicago comrades had more than one treat in hearing Theresa Malkiel, of New York, speak. Every word came straight from the heart and we all wanted to keep her here.

Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis, member of the National Executive Committee, was made a member of the Woman's Committee.

Every Red who attended the Convention went home overflowing with enthusiasm. Watch us work. We never knew before how strong we were.

Delegates Caroline Lowe and Kate Richards O'Hare—both old friends—and Delegate Winnie Branstetter, of Oklahoma, inspired every one who heard them talk.

Big Bill Haywood was at the Convention and those who had been on the firing-line in any part of the country, were glad to see him.

What was the matter with the Michigan Delegation? Not a single thing. If you don't know what the Party needs—go to Grand Rapids. The only thing we hate to see is so many good ones in a bunch. They ought to spread out more. The Finnish delegates from the Northern Peninsula, all members of the Western Federation of Miners, were on the right side of every question.

Delegate Waynick, of Washington, knows what he wants. Nothing was able to shake him loose from a revolutionary program. Read the Report for Industrial Unionism by Waynick and Delegate Cannon, of Oregon.

Doc Miller, of Akron, attended the Convention. "The man who swears," he said, "is not a respecter of 'sacred institutions'". We would like to hear Doc debate it out with Comrade John M. Work. Doc ought to have been in on that organization Committee.

Comrade John G. Willert, of Ohio, was an innovation as a chairman. He was always able to see and to recognize the delegate unknown to fame.

There were two Cannons at the Convention, and they always made the right kind of a noise.

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Germany. The German Proletariat as a Fighting Force. Time was when Germany was regarded as the center of the revolutionary movement. Thither we went for our theory and practice. The names of the great German leaders carried authority in argument; the Social Democracy and the Gewerkschaften were regarded as models of organization. But of late we have seen a new light. On all sides we hear it whispered that our German comrades have turned conservative. I refer, of course, not to misinformed or misinforming, capitalist editors, but to American socialists who are looking abroad for guidance. The socialist members of the Reichstag have degenerated into mere parliamentarians, these tell us, and the Gewerkschaften are weighed down with full treasuries and a sense of respectability.

Even among our German comrades themselves there has occasionally arisen a suspicion that their present tactics may soon become inadequate. Only recently Comrade Rosa Luxemburg has suggested a general strike as the next step. We have done our utmost with the old weapons, she says in substance, we have achieved great things by sending our orators to parliament, instituting gigantic open air demonstrations and organizing great unions able to fight the employers at every point. But social movements cannot remain stationary. Our old weapons have lost their force, and if we lack the courage to grasp new ones a reaction is inevitable. The general strike is the ultimate weapon; we must take it up or lose our influence with the German proletariat.

This proposal has called forth an answer from Karl Kautsky. He does not seek to discredit the general strike or even to subordinate it to political action. All he does is to show, or try to show, that the old weapons have not lost their effectiveness. If his analysis of the situation is correct, the tide of revolution is still rising in Germany, and will continue to rise. The well tried tactics are sufficient to fire the imagination of the people, to educate them, to organize them for the inevitable conflict of the future.

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If the events of the past month furnish a reliable criterion, Comrade Kautsky is justified. Simultaneously the German working-class has been carrying on three great conflicts. The first of these is against the new Prussian electoral law. It has passed the lower house and the diet. From the latter body it received the final touch of the reactionists. It will be remembered that in all essentials it is practically the same as the old three-class law under which Prussia has suffered for more than fifty years. But under the old law the division into classes was made within each electoral district; as amended by the diet the new law provides for the massing of the voters of each parish and their division into classes without regard to the boundaries of electoral districts. This will mean, of course, that if the new measure is repassed by the house in its amended form the last state of the working-class will be worse than its first. No workingman will be able to rise even into the second class. The Social Democracy will probably lose even the slender representation which it has gained by years of fighting.

But the parliamentary reaction has not been limited to Prussia. The Reichstag is engaged in perfecting a comprehensive workingmen's insurance law. I lack space for the details of the measure which is being pushed through by the government. It is designed to give to the employers the control of the insurance funds and absolute jurisdiction in such matters as dismissal of employes, recommendations and re-employment. If it becomes a law, the black-list will have been made superfluous; the workers will have been delivered to their masters bound hand and foot.

On the industrial field, too, the reactionists have forced the fight rather than avoided it. In 1908 the employers in the German Building Trades Association arranged all their contracts with the unions so that they would expire on the same day, March 31st, 1910. Some weeks before this latter date they assembled at Dresden and drew up a set of specifications which were to control all of them in the making of new contracts. No employer was to consent to a day shorter than ten hours, an average, or maximum, wage was to be set, and all contracts were to be closed by the national employers' association and the central committees of the unions. The employes objected to the contracts embodying these features. On April 18th thousands of them were locked out. The employers seemed bent on a fight to the finish.

In the Landtag, in the Reichstag, on the industrial field the capitalist class has not only resisted advance, it has attacked all of the points of vantage gained by the workers. Ruthlessly it has bent every energy to beat the working-class into submission.

And what of the working-class? What has been its response? So far as the electoral law is concerned it has been able to do little but stir

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up popular indignation. On Sunday, April 10th, and again on May 8th, it made what were probably the greatest popular demonstrations the world has ever seen. So great was the power it exhibited in numbers and organization that an influential capitalist daily said editorially: "The Social Democracy has become a state within a state, and the government of the nation begins to recoil before its power."

The working-class of the empire is no less alive to its interests than that of Prussia. On April 25th, a special congress of the Gewerkschaften met at Berlin to consider the proposed insurance law which is being debated by the Reichstag. There were in attendance 422 delegates, representing 2,000,000 workers. Every provision of the law was gone over and the demands of labor were formulated. The working-class insists that it be given equal jurisdiction with the employers over insurance funds and that the law which is ostensibly designed to protect labor be not made a means of further enslaving labor.

On the industrial field the lock-out was immediately answered by a strike in all the building trades. It is estimated that more than 400,000 quit work within a few days. Before the week was out the strikers of Berlin had forced their employers to accept a contract quite different from the one outlined at Dresden. Similar settlements have been reported from other points. But for the most part the strike is still on.

It is a great fight, and a complex one. But take a look down the whole line of battle and you can reach only one conclusion. Our German comrades are gaining practically nothing in actual legislation and making only slight gains on the industrial field; but they are winning nevertheless. Their enemy is relentless, blindly determined. More and more the people come to see him as he is. They gather in ever increasing numbers under the banner of the Social Democracy. Conventions, speeches in the Reichstag, street demonstrations, strikes over limited fields for very definite purposes—all these may seem to bring but small gain. But in reality they have served, and still serve, to rally, to organize, and to discipline one of the strongest and most purposeful revolutionary forces in the world.

France. A Scab Government. The capitalist leopard cannot change its spots even at election time. The world of labor has not forgotten that almost exactly a year ago the French postal employes faced a relentlessly tyrannical government. The struggle did not end until the ministry had agreed to take back into the service all the employes who had been discharged for the heinous crime of forming unions for their own defence. And then, peace once restored, promises were forgotten and some hundreds of mail carriers were left without employment.

During the past year postal employes have begged and socialist

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deputies have thundered, but the government has turned a deaf ear. That is, until election day approached. On April 24th, occurred an election to the Chamber of Deputies. The ministry had to face the people. Strange to say, it experienced a change of heart. A week or two before the ballots were counted, a committee of the postal employes were told that their unfortunate comrades would be taken back into the service as soon as places could be made for them.

That is the first part of the story. The rest shows that the government is, in reality, just as cynically brutal as ever. Since 1888 the French Seamen's Union has been fighting for effective recognition. The government and the navigation companies have maintained that sailors cannot claim the benefit of the law of 1884, the measures under which the present system of unions has grown up. Laws passed in 1852 and 1872 have been continued in effect. According to the provisions of these laws rebellion against the master of a ship, even if it take the form of a strike, is a criminal offence.

Free from restrictions, the masters have been manning their vessels with natives of foreign ports, preferably Asiatics. This practice is illegal, but the government protected it. Since 1888 the French Seamen's Union has been protesting against it. But the situation has grown steadily worse. At last, toward the end of March, a struggle was precipitated at Marseilles. The Frenchmen forming part of the crew of a certain Mediterranean packet-boat refused to serve longer with a lot of under-payed, non-union Asiatics. The maritime court summoned them to appear and answer to the charge of desertion. One out of the nine strikers appeared and was sentenced to six days in prison. The others were finally taken and tried.

But before they had been dealt with, the government found it had fight on its hands. Every ship that came to land was deserted by every union man as soon as the gang-plank struck the dock. By the 11th of April a general strike had been called and 50,000 workers laid down their tools in support of the sailors.

Enter the government. Here on the coast of the Mediterranean was re-enacted the scene with which we have grown familiar at Stockholm and Philadelphia. Here in southern France, however, it was better done than ever before. Not only did the government send troops to overawe and coerce the strikers, but it placed at the command of the steamship companies a full line of strike-breakers. These were secured from the navy. On April 22nd, according to a despatch from Marseilles, there were employed on boats sailing from that port 1,073 marines drawn from the national service.

The strike is not ended, but it will probably be lost. And if it is, the defeat will be due to the activity of a scab government.

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A Victory at the Polls. But in the very moment when it was busiest crushing the rebellion of labor, the French government felt the power of the working class. The election to the Chamber of Deputies held on April 24th, and May 8th, resulted in a brilliant Socialist victory. Just now this victory is particularly significant. As its chief opponent the Socialist Party met at the polls a government which uses every ounce of its bureaucratic power to win. Within its own ranks, moreover, it was weakened by protracted struggles over theories and tactics. In fact on the eve of the electoral battle Gustave Hervé urged the workers to remain away from the polls. Doubtless many of them did so. But not all. Enough of them exercised their right of suffrage to register a victory which has astonished the socialists themselves. Fourteen seats were gained, making a total of forty-four. The number of votes cast is still more satisfying. In 1906 our French comrades numbered at the polls 889,034; this year they numbered 1,107,369. A gain of more than 200,000! It is not limited to any district or any class of workers. Especially pleasing is the decisive gain among the agricultural laborers. In the coming French revolution the proletariat of the cities will not have to make its fight alone.

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WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

Some of our nervous friends who were so cocksure that Sam Gompers and his followers were going to combine with the farmers and other reformers and launch a labor party this year, and thus promote opposition to the Socialist party and hinder the growth of the latter organization, probably realize by this time that their fears were unfounded and that they owe Sam an apology for regarding him with a suspicious eye.

The widely advertised convention of union farmers has been held at St. Louis, and in point of attendance was a disappointment. Gompers was present and talked co-operation of the industrial forces and said nothing about forming an independent political party. The farmers, on their part, adopted a lengthy declaration pledging their support of union-labeled products and promised to assist the trade unions to secure some of the legislative reforms that have been demanded at the hands of Congress and State Legislatures for many years. In return they requested that organized labor extend to union farmers the same support, which is nothing more than fair and doubt-

give your Uncle Samuel credit for being an astute and politic individual. He was not there to promise anything that he could not deliver in a political movement. He knows that the big mass of trade union members are partisans—that they are Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, with a scattering few Prohibitionists and mugwumps. For Gompers to have promised the support of a couple of million union men to a brand new party would have been an unpardonable piece of folly, and could have resulted in nothing else but raise a row about his ears.

Furthermore, as has been pointed out in the Review, nobody knows better than Samuel Gompers the actual lack of understanding of political and economic questions possessed by many of the men who are referred to as labor leaders because they hold official positions, and their inability to present social problems in an intelligent manner to critical partisans who are naturally prejudiced against new ideas and who must be won over to a new cause to make a showing.

It is neither misrepresentation or abuse of confidence or to discredit

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(mostly middle class Democrats) and "enemies" there (usually plute Republicans), and has no patience with the Socialists who look too far ahead, according to his notions, are theorists and dreamers and wholly impractical. Of course, once the Socialists gain control and begin to do things the old objections will fade away—in fact I make the claim right now that there are more trade unionists in the country who desire to work with the Socialists, say along the British lines, than who favor setting up a so-called Labor party to go it alone.

However, to get back to the organized farmers. They are pretty well in the same boat as the urban workmen. The same economic and political conditions face them, as a rule. Monopoly, machinery, burdensome taxation, high prices for what they purchase and low prices for their products, etc., is making their conditions uncomfortable on the one side, and on the other hand, they are divided between the various parties, and they fear if they struck out independently they would wreck their organization.

Socialist party as the only political organization that can lay claim to truly represent and fight for labor's interests. The only thing now remaining is for the Socialists to take a more active interest if possible in union affairs, show the workers the real conditions and what may be gained, not only in speeches, but by sowing literature knee deep if necessary.

The contest being waged by the Civic Federation saints, such as Carnegie, Frick, Rockefeller, Morgan and their underlings in the United States Steel Corporation, to crush the Seamen's Union and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tinplate Workers has not abated in the slightest degree. On the contrary, the workers are being attacked more fiercely than ever. The hired thugs of the trust have already started to beat up the men along the lakes for daring as much as to talk to the imported scabs, while in the mill districts, where the trust satellites claim to have won a victory, the most brutal tactics are being pursued.

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On top of it all, the United States Steel Corporation magnates are firing some picket shots at the miners. At the last convention of the United Mine Workers (in Indianapolis last January) the officers called attention to the fact that the steel trust had acquired control of thousands of acres of coal land in the various districts, and the delegates were warned that their industry would soon be called upon to face the plutes drunk with power. Sure enough, the trust opens the engagement in Illinois, the banner state in the Union, where the miners are solidly organized, have a strong treasury, and where the operators are also strongly combined and treat with the union. The trust butts in and starts to destroy the relationship of collective agreements. The trust forces the issue at Danville, Ill., where its agents started a fight among the miners and announced that the octopus, not being a member of the operators' association, wanted a separate agreement. The idea of the trust was to obtain a temporary settlement and force disruption among the operators, and then, after the latter have been hammered into line just as the so-called shipowners are on the lakes, such as the Hanna, Pickards & Mather, Gilchrist and other fleets, the next step would be to force the open shop on the miners and beat them down to a pauper and docile level, where they would become as harmless as the serfs in the iron and steel mills.

While this picket firing is going on the steel trust deploys its agents in another direction to divert attention from the class struggle. The Civic Federation now proposes to organize "state councils" in order to further legislation along social lines that barely touch the contest upon the industrial field. I am indebted to the Hon. John Hayes Hammond for an invitation to join an "Ohio Council," and if I was certain that the John Hayes who gave me a few moral precepts wouldn't turn over in his grave, and if I didn't know the game of muzzling those who had opinions, yours truly might be tempted to join this aggregation.

But nothing can come of this new maneuver of the Civic Federation, except to cover the attacks of the high-toned pirates who war upon the workers to despoil them of the wealth they produce. Anything and everything that the United States Steel Corporation and the other tentacles of capitalism touch, as far as organized labor is concerned, is marked for destruction. The policy of the Civic Federation and its votaries is to chloroform the working class with sham reforms and to woo the workers into the belief that so long as they quarrel among themselves in the old parties and "reward friends" all will be well—and so it will be for the robber class.

The United Hatters have not yet surrendered regarding the amount in damages they must pay Boss Loewe, of Danbury, Conn. They carried up their case from the U. S. Court in Connecticut, after having had $10,000 more as costs tacked on to the original fine of $222,000. It is doubtful if the Supreme Court reduces the amount. It would be unprecedented for that court to give labor the slightest consideration after that august tribunal has pronounced its edict.

The molders lost their $10,000 damage suit case at St. Joseph, Mo. The brewery workers won their case in New York, which was brought by an expelled member. Now the printers are the latest to be called upon to pay money to the plutes. C. W. Post, the wild man from Battle Creek, has sued the Typographical Journal for $50,000 damages (as though he could be damaged in reputation that large amount) for alleged libel. Post has many other suits for damages going. If a good lawyer gets him on the witness stand there will be fun.

The split in the electrical workers' organization is as wide open as it was a year ago. The McNulty faction claimed to be regular and bolted the conference arranged to settle the trouble. The Reid faction in accordance with the A. F. of L. decision, withdrew its cases in court, and now the "regular" McNulty faction deliberately defies the A. F. of L. and refuses to end the legal fight. Again, sufficient locals in the McNulty wing have petitioned their officers to call a convention to combine with the Reidites, but it is doubtful whether such a convention will be called. Neither will the A. F. of L. officials order a convention. There is something rotten in Denmark.

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Delegates to National Congress. The following list shows the names of the comrades seated at the recent Congress of the Socialist Party, some of those elected being replaced by alternates:

Alabama: C. G. Hutchisson.
Arizona: Jos. D. Cannon.
California: W. Carpenter, J. B. Osborne, J. Stitt Wilson, Ernest Untermann, John H. Wilde.
Colorado: W. P. Collins, Mila T. Maynard.
Connecticut: Ella Reeves Bloor, Jasper McLevy.
Florida: C. C. Allen.
Idaho: T. J. Coonrod.
Illinois: G. T. Fraenckel, Robert Giese, Adolph Germer, A. M. Lewis, T. J. Morgan, A. W. Nelson, G. A. Peterson, A. M. Simons.
Indiana: James Oneal, S. M. Reynolds.
Iowa: John M. Work, J. J. Jacobson.
Kansas: Geo. D. Brewer, Caroline A. Lowe, Kate Richards O'Hare.
Kentucky: Walter Lanfersiek.
Louisiana: J. W. Barnes.
Maine: Grace V. Silver.
Maryland: W. M. Coleman.
Massachusetts: James A. DeBell, James F. Carey, Harriet D'Orsay, Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., Marion Craig Wentworth, Dan A. White.
Michigan: Frank Aaltonen, Henry Kummerfeld, J. Hoogerhyde.
Minnesota: Morris Kaplan, Leo Laukki, Mrs. Esther Laukki, J. E. Nash.
Missouri: E. T. Behrens, W. L. Garver, W. W. McAllister.
Montana: Geo. W. McDermott.
Nebraska: Clyde J. Wright.
Nevada: W. H. Burton.
New Hampshire: John P. Burke.
New Jersey: Max Fackert, Geo. H. Goebel, Frank Hubschmidt, W. B. Killingbeck.
New Mexico: C. B. Lane.
New York: Jos. Wanhope, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, W. W. Passage, C. L. Furman, H. Schefer, Clark Dills, Gustave Strebel, Frank Cassidy.
North Dakota: Arthur Bassett.
Ohio: E. E. Adel, W. H. Miller, E. L. Schnaidt, Marguerite Prevey, John G. Willert, L. A. Zitt.
Oklahoma: Oscar Ameringer. Winnie E. Branstetter, J. V. Kolachney, G. W. Davis.
Oregon: C. L. Cannon, Tom J. Lewis.
Pennsylvania: Jos. E. Cohen, Fred H. Merrick, Thos. F. Kennedy, Edward Moore, Jas. H. Maurer, Robert B. Ringler, Wm. Adams.
Rhode Island: Fred Hurst.
South Dakota: E. Francis Atwood.
Tennessee: T. H. Haines.
Texas: W. J. Bell, W. W. Buchanan, P. G. Zimmerman.
Utah: W. Thurston Brown.
Washington: Mrs. E. D. Cory, W. H. Waynick.
West Virginia: Harold W. Houston.
Wisconsin: Victor L .Berger, W. R. Gaylord, E. H. Thomas, Emil Seidel, Carl D. Thompson.
Wyoming: W. L. O'Neil, John Heckala.

Unorganized States.

Delaware: J. Frank Smith.
Georgia: Paul Hochscheid.
Mississippi S. W. Rose.
North Carolina: Rufus J. Morton.
South Carolina: A. J. Royal.
Virginia: E. B. Slatton.

Delegates Foreign-Speaking Organizations.

Bohemian: Jos. Novak, Steve Skala.
Finnish: Toivo Hiltunen, John Valimaki.
Italian: James C. Pellegrine, Rokos Pekos.
Jewish Agi. Bu.: Meyer London, Barnett Wolff.

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Lettish: John Klawa, M. Tomin.
Polish Section: J. Klawer, J. Kochanowicz.
Scandinavian: S. J. Christensen, H. G. Holun.
South. Slaves: Dimitre Economoff, M. Glumac.

GRAND JUNCTION'S SOCIALIST MAYOR.

By W. G. Henry.

Grand Junction, Colo., is a city of 12,000 population situated at what is called the western gateway to Colorado in the heart of a great fruit and sugar beet district. So any boom prospectus you chance to pick up will tell you. However the present article is not dealing with corner lots, fruit tracts and sugar beet acreage. It will deal only with the economic development of the particular section mentioned.

This little city at the Western Colorado gateway has always been a hotbed of radicalism. The Socialist Labor Party elected an alderman back as far as 1898. It has been the western way station for the Single

THOMAS M. TODD.

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Tax doctrine for twenty years. Populism swept it with a tidal wave in the palmy days of that decadent movement. Prohibition has had its inning. When the commission form of government became the fad Grand Junction was no laggard in springing right up towards the front of the procession. Last but not least it has shown its bravery and indifference to innovation by electing a Socialist Mayor.

Thomas M. Todd was elected mayor on a ticket that was not designated as a Socialist ticket. But wait, you revolutionary red and hear the case for socialism out. The commission form of charter under which Thomas M. Todd was elected does not permit the party designation on the ballot. The Socialists were not responsible for the charter. They were unacquainted with its workings. Most of us are strangers to it.

The present form of charter was fathered by James W. Bucklin, a well known Single Taxer, and one who poses as a socialist in certain localities and at certain times; at other times and places in his usual bungling manner he attempts to mangle the Socialist philosophy. In short, he is what might be termed a geographical grand stander. Such is the father of the commission form of government in this city. As another interesting fact it may be noted that it is an open secret that one faction of the capitalist class backed Bucklin in the new charter move, thinking to advance their group interests against the other and more powerful faction.

When capitalistic thieves fall out, the Socialists are generally on the ground with gongs calling attention to the robbers and their methods. The election came on. The Socialists nominated in the manner prescribed by law and went out to do the usual amount of propaganda. They covered the town with Socialist literature. This literature campaign was thorough, systematic and brilliant. It made every parasite in Ghand Valley sit up and rub his eyes. There were six candidates for Mayor. The "safe, sane and conservative" element had a representative, likewise the goody-goody reformer, the wide open town people, the church element and all other phazes of thinking and getting a living could find

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THE LIBERTY CO. calls your attention to Comrade Francisco Ferrer's book entitled "The Modern School." A copy will be sent to The Elect for 5c in stamps.
Station D, Box 4, Cleveland, Ohio.

"WHAT SOCIALISM IS," and "What Socialism Will Accomplish." A propaganda card every Socialist needs. It is just the thing to hand to the unconverted. It will make them "sit up and take notice." It contains more essence of facts concerning Socialism than anything of its size (3x5 in.) printed. To any address: 50 copies, 15c; 100 copies, 25c; 250 copies, 45c; 500 copies, 85c; 1,000 copies, $1.60. C. St. John Cole, 23 Central Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

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their exponent on the ballot. The struggle was in fact between the "safe, sane and conservative" candidate of the ultra capitalist class and the candidate of the plain people, the working class, the Socialist candidate. The Socialist candidate won.

There is no more bitterly disappointed group in Grand Junction today than the capitalists and their erstwhile leader the Single Tax champion. They are thoroughly convinced that the commission form of government wont work—in their interests.

Just what the commission form of government will do for the workers, if anything, remains to be demonstrated. The Socialists must familiarize themselves with it. But it is well known that quarrels of the capitalist class sometimes result in benefitting the working class. If this is so, let us hope the capitalists will continue to have their troubles.

Mayor Todd is a revolutionary Socialist. He is not up in the air because he has landed in office. He keeps his feet on the earth. He realizes he alone can do little to advance the interests of the workers. He will make good in that he will prove that a Socialist can hold political office without becoming a grafter.

The Socialists of Grand Junct are a revolutionary bunch. They t their victory sanely. In fact, it never been heralded over the coun as a Socialist victory. They are s ply more determined than ever to capitalism out of business. They not claim to have gotten a corner the cooperative commonwealth they have received some encoura ment for the final struggle and complete overthrow of wage slav and the emancipation of the work class.

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CRIME AND CRIMINALS. By the Prison Reform League, cloth 312 pp. Prison Reform League Publ. Co., 443 South Main St., Los Angeles, Calif. Every socialist in America ought to co-operate with the Prison Reform League in the splendid work they have undertaken. This little book, which the League has recently published deserves the high praise it is receiving from all sides. Never was a subject approached with more of the impartiality of the true scientist than the authors of this book have shown.

All available sources have been ransacked for material upon the subject and the pages devoted to the American police system might well serve as an indictment of the System itself.

Governmental reports and works by recognized authorities have been sifted for the establishment of the premise that crime, and especially crimes of violence and of the graver class, is steadily on the increase. Elaborate statistics will prove these conclusions to the dissatisfaction and discomfiture of our legislative bodies. Capital punishment is shown to be the primitive method of revenge, which still dominates our criminology. The evil effects of these barbaric customs upon the human psychology add considerably to the forces opposed to progress.

In disgusting and heart-breaking detail the inner life of our prisons, our jails and our convict camps, is described. Of all living creatures, says the author, the convict is most helpless. It is his most earnest desire to placate his captors. Disobedience to the prison rules can only work pain upon himself. Any man capable of the simplest logic would realize that no convict would willfully bring disasters upon his own head. And yet, in the penitentiaries of America tortures rivaling the horrors of the Middle Ages are practiced. Two chapters of this book deal exclusively with San Quentin, the California Penitentiary, in one of which Col. Griffith J. Griffith, secretary and treasurer of the League, and the other, a female ex-convict, lay bare the horrors endured behind the walls of San Quentin, and tell tales of fiendish cruelties that stagger the imagination.

And it must be remembered that NOT ONE of the terrible statements made in CRIME and CRIMINALS has been refuted; not even a single attempt has been made to disprove them.

We may well conclude that the scenes drawn of the Southern convict camps are not overdone when we look over the revelations resulting from the recent legislative investigations of prisons in Texas, where it was proved that fifty men were whipped to death within the last three years.

The book is too big, too full of vital teeming facts and conclusions, to be well covered in a single brief article. Every socialist should have the facts narrated in CRIME and CRIMINALS upon his tongue's end. Every socialist should co-operate with the Prison Reform League in its efforts to awaken the Public to the barbarities of the prison system in America.

PSYCHIC-CONTROL THROUGH SELF KNOWLEDGE. By Walter Kenilworth, published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. 17th. St., New York, N. Y. In this book Mr. Kenilworth attempts to formulate a creed "that shall make the soul conscious of real-

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ities which heretofore have been believed." The dualist may decide, after reading this book, that he has gained some positive knowledge upon which to base his spiritual beliefs, but the materialist will remain unconvinced, for the data men gather through the senses are material data, and "spiritual experiences," realized by the senses, are physical or material experiences also.

MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL HEALTH, by A. T. Schofield, M. D., published by R. F. Fenno & Co., New York, N Y. In this attractively bound little book Dr. Schofield advises us that he has wandered into the field of religious discussion to assure the world how much healthier it will be when it learns to seek peace and harmony with the Infinite. Many of our worries and illnesses would pass away—he believes—under these happier conditions. We agree with the doctor in maintaining that worry and discord may cause several kinds of diseases, but we feel a great deal of regret to find a member of the medical profession offering mankind the same old, age old, cure. Usually the worst our friends in the profession have done was to advise us not to worry; not to live in unsanitary houses; to eat nourishing food." And many of them have arrived at a point where they say: "Men will worry as long as jobs are scarce and insecure; they will live in unsanitary houses just as long as landlords are able to make more profit on unhealthful than upon wholesome conditions; they will be able to eat the best food in the world as soon as those who work get the full value of the things they produce." Dr. Schofield advises us to attune ourselves to the Infinite! We have no doubt all the employers of men who are this year striking for higher wages, would heartily agree with him.

COMMON SENSE, by the Van-American Press, Chicago, Ill. by O. M. Donaldson, is a little book that will delight the hearts of all of the disciples of Henry George. "The little volume is addressed 'to the wage workers of the world' and the burden of its message is that there can be no general or permanent betterment in the condition of the so called laboring classes without such a reform in the system of land ownership as will give to each man, equally with every other, free access to the resources of nature, or in other words free access to land. The earth is to be the great employer of labor, with a job for every man all the time, but for the baneful effects of land monopoly, which bars the great mass of humanity from its natural source of livelihood and compels it to make such terms as it can with the capitalistic combinations of employers. Under a righteous land system, the author maintains, every man would be free to work for himself on the land if he chose so to do, and in no industry could wages fall below what the average man could produce for himself in this way."

AN INTERVIEW, by Daniel W. Church. 163 pp. $1.00, published by The Berlin Carey Co., Chicago, Ill. A book giving new and interesting data on the early life of Abraham Lincoln, attractively bound and printed.

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TO NEW READERS.

The International Socialist Review and the book publishing business connected with it are the property of a co-operative company consisting of 2200 working people, most of whom have invested just ten dollars each, for the purpose of circulating the literature the socialist movement needs.

No capitalist stands behind us. We have been circulating socialist literature for over ten years, and never during that time have had a dollar that was not urgently needed to meet some pressing obligation. And yet all the time our work has been growing. On the first of May, as will be seen by the report printed on the next page, we had only $25.73 in money, yet we had on hand books that at retail prices would sell for over $60,000, besides the plates and copyrights of nearly all the socialist books in the English language that are worth reading.

Our paid-up capital is now $35,000. The authorized capital is $50,000. We thus have 1,500 shares worth $10.00 each for sale. A share draws no dividends, but it carries the privilege of buying our books at a discount of forty per cent, we prepaying expressage. The main reason, however, why you should become a stockholder is that in no other way will $10.00 go so far toward making possible the publishing of the literature of revolutionary socialism.

Is it worth ten dollars to you to have the literature of socialism put within the reach of the wage-workers of America? If so, will you not be one of the 1500 to take the remaining shares?

We do not want to sell you more than one share. No one individual holds more than a very few shares, except the manager of the publishing house, who has put all his resources and all his strength into it for twenty-four years. We want the control to remain as now with the comrades holding one share each.

But if you have more than ten dollars which you could spare for some months, we can offer you better returns than any bank will allow you, and better security than is offered by most of the banks.

We will pay Six Per Cent on any sum of fifty dollars or more, to

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be returned by us on six months' notice. Or we will pay four per cent and return the money on thirty days' notice.

Why We Need Money. As will be seen from the following report of receipts and expenditures for April, our ordinary income is ample to cover our ordinary outlay. During the month we paid off nearly $600 of loans from stockholders, while no new loans came in. We were thus obliged to borrow nearly $300 from a bank. Our total liabilities to stockholders, however, are less than $6,000 and our other liabilities are less than $4,000, so that the sale of 1,500 shares of stock would put us out of debt and give us all the cash capital needed for extending our work. These are the April figures:

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Cash balance, April 1	$ 174.92	Manufacture of books	$ 878.69
Book sales	2,429.19	April Review	494.15
Review subscriptions and sales	789.09	Books purchased	57.49
Review advertising	59.68	Wages of office clerks	398.32
Sales of stock	145.95	Mary E. Marcy, on salary	45.00
Loans from stockholders	297.13	Chas. H. Kerr, on salary	80.00
		Postage and expressage	462.07
		Miscellaneous expenses	108.06
		Rent	70.00
		Advertising	689.75
		Loans repaid	586.70
		Cash balance, April 30	25.73
Total	$3,895.96	Total	$3,895.96

Early in 1910, Charles H. Kerr personally assumed a debt of $3400 due from the publishing house, and accepted stock to that amount, thus reducing our indebtedness by exactly $3400. Moreover, during the six months ending April 30, 1910, we have paid off loans from stockholders to the amount of $3474.45, while we have received new loans to the amount of only $1382.70. It will thus be seen that our finances are in a thoroughly sound condition. On the other hand, we can not enlarge our work if more capital is withdrawn each month than is added. What do YOU intend to do about it?

A Campaign of Literature. Experience has fully proved that no propaganda work for socialism yields such large returns for the same outlay of strength and money as the circulation of literature. Our co-operative publishing house is organized for the express purpose of providing the right literature at the lowest possible prices. We have $60,000 worth of this literature on hand. Let us send you a catalog.

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Ten Cent Books. Every time an open air meeting is held, books should be sold. To do this is the best kind of propaganda, and instead of being an expense, it is a source of revenue to help out on other expenses. Ten cents is the best price for selling from the soap box, unless the speaker knows how to make a particularly good "book talk." Some of the very best ten cent books are Socialism Made Easy, by James Connolly; The Socialists, by John Spargo; Socialism Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels; The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels, and Marx's Value, Price and Profit. If something easier and simpler than any of these is desired, try "The Wolves," an illustrated fable, by R. A. Wason, a successful novelist who belongs to the Socialist Party of Indiana. A hundred ten cent books will be sent by express prepaid for $5.00.

Kautsky's The Class Struggle. We have lately added to the arsenal of American socialists a really good translation, attractively printed, of the best propaganda work of the European socialist movement, the "Erfurter Program" by Karl Kautsky, which we issue under the name "The Class Struggle." It contains in connected form the entire work, slightly abridged, from which several separate pamphlets circulated by the Socialist Labor Party and the Appeal to Reason were taken. In its new form this book is the completest and most satisfactory statement of the socialist position that can be sold at a low price. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents. We will send a hundred paper copies by express prepaid for $12.50; a dozen for $2.00.

Socialist Stickers. In response to a persistent demand, we have printed a supply of socialist stickers, each three inches square. Samples free on request; a hundred each of three different kinds mailed for 25 cents; 1,000 each of three kinds for $2.00.

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